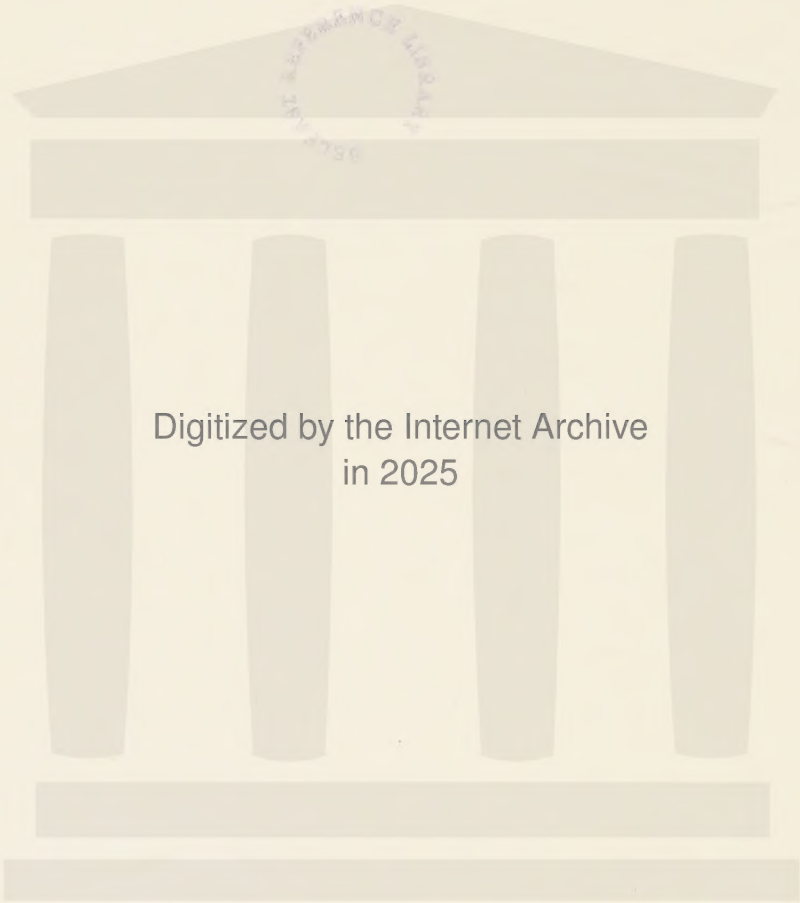

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THE NEW

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM

INCLUDING

ALL IMPORTANT SOCIAL-REFORM MOVEMENTS & ACTIVITIES, AND THE ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL, AND SOCIOLOGICAL FACTS & STATISTICS OF ALL COUNTRIES & ALL SOCIAL SUBJECTS

EMBRACING QUOTATIONS FROM THE PUBLIC UTTERANCES OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.
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HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL.D.

ENLARGED AND REVISED EDITION

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

THE 1908 edition of the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM is not the old edition revised, but a completely new book, save for a few historical or economic articles, the subjects of which need no new treatment—although many even of these are either revised or completely rewritten. All else is absolutely new, and it is believed that the work is very much more comprehensive and complete.

The two main requisites of an Encyclopedia are reliability and serviceableness. The first of these has been sought in this Encyclopedia by having nearly every article written by a specialist on his particular subject. Statements of reform have been generally written by a believer in the reform; together with this, or by reference to a corresponding article on the opposing side, a statement of the opposing view will be found. Historical, bibliographical, biographical, and statistical articles have generally been prepared and carefully revised by adequate authorities, mainly university professors and economic specialists.

Biographical articles, in the case of all living persons, have been, wherever possible, submitted to those persons. Articles on foreign countries have been, as a rule, either written by or submitted for revision to residents in those countries.

Serviceableness has been sought by making the work, while, as shown above, accurate and scholarly, yet popular and not technical. The Encyclopedia is for general workers and students. It has been prepared by specialists for those who are not specialists. Its references to books are therefore in the main only to books available to English readers. Articles have been arranged as to length and quality with this idea of serviceableness in view. Articles upon the best-known people are therefore often the shortest, and sometimes such are even omitted. This is not because they did not contribute to social reform, and often to a much larger degree than many who are considered, but because the general reader does not need the story of their life. The space allotted to articles, therefore, has considered the needs of the reader more than the absolute importance of the subject.

To the more important articles are appended brief bibliographies of the best available books upon the subject. There has been no attempt to make these exhaustive, but they will serve to guide the student in his search for more complete information.

Much matter of special British interest will be found in the fore part of the work. A few photographs of social reformers of various countries have been included from among the hundreds of names which figure in the work.

The subject of social reform is so vast, and may be made so inclusive, that almost any subject might have been included here; but the Encyclopedia aims to distinguish sharply between subjects that belong mainly to the individual and those that belong mainly to society. A few subjects, such as religion, science, etc., that concern both the individual and society, are treated only in their social aspects. The aim, however, has been to give on all the broad range of social reform the experience of the past, the facts of the present, the proposals for the future. The biographical portions will be found to be especially full. Of living persons the Encyclopedia generally treats only those having national or international recognition, and has thus been compelled to pass by many earnest and useful and successful local workers. In statistics we have gone to the best sources, but it must be remembered that statistics and statements in social reform are somewhat like the endeavour to count blossoms in springtime. Even while the count is going on, new blossoms are continually appearing, while not seldom a sudden chill wind carries some blossoms, which have been counted, to the ground before the tally is complete. It is springtime in social reform, and spring can never be put into any book.

Wherever possible we have made use of governmental and official figures, even while figures could be found slightly more recent, but less reliable. In cases like those of statistical returns, not usually

reported by governments, we are indebted to year books, such as "The Municipal Year Book," "The Reformer's Year Book," "The Daily Mail Year Book," Coglan's "Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand," "The London Manual," to German, French, and other year books. To the large number of economic and sociological magazines, books, and sources quoted in this work we give credit in the text, and would specially mention *The Review of Reviews* and *The Daily Chronicle* for valuable co-operation in the preparation of the British edition.

We desire to express our great indebtedness to the very large number of writers, scholars, and authorities who have contributed valuable articles, or have done the sometimes equally valuable work of revision. For the large majority of these it has been a gratuitous labour of love which alone has made this work financially possible. The names of our main contributors and revisers we give herewith, but the list is not a complete one. To a much longer list of society secretaries and others we are indebted for valuable assistance and material.

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LONDON and NEW YORK, November, 1908.

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM

A

ADULTERATION: Legislation has been active of late years on the question of pure food. The chief English newspapers had a campaign against "The Fraud of the Label," which roused public opinion much as, later, the tinned meat disclosures of Chicago did. The Trade Marks Act of 1905 had a distinct bearing on the question insomuch as it protected well-known trade-marks of leading food firms from infringement by substitutors of inferior qualities. On the much vexed question of Butter Adulteration, a Select Committee of the House of Commons held seventeen sittings, and issued a report in July, 1906, from which resulted the Butter and Margarine Act of 1907, by which (1) adulterant material of any kind was prohibited in butter factories; (2) a sixteen per cent. maximum limit of moisture was fixed, with a maximum of twenty-four per cent. of water for the so-called "milk-blended" butters; (3) milk-blended butter (see earlier history, p. 10) prohibited to be sold under that name or any name conveying the meaning of "butter," and for the purposes of any offences to be treated similarly to the provisions which govern the sale of margarine; (4) margarine not to contain more than sixteen per cent. moisture or more than ten per cent. of butter fat, and to be labelled distinctly "margarine," with the addition of any fancy name by which the mixture may be called; (5) a strict limitation was defined on the use of preservatives. This Act came into force in January, 1908.

Preservatives

The report issued in the summer of 1908 by Dr. A. W. J. MacFadden to the Local Government Board on "Preservatives in Canned and Glass-packed Meats of Home and Foreign Origins, with Observations on the Manufacture of such Meats," showed that out of a total of 1733 hermetically-sealed tins or glasses dealt with no fewer than 333, or over nineteen per cent., were reported to contain chemical preservatives other than salt and saltpetre. Of these preservatives, 243 were boron compounds, forming fourteen per cent. of the whole, and in the remaining ninety samples the presence of sulphate preservatives was reported. In meat foods of this kind there should be no need for the addition of chemical antiseptics at the time of preparation of the meat for canning, and the meat should ordinarily be fresh, or cured—not meat which has been subjected to treatment involving the introduction of preservatives such as boric acid or sulphites. The Local Government Board representative made exhaustive inquiries and visits to the principal factories and storage houses in England, the conclusions drawn therefrom being on the whole satisfactory, but he urged stricter supervision of factories. The report advocated a limit of one quarter per cent. of boric acid. It condemned the practice of using solutions of sulphurous acid or sulphites. The action recommended to protect the public was the issue of suitable regulations under the Public Health (Regulations as to Food) Act, 1907. Legislation as to supervision of the preparation of meat foods has recently been enacted in various States of Australia, in New Zealand, in Canada, and the United States.

ADULT SCHOOL UNION, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE: Founded in 1845 in Birmingham by Mr. Joseph Sturge. Object: For Bible study and mutual helpfulness among men. Chairman, Mr. W. C. Braithwaite. *Organizing Secretary:* Mr. Edwin Gilbert, Bournville.

AERIAL NAVIGATION: General Baden-Powell is of opinion that "more sound progress in the navigation of the air has been made in the last twelve months (1907–8) than for a long period before." In Europe and the United States experiments are continually in active progress for the perfecting of airships, dirigible balloons, and other flying devices for war and ordinary purposes, and a considerable measure of success has been attained. In Germany the Zeppelin airship made a flight of almost twenty-four hours' duration, during which it covered 444 miles before its destruction by explosion during a heavy storm on August 5th, 1908. In construction this was the most ambitious of any produced, insomuch as it was built to convey several passengers. The German airship is not the only one to meet with an untimely end. The French dirigible balloon La Patrie, which had made a speed of twenty-five miles an hour, became a victim to the weather after breaking away from her moorings, and the British Nulli Secundus, which created a sensation by sailing round St. Paul's Cathedral on October 3rd, 1907, was so damaged at her moorings by strong winds that she had to be taken to pieces. The American Morrel airship burst. Government war balloons have also been unfortunate; a Russian balloon was lost with three officers, an Italian balloon was struck with lightning and the operator killed, and a British one was carried out to sea and the dead bodies of the two officers recovered later. On September 16th, 1908, while proceeding to Bornstedt, for inspection by the German Emperor, Major von Parsival's dirigible balloon was practically wrecked. M. Delagrange, a French aeronaut, who had achieved some very successful flights at Isay-les-Moulineux, also eventually went to swell the list; but perhaps one of the most serious accidents was that which occurred to Mr. Orville Wright on September 17th, 1908, at Washington. Mr. Wright, who a week previously had created a world's record at Fort Myer by remaining in the air 62 min. 13 secs., was in mid-air when a propeller snapped, and the aeroplane came down with a crash to earth. Mr. Wright was injured, and a United States' officer, who was on the aeroplane, killed.

The Farman aeroplane has made a series of successful ascents, and its inventor, Mr. Henry Farman, an Englishman, has won a £2000 prize for continuous flight. At Le Mans (France) on September 21st, 1908, Mr. Wilbur Wright exceeded his brother's record by flying for an hour and a half. Capt. Thos. S. Baldwin has so far succeeded in trials of his dirigible balloon, that the United States War Department purchased it in 1908.

MM. Santos-Dumont, Blériot, Roe, and others, have devices in various stages of evolution.

Serious Obstacles

Professor Simon Newcomb, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1908, details some serious obstacles in the way of anticipated progress. As regards the "flyer" (aeroplane) every form has drawbacks which, according to the professor, appear fatal to its extensive use, and there are difficulties in the way of the airship which are also formidable. The main drawbacks to the former are given as—

1. It must present to the air a horizontal surface proportional to the entire weight to be carried, including motor machine and cargo. The present extent of the successful flyers suggests a practically unmanageable area of supporting surface and consequent weakening of the machine.

2. The flyer can never stop to have its machinery repaired or adjusted. Steamships would be little use if they went to the bottom every time an accident happened to the machinery.

3. The flyer cannot be navigated out of sight of ground or in a fog.

Its inutility in war is most particularly emphasized; the flyer, he says briefly, is out of the question. The airship proper, or enlarged balloon, is the only agency to be feared. Her vulnerability is obvious. Her size is so great as to make her an easy target; her sides so thin that she can be pierced through and through by any bullet, even that of a revolver; and her interior composed of gas so inflammable that an explosive bullet would reduce her to a mass of flame. A single yeoman, armed with a repeating rifle, could disable a whole fleet of airships approaching the ground within range of his station before the crews could even see where he was or what he was doing. How many such vehicles would be required to carry and land, with all its accoutrements, an armed force sufficiently large to be a menace need hardly be computed. To carry out the enterprise the fleet must either operate at night or choose an hour when the country is enveloped in fog. Saying nothing of the difficulties inherent in navigating the air and of choosing a point of landing when the ground is invisible, it would be easy by a system of searchlights to make a landing as difficult at night as during the day. Should advantage be taken of a smoky and foggy day, with a view of landing without being seen, the difficulties would be as great on the side of the aerial vehicle as on that of the defence against it. The navigator of an airship must at all times be at the disadvantages already mentioned, one of which is that of being always carried with the wind, and of knowing nothing of his motion at the moment except what he can learn by observing the ground. He would therefore be unable to find his way in a fog. Above the region of fog and cloud he might in an uncertain way be guided by observations of the sun or stars, but this would be much more uncertain than in the navigation of a ship, owing to the want of a clear horizon. The more closely one analyzes the conditions and the requirements of an invading force, the more clearly it will be seen that the idea of invading England with a formidable army borne in airships is quite chimerical. If a single airship or, to guard against accident, two or three, can, by watching a favourable opportunity, destroy an aerial navy in its own country in any stage of its construction, may we not assume that no Power is going on to make any great effort to develop such a navy after the possibilities are fully appreciated?

From an economic point of view, Professor Newcomb does not consider the airship's value great in the matter of competition with train or steamship. Compared with the former, the airship would have to be much larger in size and would accordingly encounter greater air resistance, thus entailing more propelling power, while as regards the latter, similar and equally insurmountable difficulties are in the way of the airship's successful competition as a carrier of passengers or merchandise.

Mr. Edison's Views

Mr. Edison also considers that construction in the matter of aerial navigation is proceeding on the wrong lines. His views are expressed in the *Times* of September 17th, 1908. The great inventor evidently pins his faith to the "helicoptal" aeroplane, whereby when perfected it will be possible to "encircle the globe in a week." The correspondent further quotes him as saying "within five years airships will be carrying passengers across the ocean in eighteen hours, by which time aerial flight will have been commercialized. The North Pole can and will be reached in a forty-hour trip."

Discussing the present type of aeroplane used by the Wrights and others, Mr. Edison is credited with the following comments:—

"The weak point in the present aeroplane, which the Wrights will never overcome, is that the working of the machine lies wholly in the wonderful brain of its operator. Every movement made by the Wrights in manœuvring the machine must be done in perfect harmony with the working of the planes. One fractional mismovement would mean destruction to the machine and also its operator.

"With the circular application of the principle of the aeroplane, making what I have styled a 'helicoptal' aeroplane, the commercializing of aerial flight is a mere matter of perfecting the idea. The successful machine must be automatic in its operation. The human part of it must be reduced to a mere mechanism, as in the case of the automobile and the steam engine. Otherwise the dream of skimming the clouds must ever remain a dream. For twenty years, off and on, I have turned my attention to this absorbing problem of the twentieth century. Long ago I saw the impracticability of the lighter-than-air machine such as the dirigible balloon. Too much depends on climatological conditions in experimenting with the gas-bag theory. The aeroplane appealed to me most strongly, but it is plain to me now that a successful airship will never be constructed on that theory. The aeroplane is the primitive adoption of the 'bird-wing' theory, and as we do not possess the ability to secure the automatic action of the bird, it is impossible in practice.

"In commercializing any new invention we must not follow nature. For instance, in the effort to discover some means of propelling physical bodies without employing elemental force such as muscle we did not turn to the human legs theory. Far from it; we invented first the bicycle and then the automobile, both great improvements over nature's methods.

"The same idea must be followed in solving the present problem. With a series of aeroplanes forming a circular machine, with each plane running off on a tangent from the central motor, and two small—very small—propelling planes (the smaller the greater velocity), and the gyroscope principle introduced as a steadying factor, the problem is solved."

Finally, Mr. Edison predicts that within a few months all great inventors will turn in despair to this theory, with which, he says, several obscure inventors are already beginning to experiment. There is even a promise, it is to be gathered, that Mr. Edison may, after all, enter the field for himself.

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, Ltd.: The objects and earlier progress of this society are detailed on page 13. The number of affiliated societies in August, 1908, was 257, as follows: For the supply of requirements or sale of produce, 121; dairy, thirteen; credit, twenty; small holdings and allotments, eighty-five; miscellaneous, sixteen; federations, two.

The total membership of the affiliated societies is now probably about thirteen thousand, and the total turnover in 1908 about £800,000. The increase in the number of small holdings and allotments societies since the beginning of 1908 (when they numbered thirteen) will be noticed. President, Mr. R. A. Yerburgh. *Secretary:* Mr. J. Nugent Harris, Dacre House, Westminster, London, S.W.

ALLIANCE OF HONOUR, THE: An interdenominational movement which is rapidly growing in various countries. Object: (1) To impress upon men and youths the necessity of leading pure lives, and (2) to unite them in a world-wide effort on behalf of purity and a chivalrous respect for womanhood. President, Dr. Harry Grattan Guinness. *Hon. Secretaries:* Messrs. Evelyn E. Bagnall and Alfred B. Kent, 5, Beresford Road, Canonbury, London, N.

ALLOTMENTS: (See under SMALL HOLDINGS.)

ALLOTMENTS SOCIETY, THE NORTHERN: Founded in 1890. Object: The dissemination of knowledge relating to *petite* culture in all its branches, and the promotion of combined action in the acquisition of land or otherwise in furtherance of the same. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Joseph W. Wakinshaw, 48, Dean Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

AMALGAMATION OF RAILWAYS: (See under RAILWAY PROBLEMS.)

ANGLO-GERMAN FRIENDSHIP COMMITTEE: Founded in 1905. Object: To promote friendly relations between Germany and Great Britain. Hon. President, The Duke of Argyll. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Francis Wm. Fox, Caxton House, Westminster, London, S.W.

ANTI-BEARING REIN ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1890. Object: To bring the uselessness and cruelty of the bearing and hame reins before the public. Official organ, *Animals' Friend*, monthly, 2*d*. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Ernest Bell, York House, Portugal Street, London, W.C.

ANTI-GAMBLING LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL: Founded in 1890. Object: To promote reform by education, legislation, and the effective administration of existing laws and bye-laws. Official organ, *The Bulletin*, semi-annual, 1*d*. President, The Earl of Aberdeen. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. John Hawke, 13, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

ANTI-SMOKING UNION, BRITISH LADS': Affiliated with the BRITISH UNION OF NON-SMOKERS (*q.v.*).

ANTI-SUFFRAGE: (See under WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.)

ANTI-VACCINATION LEAGUE, SCOTTISH: President, Mr. Andrew Eadie. *Secretary:* Mr. Wm. J. Begg, 150, Hope Street, Glasgow.

ANTI-VACCINATION LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL: Founded in 1897. There are about one hundred branches in various parts of the country; also Scottish and Irish leagues. The modification in the law of compulsory vaccination carried out by Parliament in 1898 and 1907 may largely be attributed to the work of the League. A memorial was presented in 1907 to the Prime Minister, signed by about three hundred Members of Parliament, asking for the total abolition of compulsory vaccination. Official organ, *The Vaccination Inquirer*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Lieut.-General Phelps. *Secretary:* Mr. Charles Gane, 50, Parliament Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

ANTI-VIVISECTION: (See under VIVISECTION.)

ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY, LONDON AND PROVINCIAL: Founded in 1876. The society supports the only van run on behalf of this cause throughout the world. Official organ, *Animals' Guardian*, monthly, 2*d*. President, Earl Tankerville. *Secretary:* Mr. Sidney Trist, 13, Regent Street, London, S.W. (See also VIVISECTION.)

ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY, THE NATIONAL: Founded in 1875. Object: The total abolition of scientific torture of animals. The Society has fifty-three branches and divisions throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland. Official organ, *The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*, monthly, 3*d*. Director, The Hon. Stephen Coleridge. *Secretary:* Mr. Robert Stewart, 92, Victoria Street, London, S.W. (See also VIVISECTION.)

"APACHES" OF PARIS: On parallel lines to the Hooligans of London are the Apaches of Paris, who, whether male or female, have as little respect for constituted authority or private rights as the American Indians from whom their name is derived. The ruffianism of organized bands of these Apaches is a serious menace to the whole community, and one of the most difficult of Parisian social problems is the reformation or removal of these hordes of lawless marauders. An idea of their number may be gathered from the fact that in but one raid in August, 1908, three hundred arrests were made. It is estimated that in Paris there are ten Apaches to one gendarme. A typical incident occurred on Sunday, August 30th, 1908, which was thus reported: "For some months past the region just outside the eastern fortifications of Paris has been terrorized by a gang of Apaches called the *Bande de Montreuil*. These brigands, numbering about sixty, were perfectly organized, having an efficient intelligence department, and a system of scouting to avoid the police. The latter are not unduly numerous in the district, being in the proportion of one gendarme to two thousand inhabitants.

"Burglaries, highway robberies, and murders were the specialities of these freebooters, and the number of attacks became so alarming during the past month that the local authorities mobilized their forces, and with the co-operation of some extra men from the Prefecture of Police, organized a raid. They were fortunate enough to catch a portion of the band 'in the act,' and after a short, sharp fight, in which firearms were freely used, captured about a dozen of them.

"All the Apaches were under twenty-one years of age, several being only just sixteen. At the trials they displayed the most astonishing cynicism, proudly admitting the authorship of several murders which had hitherto been undetected."

The Apaches greatly affect the *Casquette à trois ponts*, or peaked form of headgear, and a red tie, although the former is not invariably indicative that the wearer is a member of these gangs.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION BOARDS, INDUSTRIAL: There are numerous Arbitration and Conciliation Boards among various trades in the United Kingdom. The Trade Union Congress of September, 1906, rejected by 938,000 votes to 541,000 a resolution by Mr. Ben Tillett, asking for a Bill that should provide (1) a court with authority to determine a minimum wage; (2) form industrial boards of conciliation and arbitration in all large industrial centres; these courts to be constituted by an equal number of workmen and employers' representatives, the former to be selected

under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee from affiliated membership of the Congress.

The Congress unanimously passed the resolution: That this Congress reaffirms the decision of previous congresses—that no Trade Disputes Bill will be satisfactory which does not secure what was understood as the ante-Taff Vale position on the basis of the complete immunity of the funds of trade unions from litigation, and that the Parliamentary Committee convene a meeting of the whole of the Labour members previous to the autumn session to consider the Bill as amended in committee.

An Act covering this last resolution was passed by Parliament in December, 1906, entitled the Trade Disputes Act, which gave general satisfaction to the Labour Party. At the beginning of 1908 there were 209 such boards known to the Board of Trade, and at that time at least sixty of these had bound themselves to accept the arbitration of the Board of Trade in case of disagreement.

Speaking at the opening of the new Cardiff Docks, on July 15th, 1907, on the matter of Industrial Arbitration, his Majesty King Edward VII. said: "I learn with pleasure of the successful working of your Conciliation Board, and the friendly relations which now exist between employers and employed in this district. The settlement of differences as to the remuneration of the worker and of other industrial disputes as they arise, by friendly discussion and co-operation, must tend to the mutual prosperity and to the general welfare of the district.

At the Trade Union Congress held in Nottingham in September, 1908, there was rejected by an overwhelming majority a proposal by Mr. Ben Tillett in favour of giving compulsory powers to the Board of Trade to inquire into disputes when requested by one of the disputing parties. The Congress also refused to endorse proposals in favour of arbitration and boards of conciliation in large industrial centres.

Arbitration Court

The most recent advance in the matter of Industrial Arbitration is the action of the President of the Board of Trade, Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, who proposes to establish a Standing Court of Arbitration, and, with that end in view, issued a memorandum on September 16th, 1908, to Chambers of Commerce and employers' and workmen's associations. Mr. Winston Churchill's idea is to consolidate, expand, and popularize the working of the Conciliation Act, 1896, under which the Board has power to appoint a conciliator in trade disputes. The Court will be nominated by the Board of Trade from three panels. The first comprises persons of eminence and impartiality for the position of chairman; the second, persons from the "employer class"; and the third, representatives of workmen and trade unionists. Three or five members may constitute the Court, according to the wishes of the parties concerned. Technical assessors may also be appointed for the purpose simply of elucidating the peculiarities of any trade. By changing the *personnel* of the Court, and securing members unconnected with the case in dispute, it is hoped the decisions will be regarded as having come from an impartial and competent body.

The following are indicated (October 19th, 1908) as having accepted the President's invitation to serve on the respective panels:—

PANEL FOR CHAIRMAN.

Duke of Devonshire.	Sir J. Dickson-Poynder, M.P.
Viscount Selby.	Sir Francis Hopwood.
Viscount St. Aldwyn.	Sir Alfred Bateman.
Lord Balfour of Burleigh.	Mr. Ernest Moon, K.C.
Lord James of Hereford.	Mr. G. R. Askwith, K.C.
Lord Lochee.	Mr. A. A. Hudson.
Lord Macdonnell.	Mr. W. B. Yates.
Sir Edward Fry.	

PANEL DRAWN FROM EMPLOYERS.

Lord Pirrie.	Sir F. Forbes Adam, C.I.E.
Lord Glantawe.	Sir Benjamin Browne.
Sir Hugh Bell, Bart.	Sir C. Furness, M.P.
Sir W. T. Lewis, Bart.	Mr. T. Ratcliffe Ellis.
Sir C. McLaren, M.P.	Mr. C. G. Hyde, M.P.
Sir S. B. Boulton, Bart.	Mr. L. A. Martin.
Sir A. Spicer, Bart., M.P.	Mr. W. H. Mitchell.
Sir W. Holland, Bart., M.P.	Mr. Alexander Siemens.
	Mr. Douglas Upton.

PANEL DRAWN FROM WORKPEOPLE.

Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P.	Mr. James Gavin.
Mr. R. Bell, M.P.	Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P.
Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.	Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.
Mr. W. Brace, M.P.	Mr. G. D. Kelley, M.P.
Mr. John Burnett.	Mr. J. D. Prior.
Mr. T. Burt, M.P.	Mr. E. L. Richardson.
Mr. Frank Chandler.	Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P.
Mr. W. J. Davis.	Mr. T. Smith.

The proposals of the President of the Board of Trade are given below in full. It will be observed that the Court's powers can only be invoked by agreement between the disputing parties.

1. Under the Conciliation Act of 1896 the Board of Trade has power to appoint a conciliator in trade disputes and an arbitrator at the request of both parties. These slender means of intervention have been employed in cases where opportunity has offered, and the work of the Department in this sphere has considerably increased of recent years. In 1905 the Board of Trade intervened in fourteen disputes and settled them all; in 1906 they intervened in twenty cases and settled sixteen; in 1907 they intervened in thirty-nine cases and settled thirty-two; while during the first eight months of the present year no fewer than forty-seven cases of intervention have occurred, of which thirty-five have been already settled, while some of the remainder are still being dealt with.

2. It is not proposed to curtail or replace any of the existing functions or practices under the Conciliation Act, nor in any respect to depart from its voluntary and permissive character. The good offices of the department will still be available to all in industrial circles for the settlement of disputes whenever opportunity offers; single arbitrators and conciliators will still be appointed whenever desired; special interventions will still be undertaken in special cases, and no element of compulsion will enter into any of these proceedings. But the time has now arrived when the scale of these operations deserves, and indeed requires, the creation of some more formal and permanent machinery, and, with a view to consolidating, expanding, and popularizing the working of the Conciliation Act, I propose to set up a Standing Court of Arbitration.

3. The Court, which will sit whenever required, will be composed of three (or five) members, according to the wishes of the parties, with fees and expenses to members of the Court, and to the chairmen during sittings. The Court will be nominated by the Board of Trade from three panels. The first panel—of chairmen—will comprise persons of eminence and impartiality. The second will be formed of persons who, while preserving an impartial mind in regard to the particular dispute, are nevertheless drawn from the "employer class." The third panel will be formed of persons similarly drawn from the class of workmen and trade unionists. It is hoped that this composition will remove from the Court the reproach which workmen have sometimes brought against individual conciliators and arbitrators, that, however fair they mean to be, they do not intimately understand the position of the manual labourer.

It is believed that by the appointment of two arbitrators selected from the employers' panel and two from the workmen's panel in difficult cases, thus constituting a Court of five instead of three persons, the decisions of the Court would be rendered more authoritative, especially to the workmen, who, according to the information of the Board of Trade, are more ready to submit to the judgment of two of their representatives than of one. As the *personnel* of the Court would be constantly varied, there would be no danger of the Court itself becoming unpopular with either class in consequence of any particular decision; there would be no difficulty in choosing members quite unconnected with the case in dispute, and no inconvenient labour would be imposed upon any one who consented to serve on the panels. Lastly, in order that the peculiar conditions of any trade may be fully explained to the Court, technical assessors may be appointed by the Board of Trade at the request of the Court or of the parties to assist in the deliberations, but without any right to vote.

The Personnel

4. The state of public opinion upon the general question of arbitration in trade disputes may be very conveniently tested by such a voluntary arrangement. Careful inquiry through various channels open to the Board of Trade justifies the expectation that the plan would not be unwelcome in industrial circles. The Court will only be called into being if, and in proportion as, it is actually wanted. No fresh legislation is necessary.

5. Steps will now be taken to form the respective panels.

Discussing this memorandum the *Daily Chronicle*, in a leading article, said :—

"This new departure will, we are convinced, bring a powerful reinforcement to the influences making for and insuring industrial peace. Though good use has been made of them, only slender powers are possessed by the Board of Trade for intervening in disputes between capital and labour. The time is ripe for a further extension of the arbitration idea. A permanent Court of Arbitration will not supersede, but supplement the existing arrangements under which the services of the President of the Board of Trade may be invoked. But in Mr. Churchill's opinion the time has arrived for the creation of some more formal and permanent machinery, and it is in this conviction that he has determined to set up a Standing Court of Arbitration. Individualistic ideas are too deeply rooted in this country for compulsory arbitration to be possible. Mr. Churchill has taken great care in the constitution of the Court to insure that it will command public confidence. Either one or two arbitrators are to be chosen equally from the employers' and the workmen's panels—these, with the chairman, constituting the Court. It seems to us that the decisions of a Court so constituted would be accepted by both parties in the vast majority of industrial disputes. As for the nation generally, it will welcome with genuine satisfaction such well-directed efforts to promote peace and concord in the world of labour."

Mr. Richard Bell, M.P., general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, gave the following expression of opinion as to Mr. Winston Churchill's proposals :—

"The new permanent board, constituted as the President of the Board of Trade suggests, may help in bringing matters to arbitration sooner than would be the case under the present system. There may be in the panel of 'eminent persons' one name or more that will command the confidence of both parties to a dispute.

"At present one of the chief objections to the proposal to arbitrate is very likely to be that the contesting parties do not know who the arbitrator is likely to be. It is quite possible that the removal of that element of uncertainty would facilitate the bringing of the two sides together. They would see the list of names in the various panels, and although the Board of Trade will nominate the members from the various panels to form the Board, or Court, each side would probably be able, with acceptance, to indicate any strong predilection they might feel for certain individuals from the panel of their own class, and for the chairman.

"Personally, it strikes me the new scheme will be a distinct advance on the existing methods."

The mixed panel system proposed in connection with the new arbitration court has worked very successfully in the case of the Conciliation and Arbitration Board of the London Chamber of Commerce, which consists of a panel of twelve representatives of employers, and twelve representatives of trade unions. Since its formation, as a result of the great dock strike, it has done good service in settling labour troubles of various kinds all over London. Mr. S. B. Boulton, who has presided at most of its deliberations, testifies to the spirit of impartiality with which these mixed panels deal with the questions submitted to their arbitration. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., while regarding the scheme hopefully, thought it would fail to meet the difficulty in the larger cases typified by the Penrhyn and North-East Coast disputes. Mr. J. O'Grady, M.P., expressed the opinion that if the scheme failed, compulsory arbitration would follow.

The President of the Board of Trade (the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill) was mainly instrumental in arranging the terms submitted by the men's representatives and accepted by the masters at a conference, which ended the great engineering dispute on the north-east coast, held in London on September 2nd, 1908. The enormous loss resulting from this dispute, in the matter of wages and strike pay, forms a powerful argument, from an economic point of view, on behalf of some adequate measure of providing a means of arbitration and conciliation approved alike by employers and employed. The figures show that fourteen thousand men were affected, whose wages averaged 35*s.* a week. The twenty-eight weeks, during which the strike lasted, thus represent a loss in wages of £686,000, and on strike pay (taken from the funds) £392,000, a total cost of £1,078,000. The men were fighting against a reduction of £1225 a week in their wages, and the result is that they have prevented half of that reduction, or £612 10*s.* a week. Reckoning this £612 10*s.* as gain to the men, a brief calculation shows that it will take them over thirty-three years to make up the amount they have lost in obtaining it.

Disputes in 1908

A dispute arising between the Great Eastern Railway Company and their staff in August, 1908, further emphasized the need of some machinery of conciliation to avert the dangers of such industrial strife. While the affair was in its early stages, Mr. Richard Bell advised the men to keep in line with the agreement under which the Conciliation Boards were established, and let the company have their reply within the two months. It would then be for the company to make the next move. If they were not satisfied with the men's refusal to accept the threatened reductions, they should then refer the dispute to the Conciliation Board.

No stronger evidence of the disastrous effects, not only upon local industry, but upon the national prosperity, of industrial deadlocks on questions of work or wages arising between masters and men, is needed than was shown in connection with a great crisis in the Lancashire cotton industry, which reached an acute stage in September, 1908. Resistance to a proposed reduction of five per cent. in wages, formally intimated to the workmen on August 4th, resulted in a series of strikes and lock-outs in the various sections of the industry, the number of men directly involved being 150,000, and the number of spindles affected nearly forty-five millions. It was estimated that the loss in wages aggregated no less than £150,000 weekly. The nation's direct interest in the

matter may be gathered from the fact that the Lancashire export of cotton is worth over £2,000,000 a week.

A return published on October 17th, 1908, gave the estimated loss to date as £3,500,000, *i.e.* operatives loss in wages £2,000,000; lock-out pay £220,000, coal consumption lost £1,200,000, railway traffic lost £80,000. From the original number, the spinners and weavers on strike or locked out had increased to over 400,000 by the middle of October.

The results of the Railway Crisis at the end of 1907, and the Conciliation Board then established, are dealt with under RAILWAY PROBLEMS.

ARBITRATION, JOINT BOARD OF: (Affiliated with the CO-OPERATIVE UNION, Ltd.). Object: To make inquiry into disputes which may be submitted to it, arising between Co-operative Societies and their employees, with the purpose of bringing about a mutual and amicable settlement. President, Mr. J. T. Howden. *Secretary:* Mr. James Deans, 263, Wallace Street, Kingston, Glasgow.

ARBITRATION SOCIETY: (See under PEACE AND ARBITRATION SOCIETY.)

ARMENIA, THE FRIENDS OF: Founded in 1897. Object: To agitate for reform in Turkish administration, and to support relief works for Armenians at home and abroad. Official organ, *The Friend of Armenia.* President, Lady Frederick Cavendish. *Hon. Secretaries:* Mrs. Mary Hickson and Miss G. Cantlow, 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

ART FOR SCHOOLS ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1883. (Incorporated.) Object: To supply an educational basis for the work already being done by loan exhibitions of pictures in poor districts of London and other large towns. President, The Earl of Carlisle. *Secretary:* Miss M. L. Cooper, Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, London, W.C.

ASIATICS IN THE TRANSVAAL: (See under SOUTH AFRICA.)

B

BALKAN COMMITTEE, THE: Founded in 1903. Object: To promote reform in European Turkey, to rouse interest in the Balkan States, and to organize relief for the victims of disorder. Membership, eighteen hundred. President, Professor Westlake. *Secretary:* Mr. W. A. Moore, F.R.G.S., 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

BAND OF HOPE, GREENWICH ROYAL HOSPITAL SCHOOL: Founded in 1871 to instruct the boys in training for the Royal Navy, in the principles of total abstinence, and to encourage them in all habits of self-control, good temper, and manliness. Four hundred lads have signed total abstinence pledges during 1907–1908; and fully ten thousand since 1892. President, The Captain Superintendent of R. H. School. *Secretary and Chairman:* Mr. W. S. Campbell, Greenwich Royal Hospital School, London, S.E.

BAND OF HOPE UNION, UNITED KINGDOM: Founded in 1855 (non-political and unsectarian). In August, 1908, there were 14,393 Bands of Hope with 2,086,985 members grouped, chiefly, into 363 Local or other Unions; sixteen trained lecturers have addressed 4145 schools attended by 384,225 scholars and 11,620 teachers; 229,959 reports of these addresses were written by the scholars. A department was sustained of scientific information and instruction, and a special mission made on behalf of young villagers. The total cost of the general work for the year ending 31st March, 1908, was £3713 18*s.* 3*d.* Official organs, *The Band of Hope Chronicle*, monthly, 1*d.*, and *The Band of Hope Review*, ½*d.* Chairman, Mr. Lionel Mundy. *Secretary:* Mr. Charles Wakely, 59, Old Bailey, London, E.C.

BARMAIDS, JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF: Object: To influence public opinion and legislation in the direction of preventing the employment of women and girls as barmaids who are not already in the trade. A Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.P., in 1907, on these lines, and also giving powers to licensing magistrates to make the non-employment of barmaids a condition of renewing licences. Early in 1908 an influentially signed memorandum was sent to the Prime Minister and the press. President, Mrs. J. R. MacDonald. *Secretary:* Mrs. Gooch, South Villa, Campden Hill Road, London, W.

BATHS, PUBLIC: In Great Britain the provision of public baths is generally left in the hands of the municipal authorities. The first Baths and Washhouses Act was passed in 1846, and other Acts or sections of Acts dealing therewith are dated 1878, 1882, 1894, 1899. To Liverpool and London belong the distinction of establishing the first public baths in England. The majority of the baths are conducted at a loss, and so become a charge on the rates. In 1908 statistics were published showing that down to 1902, 138 baths were maintained by borough councils, with an aggregate capital of £1,988,340, and from 1898 to 1902, a period of four years only, there was a loss of £124,952, after allowing for loan charges. Outside of London, Glasgow has the most capital expended in public baths, £273,628. The total expenditure in the United Kingdom under the Baths and Washhouses Act for the 1906–7 period was £492,289, and the receipts £345,937, The history and statistics of public baths abroad will be found on page 100.

BIRTH RATES: One of the most striking features of the world aspect of this question is that, for the first time in history, the birth rate of the world was in 1907 lower than the death rate. This, according to M. de Foville, president of the *Académie des Sciences et Politiques*, writing in Paris *Opinion*, August 21st, 1908, is due to the unprecedented drop in the French birth rate. In 1906 there were in France 27,000 more births than deaths, but for 1907 the deaths exceeded the births by 20,000, *i.e.* 774,000 births as against 794,000 deaths. This alarming circumstance is attributed to the laxity of the law in regard to criminal practices, the increasing ease with which divorce can be obtained, and the prevalence of pernicious teachings. In one hundred years the French birth rate has diminished from 32 per 1000 to 19·7 per 1000. In the United Kingdom also the birth rate is declining. In 1904 it was the lowest (2790 per 100,000) since birth registration began. In 1906—the latest statistics available—the birth rate per thousand was 26·8 for the United Kingdom, for London 26·5, for Edinburgh 22·4, and for Dublin 29·5. The birth rate is still, however, substantially in advance of the death rate for the United Kingdom, which was 15·6 for 1906.

REFERENCES: H. G. Wells, *Socialism and the Family;* Registrar-General of Births and Deaths, *Annual Returns;* Sidney Webb, *Problem of Race Suicide; Fabian Tract*, No. 131.

BORSTAL SYSTEM: (See under PENOLOGY.)

BRABAZON EMPLOYMENT SOCIETY: Founded in 1884. Object: To provide interesting occupation for those who, from age or ill health, have to pass the hours idly in infirmary or workhouse wards. The Society consists of about three hundred branches in the United Kingdom, and there are also branches in Tasmania, South Africa, and America. Ladies voluntarily give up their time to teaching and helping the inmates with their work. President, The Countess of Meath. *Secretary:* Miss M. L. Despard, 51, Upper Baker Street, London, N.W.

BRADFORD CITY GUILD OF HELP: (See GUILD OF HELP, BRADFORD CITY.)

BRITISH INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SERVICE: Founded in 1905. Objects: To collect, register, and disseminate information relating to all forms of Social Service; to give assistance to all organizations that have social aims and to facilitate co-operation between them; and, as far as possible, to prevent overlapping. The Institute supports a free inquiry bureau, reference library, and register of voluntary workers. Official organ, *Progress*, quarterly, 6*d*. President, The Earl of Meath, K.P. *Secretary:* Mr. F. James Matheson, 11, Southampton Row, London, W.C.

BRITISH NAVY: (See under NAVY.)

BROTHERHOOD ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded in 1897. Object: To further the organization of industry on a basis of production for use. Official organ, *The Associate*, quarterly, gratis. *Hon. Secretary:* Miss Frances L. Staff, 37, Newington Green Road, London, N.

BUILDING SOCIETIES: Although the first specific legislation in England respecting building societies took place in 1836, it was not until the Act of 1874 that they could become incorporated. The chief of the pre-existent unincorporated societies is the Birkbeck Building Society, which has 19,397 members, with annual receipts amounting to nearly twenty-three millions sterling (1907). In 1875, the first year after the new Act, English building societies showed total liabilities and assets at an approximately level thirteen millions sterling, and 100,000 members. Following the famous Liberator collapse, a remarkable decline took place, which reached its lowest level in 1894, after a drop in assets of ten millions sterling. The new Incorporation Act of 1894 restored confidence, but no appreciable upward tendency was maintained until 1897. The returns to the end of 1906 show that the incorporated societies have £55,894,000 assets; the assets of sixty unincorporated societies amounting to £16,000,000. The incorporated societies showed liabilities £54,343,184, and unincorporated £16,005,813. 614,424 people belong to building societies, and during 1906 alone there were 29,000 who began buying their own houses in this way. (See also BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS, page 136.)

BURIAL REFORM AND CREMATION SOCIETY, Ltd., THE SCOTTISH: Founded in 1895. The whole funds are devoted to the cause of cremation, as the society is precluded by its constitution from paying any dividend to its shareholders. The total number of cremations carried out since the inception of the crematorium at Maryhill, Glasgow, is 286. Hon. Presidents, Sir Charles Cameron, Bart., M.D., LL.D., and Rt. Hon. Robert Farquharson, M.D., LL.D. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. John Mann, Jr., M.A., 142, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

C

CANINE DEFENCE LEAGUE, NATIONAL: Founded in 1891. Membership, 4875. The League has a Bill before Parliament for the exemption of dogs from vivisection. It is supported by a national petition over ten miles in length, and a medical petition signed by 1250 doctors. *Secretary:* Mr. Benjamin Bryan, 27, Regent Street, London, S.W.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF: Founded in 1901. Object: The exclusion of various forms of homicide from the category to which the death penalty is applied, and the ultimate complete abolition of capital punishment. President, Dr. Josiah Oldfield, M.A., D.C.L. Chairman of Indian and Colonial Committee, Sir Henry Cotton, M.P., K.C.S.I. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Carl Heath, 145, New Kent Road, London, S.E.

CATTLE-DRIVING: During the years 1907-8 discontent among the agricultural population of Ireland developed to an extent which seriously threatened the cattle-raising industry—cattle-driving, boycotting, and intimidation being resorted to in various parts of the country by organizations against whom the police were in most cases powerless. The cattle were invariably driven a considerable distance from the farm and then turned loose on the highway, the owner being left to recover them as best he could. A deputation from the Irish Landowners' Convention waited upon the Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle on December 13th, 1907, to urge the necessity of taking steps to put a stop to the disorder prevailing, which was paralyzing credit and interfering with the staple trade of Ireland. The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, in replying to the deputation, held that the prices of cattle had not been affected, and as to prospective injury to the owners of the land when it came to be sold to the Estates Commissioners and the Congested Districts Board, the value of the land was fixed by valuers and would be in no way affected by cattle-drives having taken place on it. On the other hand, members of the deputation maintained that the object of the cattle-driving was to intimidate the holders to surrender the farms, so as to force the landlord to sell at the lowest value. According to an Irish Office White Paper, during six months ended in June, 1908, there were 418 cattle-drives in Ireland. In the same period there were ninety-eight prosecutions in connection with these offences, 845 persons being bound over to keep the peace.

CENTRAL PUBLIC HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION: Thirty-eight Trust Companies have been formed, over 250 public houses are under management, and the number is steadily increasing. President, The Earl of Lytton. (See also page 155.)

CHILD LABOUR: *Child Workers and Wage-earners* forms the title of an exhaustive paper delivered by Miss Nettie Adler (Hon. Sec. to Committee on Wage-earning Children—*q.v.*) on March 17th, 1908, and published in the June number following of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*. Miss Adler points out that despite the measures adopted in various directions to

guard the welfare of the child, particularly in the matter of work,

"Half-time employment, more especially in the textile manufacturing districts, has increased during recent years by leaps and bounds. The last returns published in the Report of the Board of Education for 1906–7 show that 82,328 children were working as partial exemption scholars in 1905–6 against 80,328 in 1904–5, and 78,876 in 1903–4. The Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops also shows that 42,613 children were examined for certificates of fitness in the United Kingdom during that year, in order to enable them to be employed as half-timers. Of this number 23,728 were to work in Lancashire and 10,063 in Yorkshire. These figures, however, do not by any means exhaust the number of children engaged in various occupations and yet attending school. Besides the total of 82,328 half-timers noted in the Report of the Board of Education, it is estimated that there are at least 200,000 children attending school full time and working out of school hours, early in the morning and late in the evening, at a variety of occupations ranging from street trading, milk selling, and shop errands to domestic work and home industries.

"The total number of hours worked gives a weekly average of about 27½ hours. Saturday morning work is only permitted to be done on alternate Saturdays.

"Dr. Crowley, the Medical Officer of the Bradford Education Committee, recently obtained replies from fifty-two head teachers regarding the physical effect of half-time work on the children in their schools; thirty-seven declared that the system was most injurious to the child's physique.

"The average earnings are from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* weekly.

"The Parliamentary Return for 1899 showed that 76,173 children out of a total of 144,026, or rather more than one-half, were employed in or for shops.

"About twelve per cent., or 17,617 of the total number of children employed, are described as engaged in street trading—either selling newspapers or hawking goods.

"The case of children engaged in home industries has recently received a good deal of attention owing to the Select Committee on Home Work which reported in August, and also to the interest aroused by the various Sweated Industries Exhibitions which have been held in several large towns. The Parliamentary Return showed that 35,494 children were engaged in various forms of domestic work in 1898, but it is difficult to determine how many of these were engaged in some form of industry also. In the introductory memorandum of the Return, 12,646 children are shown to be engaged in piece-work, such as brush-making, basket-making, matchbox-making, rag-sorting, while 4019 girls are shown to be employed in dressmaking, shirt-making, mantle-making, tailoring, beading, belt-making, and other similar occupations.

Home Industries

"It is difficult to investigate the number of children engaged in agricultural operations; the Parliamentary Return of 1899 puts the number at 6115, but the Inter-Departmental Committee were of opinion that if hop-pickers and fruit-pickers were included, the number would be much greater; their estimate was fifty thousand.

"The investigation made by Dr. Thomas, the assistant medical officer of the London County Council, during 1905, showed distinctly how deleterious was the effect of this labour. If this investigation had dealt with a larger number of children, and had been available during the deliberations of the Inter-Departmental Committee seven years ago, it is not improbable that we might have seen child employment prohibited altogether. The facts obtained are of vital interest and importance. Dr. Thomas carefully examined 340 boys engaged at work in fourteen boys' schools, representing an attendance of 3864 children. He showed distinctly that in those working twenty hours or less, fifty per cent. showed fatigue signs, thirty-four per cent. anæmia, twenty-eight per cent. severe nerve signs, fifteen per cent. deformities, and eleven per cent. heart signs. Of those working twenty to thirty hours, eighty-one per cent. showed fatigue signs, forty-seven per cent. anæmia, forty-four per cent. nerve signs, twenty-one per cent. deformities. Of those working over thirty hours, eighty-three per cent. showed fatigue signs, forty-five per cent. anæmia, fifty per cent. nerve signs, twenty-two per cent. deformities, and twenty per cent. severe heart signs. Dr. Thomas also differentiated between the effect which employment had on boys engaged in different types of occupations.

"Educationally the effects are also bad. Of the 103 boys whose cases were so carefully investigated by this head teacher, fifty-four were described as being 'dull' or 'very dull,' 'back in their work,' or as having been degraded a standard. Dr. Thomas also found, in the course of his 1905 inquiry, that out of the 330 boys carefully examined, 209 showed retardation in school work, eighty-six being one standard, eighty-three two standards, and three four standards behind that corresponding to their age.

"Girls equally show the effects of over-work. In the same report, the Medical Officer for Education gives some details of cases of over-pressure discovered in girls' schools. Dr. Marion Hunter found that carrying heavy weights and minding babies are often the means of bringing about lateral curvature and flat-footedness. Quite recently nine out of twenty-three girl wage-earners, seen in a South London school, were described by the head mistress as being very delicate, and their appearance bore ample testimony to this fact, though no scientific inquiry was possible.

"Another important conclusion has been arrived at by the Council's medical officers in the course of investigation—that as a rule it is the children above the average in physique and exceptionally brilliant mentally who go to work. The evil effects are shown later, when the best capital of the nation has been squandered in premature wage earning.

"The effect of bye-laws carefully enforced is favourably commented upon by local authorities who have had an opportunity of watching a year's working of their regulations. Two important results are noted by a local authority on the borders of London.

"1. A reduction has taken place in the number of school children employed by tradesmen, as they have been replaced by boys who have left school and who work full time.

"2. A reduction has taken place in the number of school children employed as house boys, as they have been replaced by girls who have left school and who work full time as domestic servants.

"No remarks could illustrate better the true relation between child labour and unemployment. One further point remains to be dealt with. Is the labour of the child of vital necessity to the home? It is, of course, not possible to dogmatize absolutely on the matter, but it is worth while bringing to your notice some facts submitted by the Committee on Wage-earning Children to the Inter-Departmental Committee. Particulars were obtained of the incomes of 802 London families whose children were employed out of school hours. In only 143 instances were the earnings found to be under 20*s.* weekly; in 189 it ranged between 20*s.* and 25*s.*; in 154 between 25*s.* and 30*s.*; and 316 families were returned as having an income of 30*s.* and over. Similar results were obtained from Bradford, Leeds, Gateshead, Coventry, and Plymouth, typical towns in different parts of the country. Of 714 cases investigated more than half had an income of 30*s.* and over, while in 258 instances it was shown to be over 35*s.* It will, therefore, I think, hardly be gainsaid that, while cases of individual hardship might ensue in the total prohibition of juvenile labour, the gain to the children physically and educationally, and the economic improvement possible through the opening of new avenues to adult employment, are factors of the most vital importance."

Margaret Alden, M.D., in *Child Life and Labour*, devotes a chapter to "the child wage-earner," dealing more especially with the movement for restricting the employment of school children, and the problems still pressing for a solution in relation to child life. Referring to the necessary medical certificate required by children and young persons under sixteen before they can obtain employment in a factory, it is shown that, according to the latest returns issued (1906), 385,415 children and young persons applied and were accepted, 201,143 being boys and 184,272 being girls. Of these, 79,158 between thirteen and fourteen were granted certificates for full-time employment, while half-timers proper, in the last complete year, included 20,790 boys and 21,259 girls. On the question of wages—and the writer points out that the economic aspect of this underpaid labour is hardly less serious than the moral and physical results that accrue—reference is made to the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration issued in 1904. There it is found that in 784 cases the payment was under 6*d.* per week; that in 47,273 cases it was between 6*d.* and 1*s.*, while the average is about 1*s.*, a pittance which is eked out by slender gifts of food and clothing.

Medical Certificates

At a conference held in Manchester in October, 1907, under the auspices of the National Union of Women Workers, Mrs. George Cadbury drew strong attention to the problem of child labour in the course of her presidential address. She stated that the Committee appointed to investigate the employment of children in England found that 300,000 still in attendance at school were at work after school hours. A boy of eleven years of age was employed for forty-three hours a week for 4*s.* in carrying parcels, so practically every moment of his life was spent at school or at work from seven in the morning till nine o'clock at night. Four sisters, aged eight, nine, ten, and twelve, were employed forty-four to fifty hours a week wood chopping.

CHILDREN'S CHARTER: A notable advance in public opinion in the direction of child protection, particularly in preserving the young from the contamination of the gaol and the law courts, was indicated in this important measure, introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Herbert Samuel. The Bill, which passed the

third reading and was sent to the House of Lords on October 19th, 1908, is described as a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the protection of children and young persons, reformatory and industrial schools, and juvenile offenders. Its clauses contain some important departures in the legal provisions for the protection of infant life, the treatment of juvenile offenders, etc. The evils of child-farming are guarded against by the powers given to the local authorities for the due inspection of homes where infants are received for reward, and the decision as to the suitability of the foster-parents to undertake their care. Such persons, too, will not be permitted to have any interest in policies of life insurance on the infants in their charge. Cruelty and other and criminal offences in relation to children and young persons are met by adequate measures of punishment of offenders. Juvenile smoking also comes in for a good deal of attention, and a penalty is placed upon the selling of tobacco to persons apparently under the age of sixteen years. Reformatory and industrial schools take up a considerable number of the clauses of the Bill, which fully covers this section of reform treatment. From the social point of view, however, perhaps the largest interest has centred in the provisions made in regard to juveniles detained in the custody of the law. The Bill endeavours to guard against contamination of the young in this respect by placing upon the police the duty, wherever practicable, of keeping young prisoners apart from association with adult offenders. Certain restrictions are placed upon the punishments to be meted out, and a young person is not to be sentenced to penal servitude for any offence, while in the case of children and young persons the death sentence is abolished. Every police authority is required to provide places of detention for its district. Objections to young persons being present for trial or otherwise in courts where they require to mix with adults, are met by the provision of juvenile courts. In the matter of the safety of children at entertainments, a number of provisions are made regarding the construction of buildings and control of the movements of children and other persons admitted.

CHILDREN'S DINNER FUND: (See London Vegetarian Society and Association.)

CHILD-STUDY SOCIETY, LONDON, THE: Founded in 1894. Object: The scientific study of the mental and physical conditions of children, and also of educational methods, with a view to gaining greater insight into child-nature and securing more sympathetic and scientific methods of training the young. Membership, over three hundred. Official organ, *Child-Study*, quarterly, 6*d*. Chairman, Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B. *Secretary:* Mr. W. J. Durrie Mulford, Parkes Museum, Margaret Street, London, W.

CHINESE LABOUR: Following the victory of the *Hit Volk* party at the South African elections in 1907, the provisions of the British Government, to which the party were pledged, came into force, and the Chinese who had been admitted into the Transvaal have been returned as their contracts expired. The total admitted were 63,453, and the largest number in the Transvaal on any one day (January 31st, 1907) was 53,856. Since that date to July 31st, 1908, 35,443 Chinese have been returned, making the total in the Transvaal on July 31st, 1908, 18,413. During that month alone 18,413 Chinese were repatriated, and it is calculated that the whole will have gone back by the end of 1909.

In Canada the Chinese population is to be found chiefly in the west, in British Columbia; there are only comparatively few in other provinces.

The Dominion has framed an Act respecting and restricting Chinese immigration, shortly known as the Chinese Immigration Act. A few of the features are: Every person of Chinese origin, irrespective of allegiance, shall pay into the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, on entering Canada, at the port or place of entry, a tax of five hundred dollars, except the following, who shall be exempt: (*a*) Members of diplomatic corps, other Government representatives with their suites and servants, consuls, and consular agents; (*b*) the children born in Canada of parents of Chinese origin who have left for education or other purposes; (*c*) merchants, their wives and children, wives and children of clergymen, tourists, men of science, and students.

No vessel carrying Chinese immigrants to any port in Canada shall carry more than one such immigrant for every fifty tons of tonnage.

The owner of any vessel carrying Chinese immigrants to any part of Canada incurs a penalty of two hundred dollars for each Chinese immigrant carried in excess of this proviso.

If the master of any vessel permits a Chinese immigrant to land without a Government permit he incurs the penalty of five hundred dollars.

In the Commonwealth of Australia, where the Chinese largely find employment on the banana plantations, a law has been framed which will have the effect of restricting in every possible way Chinese immigration.

Chinese are to be found chiefly in Queensland, and Western Australia, and Victoria.

In Victoria a considerable number are employed in cabinet-making and furniture trades. The Government of Victoria demands that all such furniture shall be branded as Chinese manufactured. This is to protect the Colonial workman, as the Chinese work for low rates of pay.

In Western Australia Chinese are chiefly engaged in mining, though their efforts are mainly confined to surface operations.

On the whole, the Chinese in Australia are hard-working and thrifty, and make good citizens. They are generally charged with great immorality, which in many instances is undoubtedly true.

The Chinese question is also one of growing importance in New Zealand. A Bill is in the House of Parliament at present dealing with Asiatics generally. (See also page 195.)

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, THE: Founded in 1889. Object: To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice. The membership is about six thousand in England, in sixty-two branches, apart from the affiliated societies in America, Australia, and New Zealand. The special work of the Union includes housing and sanitary reform, and "White Lists" for preferential dealing, to prevent sweating. Official organ, *The Economic Review*, quarterly, 3*s*. President, The Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Gore). *Hon. Secretary:* Rev. J. Carter, Pusey House, Oxford.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL SERVICE, THE NATIONAL UNION FOR: Founded in 1895. Objects: (1) The promotion, encouragement, and carrying on of Christian social service among all or any classes of the community, and the establishment of branches and auxiliaries in all countries; the holding of conferences and public meetings; (2) The dissemination of literature and information on cognate subjects, and the investigation, promotion, and adoption of any methods which may, in the opinion of the council, be calculated to bring about a better organization of Christian service and the upraising of the fallen and submerged; and (3) The training, maintenance, care, or assistance of any person in need thereof, including any persons who may be received by the Union from any Board of Guardians, Local Authority, or other body or person, on the payment to the Union of such sums as shall be agreed upon.

The Union supports a training colony for unemployables at Lingfield, Surrey, as approved of by the Local Government Board; Epileptic Homes and Schools at Lingfield, as certified by the Board of Education; also at Starnthwaite, near Kendal. Official organ, *Social Service*, monthly, 3*d*. President, The Earl of Meath, K.P. *Secretary:* Mr. John Hughes, F.R.G.S., 34, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

CHURCH ARMY, THE: Founded in 1882. Object: General rescue work. The movement was commenced by the Rev. Wilson Carlile of Kensington in the slums of Westminster, and has steadily grown into national importance. The following figures somewhat indicate the scope of the Army's operations within a twelvemonth: Days' work provided in labour homes and relief depôts, 507,538; meals supplied, 2,074,653; ex-soldiers received by the society in labour homes, 1607; convicts, prisoners, workhouse and casual ward inmates received by the society in labour homes, 4239; poor and unemployed people assisted to Canada, 1500; missions held by Diocesan vans since the work began number 14,045. Total receipts for the fiscal year ending September 30th, 1907, were £247,000. Official organ, *The Church Army Review*, bi-monthly, 2*d*. President, The Earl of Meath, K.P. *Hon. Chief Secretary:* Prebendary Wilson Carlile, 55, Bryanston Square, London, W.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE, THE: Founded in 1906. Object: To spread the principles of Socialism within the Church of England. The membership is about seven hundred. Official organ, *The Optimist*, quarterly, 6*d*. President, Rev. G. A. West. *Secretary:* Rev. J. H. Hastings, Halton, Lancaster.

CITY OF LONDON: (See under LONDON, CITY OF.)

COAL SMOKE ABATEMENT SOCIETY: Founded in 1898. Object: To prevent the emission of black smoke from factory and other chimneys, and to encourage smokeless methods of heating. The society employs inspectors to take observations of chimney shafts and to give evidence where necessary in support of prosecutions instituted by sanitary authorities. The testing of grates and gas fires has led to significant improvements in domestic heating; smokeless fires have been tested and stokers trained. Membership, 520. President, Sir William Richmond, K.C.B., R.A. *Secretary:* Mr. Lawrence W. Chubb, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

COMMONS AND FOOTPATHS PRESERVATION SOCIETY, THE: Founded in 1875. Object: To assist private individuals or local authorities when cases arise involving the preservation and protection of commons, village greens, roadside wastes, open spaces (such as disused burial grounds and fuel or other allotments), rights of way by land and water (such as roads, bridle-ways, footpaths, or ferries), and fishing and foreshore rights. Seven hundred cases are dealt with each year, and nearly all modern legislation with regard to highways and commons has been initiated by the society. President, Lord Eversley. *Secretary:* Mr. Lawrence W. Chubb, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

COMPARATIVE LEGISLATION, SOCIETY OF: Founded in 1895. Object: To furnish information on matters of interest and importance to jurists, statesmen, and sociologists throughout the world. Official organ, *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, 5*s*. President, The Earl of Rosebery. *Secretary:* Mr. Edward Manson, 5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, E.C.

CONGESTED TRAFFIC PROBLEM: (See under LONDON.)

CONGO QUESTION, THE: Attacks through public lecturing in the principal towns of England, and a newspaper campaign exposing the horrors of the Congo Free State administration, aroused strong public opinion on this subject. It is considered that to this, with like efforts in the United States and other countries, and efforts of the Congo Reform Association, is due the annexation of the Free State to Belgium, which took place on August 20th, 1908, after a long discussion in the Belgian Chamber. The voting showed eighty-three for, fifty-four against, and nine abstentions. The Senate later ratified the action of the Chamber, and of the various Powers interested most have, at the time of going to press, intimated their agreement. The history of the Congo Question anterior to the above culmination is given on page 270, etc.

REFERENCES: H. R. Fox-Bourne, *Civilization in Congoland; Consular Reports on Congo;* E. D. Morel, *Red Rubber.*

CONGO REFORM ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1904. Object: To secure for the natives inhabiting the Congo State territories the just and humane treatment which was guaranteed to them under the Berlin and Brussels Acts, by the restoration of their rights in land, and in the produce of the soil, of which pre-existing rights they have been deprived by the legislation and procedure of the Congo State. Membership, about five thousand. The association has compelled exposure of Congo misrule, and forced the question to the front rank of international problems. President, Lord Monkswell. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. E. D. Morel, 4, Oldhall Street, Liverpool.

CONNRADH NA GAEDHILGE: (See GAELIC LEAGUE.)

CONSUMPTION: (See under TUBERCULOSIS.)

CO-OPERATION: Some idea of the phenomenal growth of the co-operative movement may be gathered from the fact that whereas in 1893 the share capital of the companies in Great Britain and Ireland was £14,518,738, at the annual meeting in August, 1908, it was announced as amounting to the large total of £32,055,229. The annual sales, which in 1893 were of the value of £49,051,036 from 1,265,980 members, amounted in 1907 to £105,717,699 from a membership of 2,434,085, the number of societies in existence being 1582.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P, in his speech on the occasion of the opening of the Twentieth Annual Co-operative Exhibition at the Crystal Palace on August 19th, 1908, gives the following additional figures, as showing the position of the Co-operative Society in the United Kingdom: Loan capital, £9,870,198; (Share capital, see above.); profits in 1907, £12,003,341; devoted to education, 1907, £93,435; devoted to charitable purposes, 1907, £57,003.

Referring to the Co-operative Wholesale Societies and the rapid growth of their powers as producers, he said the Co-operative Wholesale was a federation of 1139 co-operative societies with a membership of nearly 1,800,000. Established in 1864, in its first year it supplied goods to the value of £51,857, while in 1907 its net sales reached the enormous total of £24,800,000. Besides acting as wholesale merchants, the society had invested over £2,000,000 of co-operatives' savings in the erection and equipment of factories for the production of such articles of food as flour, biscuits, sweets, jam, pickles, butter, bacon, chocolate, and all kinds of clothing and boots and shoes, household goods, such as furniture,

brushes, soap, candles. The output from the C.W.S. factories in 1907 came to nearly £6,500,000. The banking department of the C.W.S. forms an important branch of its business. In 1907 its turnover amounted to £120,000,000. In addition to the great productive works of the wholesale societies, there was the productive work carried on under the labour co-partnership system. This again showed steady, though not great, progress. The figures for 1907 were as follows:—

Progress

Societies	106
Total capital	£686,852
Trade	£1,302,812
Profit	£54,148
Loss	£4,119
Dividend on wages	£8,885

In Ireland little encouragement was afforded the co-operative movement until, in 1888, Sir Horace Plunkett and Mr. J. C. Gray (General Secretary, Co-operative Union) directed their energies towards the land, which resulted in the establishment in the following year of the first co-operative dairy. This was at first organized as a section of the English Co-operative Union, but in 1894 the Irish Agricultural Organization Society was formed in Dublin upon an independent footing. The three main departments of co-operation as at present ruling in order of importance are (1) Dairies, (2) Supply Societies, (3) Egg and Poultry Societies; and a few flax societies in the North are of some consequence. The following statistics are given in the report of the Agricultural Organization Society for 1906:—

Ireland

	No. of societies.	Members.	Turnover.
			£
Dairies (called Creameries) } Auxiliaries separately registered	270 } 13 }	45,201	1,507,040
Auxiliaries not separately registered	57	—	—
Supply (called Agricultural) Societies	159	13,063	73,175
Poultry Societies	29	458	1,427
Bacon-Curing Societies (established 1905)	2	3,500	—

The Agricultural Organization Society assists the weaker societies by means of contributions, but the lack of self-initiated enterprise and a spirit of confidence militates largely against the progress of co-operation in Ireland. Steady improvement, however, is shown in this branch of co-operation in Great Britain, where the Agricultural Organization in 1907 included 142 societies, comprising a membership of nine thousand, and trading to the extent of £350,000.

An exhaustive treatment of the earlier history and progress of Co-operation throughout the world will be found on pages 295 to 312.

CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE, THE INTERNATIONAL: Founded in 1895. Object: The organization of international co-operative congresses and development of co-operation in all countries. There are about 650 members in twenty-five countries. Official organ, *Correspondence Bulletin for the Co-operative Press.* President, Mr. William Maxwell. *Secretary:* Dr. Hans Müller, 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

CO-OPERATIVE BANKS ASSOCIATION, THE URBAN: Founded in 1905. Object: To promote the establishment of People's Co-operative Banks in urban districts, formed, composed, and governed principally by working people for encouraging regular saving and granting small loans on easy terms of interest and repayment. The banks have now a membership of about one thousand, and make annual loans of about £5000 through these banks at Stepney, St. Pancras, Limehouse, Ratcliffe, South Bermondsey, North Lambeth, Northwood, Newport, Birmingham, Hull, Blackburn, Hitchin, Worthing, Chester, and Bolton. President, Mr. Robert A. Yerburgh. *Secretary:* Mr. Henry C. Devine, 39, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

CO-OPERATIVE BROTHERHOOD TRUST, THE: Object: To utilize the spending power of the workers as a means toward their emancipation by capitalizing the profits gained in trading, for the purpose of employing their own members in producing their own necessities. *Secretary:* Mr. S. B. Goode, 37, Newington Green Road, London, N.

CO-OPERATIVE CONVALESCENT HOMES, LIMITED: Instituted in 1893. Object: To carry on the business of keepers of convalescent homes, and to trade as general dealers, manufacturers, and agriculturists. President, Mr. Andrew Young. *Secretary:* Mr. Adam Scott Brown, 263, Wallace Street, Kingston, Glasgow.

CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL SOCIETY, Ltd., NATIONAL: Founded in 1887. Object: To demonstrate the growth and influence of association amongst the working classes, and to promote the rational employment of their leisure by (1) The popularization of good music and the formation of choirs among the people; (2) The promotion of festivals in which music, flowers, sport, and industry each have a part; (3) Visits to places of historical and social interest, thus arousing an interest in the duties of citizenship. A festival is held in August of each year at the Crystal Palace, London. President, Mr. Aneurin Williams, M.A., J.P. *Secretary:* Mr. George Morriss, 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION, LIMITED: Registered in 1882. Object: To aid productive societies by united action; to open up a market for the sale of their goods; and to obtain capital for co-operative production. Fifty-eight co-operative societies in various parts of the country are affiliated with the Federation. According to the 1907 report the loans and interest of the Federation amount to £3533 12*s.* 7*d.*, and its trading transactions £54,979 5*s.* 7*d.* President, Mr. Joseph Craven. *Secretary:* Mr. R. Halstead, 17, Narborough Road, Leicester.

CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY, Ltd., THE: Founded in 1864. The Society carries on the business of merchant, manufacturer, shipper, banker, etc., and is the largest of the kind in the world. Its net sales for the year 1907 were £24,800,000. It comprises 1140 retail co-operative societies, having a total of 1,800,000 members. Official organ, *The Wheatsheaf*, monthly, gratis. President, Mr. John Shillito. *Secretary:* Mr. Thomas Brodrick, 1, Balloon Street, Manchester.

CO-PARTNERSHIP: (See under PROFIT-SHARING and CO-PARTNERSHIP.)

COUNTY COUNCILS ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1890. Object: By complete organization, more effectually to watch over and protect the interests,

rights, and privileges of County Councils, as representatives of the county ratepayers, as they may be affected by legislation, public or private, of general application to counties. All the County Councils in England and six in Wales are members. Official organ, *The Official Circular of the County Councils Association*, monthly, 3*d*. President, The Right Hon. Sir John T. Hibbert, K.C.B. *Secretary:* Mr. G. Montagu Harris, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.

CRIME: (See under PENOLOGY.)

CRUELTY TO CHILDREN: (See under PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, NAT. SOC.)

CREMATION IN GREAT BRITAIN: The following table shows the development of the burial reform movement:—

	No. of Cremations.			
	1905.	1906.	1907.	Total.
Woking	95	140	108	2988
London (Golder's Green)	252	298	290	1223
Manchester	97	90	96	1124
Glasgow	35	45	30	266
Liverpool	35	46	34	386
*Hull	15	17	29	131
*Leicester	16	12	12	54
Darlington	4	13	8	36
Birmingham	22	25	33	101
*City of London	9	23	18	50
*Leeds	16	15	16	47
*Sheffield	7	13	18	38
*Bradford	1	13	13	27
Total	604	750	705	6471

* Municipal crematoria, of which Hull was the first.

(See also THE CREMATION SOCIETY, and BURIAL REFORM AND CREMATION SOCIETY, SCOTTISH.)

D

DAYLIGHT SAVING BILL: One of the most remarkable of the Parliamentary Bills of 1908 was this proposal for utilizing the varying day-lengths to utmost advantage by a legislative Act which should give workers more leisure at the end of the day, save gas, electricity, etc. To quote Mr. Willett, the inventor of the scheme—

"My primary object in submitting the Bill is not to make people get up earlier in the morning, but to put an end to the appalling waste of daylight which goes on day after day for nearly six months in the year. The only way in which this wasted daylight can be effectively utilized for our enjoyment is by accepting two, three, or four Sundays in April, each rather less than twenty-four hours, such shortened Sundays to be obtained by moving on the hands of the clock twenty or thirty minutes between 2 and 3 a.m. We shall rise and retire at the same hours by our watches as we do now."

The scheme was the subject of much comment. Sir Robert Ball, Sir William Ramsay and Lord Avebury were among its supporters, and Sir David Gill—who made a similar experiment in South Africa whilst astronomer there—its most strenuous opponent. The Bill did not pass through the House of Commons. Messrs. Elders & Fyffes, Limited, of London, with eight hundred employés, and having branches throughout the country, put it into practical operation, to the content of employer and employed, in July, 1908. The scheme has also been actually adopted by two towns in Canada, and Australia is giving the idea serious consideration.

DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER: The Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act, which came into force on August 28th, 1907, made legal marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Notwithstanding, certain clergy of the Church of England refused to recognize the enactment, and contracting parties have had to apply elsewhere for the performance of the ceremony. By this Act clergymen are still unable to marry the sister of a deceased wife. (See also MARRIAGE, page 754.)

DECIMAL ASSOCIATION, THE: Object: To promote the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures, and a decimal system of coinage in the United Kingdom. President, Mr. J. Emerson Dowson, M.Inst.C.E. *Secretary:* Mr. Edward Johnson, 605, Salisbury House, London Wall, London, E.C.

DISCHARGED PRISONERS' AID SOCIETIES, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF: Composed of representatives of the various Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and others interested in the welfare of discharged prisoners, each subscribing society being entitled to appoint one representative on the Central Committee. Object: To promote co-operation amongst the societies in all matters of common interest. The Central Committee have taken steps whereby no prison in England is without a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society working in connection with it. The chaplain is generally an active member of the Society, and a staff of probation officers, male and female, is engaged in assisting cases. Chairman, Sir Richard Harington, Bart. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. W. S. Brough, Victoria House, 117, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

DISCHARGED PRISONERS, ROYAL SOCIETY FOR ASSISTANCE OF: Founded in 1857. Objects: To help prisoners—male or female—on their discharge from prison, by obtaining suitable employment for them, sending those who are fitted for it to sea or to friends abroad, and in other ways aiding and encouraging them to lead an honest life. Prisoners under the Borstal system receive special attention. In deserving cases the wives of prisoners are afforded assistance during their sentence, and their children are cared for. 32,436 discharged prisoners have been assisted since the foundation of the Society in 1857, 1254 receiving help during 1907. President, Mr. Samuel Whitbread. *Secretary:* Colonel J. G. Y. Wilson, 32, Charing Cross, London, S.W.

DISESTABLISHMENT COUNCIL FOR SCOTLAND: (See under LIBERATION SOCIETY.)

DOMESTIC SERVANT PROBLEM: (See under WOMAN WORKER, THE.)

DRINK TRAFFIC: The national drink bill continues to grow. According to an estimate of expenditure on alcoholic liquors during 1907, the quantity and money value for the United Kingdom and Ireland were as follows:—

England and Wales—	Quantity.	£
Spirits	28,066,010 gals.	42,099,015
Beer	29,978,176 brls.	89,934,528
Wine	10,430,496 gals.	9,441,447
British wines, cider, etc.	——	1,400,000
		142,874,990

	Quantity.	£
SCOTLAND—		
Spirits	7,718,389 ga's.	9,647,986
Beer	1,224,635 brls.	3,857,600
Wine	1,110,758 gals.	999,682
British wines, etc.		50,000
		14,555,268
IRELAND—		
Spirits	4,252,729 gals.	5,375,911
Beer	2,583,663brls.	8,138,538
Wine	740,505 gals.	666,455
British wines, etc.		50,000
		14,170,904
Total for the United Kingdom		£171,601,162

For comparative purposes it may be noted that Germany's drink bill is estimated at £150,000,000, and America's at £234,000,000. In proportion to population, if Germans and Americans spent the same on drink as Englishmen, the bills would be £270,000,000 and £362,000,000. (See the Rt. Hon. John Burns's calculation in his *Lees and Raper Lecture*, pp. 8, 9.)

By figures furnished on May 30th, 1907, by the Secretary of the Treasury, the licences for the last three years were as under:—

Licences to vendors of intoxicating liquors.	Year ended 31st March. 1905.	1906.	1907.
Publicans	66,239	65,990	65,853
Retailers of beer, cider, and perry	28,522	28,096	27,433
Retailers of beer and wine	4,845	4,756	4,711
Retailers of cider and perry	82	78	78
Retailers of wine	297	288	306
Sweets retailers (not publicans)	1,045	991	934
Total number of "on" licences	101,030	100,199	99,315
Publicans (part year) included in above figures	292	236	206

192 "off" licences were granted in 1905, and 211 in 1906.

(See also LICENSING BILL, LUNACY, CRIME, and page 716.)

DUMA, RUSSIAN: (supplementary to page 1087). The Third Duma was elected in the autumn of 1908. At its assembling there was a violent protest that M. Stolypin had packed it with bureaucratic adherents, but this Russian Parliament speedily proved itself to be genuinely democratic, for it rejected the Naval Budget by a vote of 194 against seventy-eight. The Russian papers warmly approved of this action. Even that semi-official organ, the *Novoye Vremya*, was loud in its praise. The Third Duma all through the critical summer of 1908 showed that it was neither radical nor revolutionary, but was possessed of a safe and sober conservatism blended with democratic aims. It was M. Guchlsoff, the leader of the Octobrist party, whose eloquent appeal to the Duma defeated the Stolypin Naval Bill.

DUXHURST COLONY: (See under TEMPERANCE PROBLEMS.)

DWELLINGS OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES, METROPOLITAN ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE: Founded in 1841. Membership about 750. Hygienically planned building blocks and cottages have been erected in various parts of London, the death rate in which is shown to be nearly one per thousand less than in the Metropolis generally. Chairman, Mr. Julian Hill. *Secretary:* Mr. Ed. H. Marston, 1, Pancras Square, London, N.W.

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EARLY CLOSING ASSOCIATION AND TRADERS' PARLIAMENTARY ALLIANCE: Founded in 1842. The Association reports hours of service as improved in 9772 London shops in seven years. Chairman, Sir J. W. Benn, M.P. *Secretary:* Mr. J. Austen Stacey, 21, New Bridge Street, London, E.C.

EDUCATION IN LONDON: (See under LONDON).

EDUCATION, MORAL: The Conference on Moral Education at the end of September, 1908, at the University of London was attended by representatives from Germany, Russia, France, the United States, Hungary, Japan, as well as by leaders in education, sociology, eugenics, and ethical study in the United Kingdom. The many discussions and lectures gave indication of what each country deems essential towards the making of good citizens, and the creation in the rising generation of a spirit which shall desire for itself the highest progress and development alike of character, responsibility, the sense of national and civic duty, and the love of art and science. In connection with the Conference, Lady Grove, of London, wrote as follows on the question of moral education in rural districts:—

"We must admit the fact that village communities as they existed, say, one hundred years ago are no longer possible. The 'self-contained' interests of the squire, the parson, and the villagers, undisturbed by occurrences outside their own community, no longer claim the sole attention of even the smallest and most remote place where men, women, and children are congregated. Every inhabitant of every civilized community in the world is living on an international plane. Events of importance occurring in any portion of the civilized globe can be communicated to him within a few hours after their occurrence by the agency of the telegraph wires and the Press. The Feudal system is extinct. The poorest day-labourer is no longer the governed, but the governor, in the sense that he participates in the government of his country. It is not only his right, but it is his duty to know how the rest of the world is faring. In all countries there is an interchange of ideas in science, commerce, and conduct, all affecting the individual life of every community. A broadly based system of moral education, therefore, or a proper appreciation of the value of the ideas referred to above, is a new necessity, an international need, if the progress of the world is to be forwarded. Arising out of this educational advance would come a far higher view of morality than the one hitherto dreamed of either by teacher or taught. And it would become the normal view of every educated person. It would be borne in upon every child that he or she had a definite part to play in the furtherance of the welfare of the community in which his or her sphere of utility happened to be placed. In taking their stand as citizens of their own country, they would become worthy citizens of the world. This is no Utopian scheme. It is intensely practical, capable of being realized by the existing educational machinery throughout the world. It is no fresh discovery, but a readjustment of the forces already

existing and already consciously, and in some cases unconsciously, at work in the human mind. All it needs is recognition and practical application."

EDUCATION QUESTION: Many of the difficulties which are associated with this subject circle round the much-debated point of religious instruction. It was endeavoured to bring about a better understanding by the Bill of 1906, but it did not become law. It desired to take over, under certain conditions, the Voluntary (non-provided) schools, and continue them as provided schools. Where special religious instruction was required it could be provided, but not at the expense of the public.

The Bill excited a great deal of criticism and opposition. Thus Dr. Clifford said (May 26th, 1906): "The Bill went a long way towards complying with the nation's demands, but did not go far enough. To allow the parent a right over and above his right as voter to control public expenditure for a particular object, was preferential treatment of an individual because of his creed. In other clauses, too, the Bill tended to give permanence and vast expansion to an absolutely sectarian system."

Lord Hugh Cecil, who represented criticism in another direction, pointed out (June 16th, 1906) "the great danger of allowing undenominational religion to be alone recognized and approved by the State. It is an utter mistake to confuse the inculcation of this form of religion with elementary instruction in the Bible. It is emphatically 'a new religion,' which is absolutely inconsistent with and contrary to the teaching of the Church of England. Doubtless there is teaching given under the Cowper-Temple clause, which does not lead to undenominational religion. But the effect of the clause is unquestionably to produce in people's minds an impression that religion freed from what is peculiar to a denomination is something finer, more Christian, and more elevated than the teaching of the historic and universal Church. It is therefore a matter of life and death to the Church of England to oppose to the utmost undenominational religion."

A further Bill was brought in by the Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna, President of the Board of Education, on February 26th, 1907, "to make provision for relieving the local education authority of the cost of giving religious instruction in schools, by making it compulsory for the managers of non-provided (sectarian) schools to pay to the education authority a sum equal to one-fifteenth of the sum paid during the year in salaries." This would represent an approximation of the cost of giving special religious instruction. The Bill passed its first reading, but was not further proceeded with, because, the Government explained, "we shall see our way to propose that we should undertake, next Session, the great task of putting the educational system of the country in order." The promised Bill was introduced in February, 1908, by the Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna, as the "Elementary Education (England and Wales) Bill," and it at once aroused widespread criticism. On March 10th the Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a lengthy letter to the President of the Board of Education, in the course of which he said: "I need not, I think, remind you that I have myself from the first been anxious—many good people think over-anxious—to promote a reasonable settlement of this lamentable and harmful controversy. In order to bring about such a settlement, many of us are prepared to give up much which we believe might be fairly and reasonably claimed by those whose cause I, in some measure, represent. Some of us are even ready, for the sake of bringing about the harmonious co-operation for which we long, to acquiesce, both as regards primary and secondary schools, in arrangements which fail, as we think, to do what is ideally the best for English life as a whole. Entertaining that desire, I look forward with some measure of hope to a Bill which should give effect to your expressed conviction that, in enforcing the principles of public control and of freeing teachers from denominational tests, the Government must, 'at the same time have regard to the history of existing institutions and to the varied traditions, habits, and beliefs which exist among our people, and which to so many are the dearest part of their lives.'

The 1908 Bill

"Pray understand that I am not challenging or even criticizing the intentions which may underlie these provisions. The position is extraordinarily difficult, and it is my own desire, as I believe it to be yours, to reach a reasonable settlement, even if it cannot be wholly acceptable to the controversialists on either side. What I am reluctantly forced to contend is that the Bill as it stands does not present such a solution. I welcomed your words asserting the value of giving to the parent some right of choice as to the religious teaching of his child. That principle requires in practice to be qualified in various ways, but with the exercise of common sense it can, I believe, be made effective both in town and country. I had hoped to find it thus applied by the new Bill. But I do not so find it. I purposely avoid detailed and technical suggestions as to facilities and the like.

"Nothing can be so important to the well-being of England as the efficient education of the children in her schools, but 'education' must include the building up of character in the faith and fear of God. When such an issue is at stake, surely no mere sense of the weariness of controversy, still less any question of party allegiance, ought to prevail. No man worthy of the name will be tempted either by fear or favour to hold his peace."

Bishop Welldon approved of the Bill in the main if the Voluntary School grant were increased, and if regular school teachers were granted permission to give denominational teaching out of school hours.

The Committee of the National Society made a strong case against the Bill, their principal objections being—

The Case Against

(1) Because it proposes to terminate a controversy between two large and weighty bodies of opinion, favourable respectively to undenominational and denominational methods, by giving exclusive and universal predominance and possession within the system of State schools to undenominational religious teaching.

(2) Because instead of seeking a solution of present difficulties in a wider recognition of the right of parents to determine the religious teaching of their children, it ignores that right altogether over large areas.

(3) Because it forces undenominational religious teaching controlled by managers chosen without regard to religious considerations on all rate-aided schools, and destroys or imperils the present provision whereby definite religious instruction is secured for the children of parents who desire it.

The National Union of Teachers passed the following resolution: "Before expressing a favourable opinion on other features of the Education Bill, this executive offers uncompromising opposition to the contracting-out clauses, condemns them as vitiating fatally those principles of local public control and religious freedom for teachers which other clauses in the Bill are intended to secure, and emphatically affirms that the existence of contracted-out schools would cause immense and irreparable damage to education."

Secular Education

Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., wrote in the *Fortnightly Review* in April, 1908, in favour of secular education: "The nation is sick of this interminable and unchristian squabble. If half a dozen men on both sides were compelled to hold their tongues, or were forbidden to use the organization of the Churches for political purposes, the vast majority of parents would allow a

settlement to be made, for the people desire their children to be educated by teachers selected solely from their capacity to impart knowledge and to train the best that is in the child's personality."

The opinion of Lord Stanley of Alderley is thus given: "Let me say at once for myself, that in substituting a national municipal system for a dual system, nearly half of it under ecclesiastical influences, I am willing, if the denominational party will acquiesce in the change, to grant them what the Bill grants in transferred rural schools, the right to use all public elementary school buildings outside of school hours for religious teaching organized by themselves, given by teachers selected by themselves, to scholars whose parents wish them to receive it."

Canon Hensley Henson, of Westminster Abbey, argued that "The competence of the new Education Bill to secure general acceptance appears to depend on two points. In the single-school districts there must be provision made for the case of parents who desire denominational instruction for their children, and the contracting-out conditions in the urban areas must be such as neither to endanger educational efficiency nor to press unduly on the poorer parents. With these additions, neither of which violates its main principles, the Bill provides a basis on which men of good-will might reach agreement. It can inflict no injury on any Nonconformist, that during the religious instruction the children withdrawn under the conscience clause should be taught the Catechism instead of being set down to some secular subject, always provided that the Catechism be taught by the representative and at the cost of the Church of England."

His feeling against a secular solution was thus expressed: "There are great multitudes of morally derelict children who must find in the schools, to which they are mercifully compelled to resort, all the higher teaching which normally they should receive at home and the Church. These children must find in the schools all the education, in the good sense, which they will ever receive. The school teacher is to them parent and clergyman as well. If to the Cowper-Temple provisions could be added the security for the quality of the Bible teaching which the Christian training of the teachers implies, there would be removed from many minds the most serious argument against accepting a settlement on the lines of the Bill. The case of the elementary schools cannot be severed from that of the training colleges. If the latter remain effectively denominational, the former might safely become undenominational. Here, perhaps, the Government might find the basis of an arrangement with the Church of England."

The Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, the leader of the Opposition, defined the Bill as one which "in itself, for itself, and on its own merits has not, so far as I am aware, a friend in the House, and I cannot imagine one which seems to me to be less capable of being turned into a conciliatory measure."

Notwithstanding this frank criticism, the second reading was reached on May 19th, 1908, and a majority of 165 attained. In moving the second reading, the Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna thus outlined the Bill: "The Bill of which I now move the second reading embodies the Government's plan for carrying out two cardinal principles in our educational system, the first that the public elementary schools of the country are to be placed under public control, and the second that there is to be no religious test on the appointment of the teachers. These are principles on which the Government insist, and they can admit of no modification of the Bill which would destroy those principles or which, by whittling them away, would turn fundamental principles into mere false pretences. The method adopted by the Government for establishing those principles is a simple one. It is proposed that only one type of public elementary school shall be recognized in the future. Such a school will receive both State aid and rate aid. It will be placed entirely under the control of the management of the local representative authority. The teachers in these schools will be appointed without religious tests, and no child not otherwise being educated will be compelled to attend any school except a public elementary school of the kind I have described. The religious instruction given in such schools will be of the kind with which we have been accustomed in this country ever since Mr. Forster's Act was passed in 1870. Such are the fundamental provisions of the Government Bill.

Second Reading

"The Government have proposed to deal with denominational schools in three different ways. In the first place, in single-school areas it is proposed that the managers of existing denominational schools may make it a condition of transfer of their buildings to the local authority that Cowper-Temple instruction of a certain definite kind shall always be given in their schools, and that facilities for giving denominational instruction shall be allowed. The second method adopted for dealing with denominational schools is to provide that Parliamentary grants, though not rate-aid, may be given to schools not in single-school areas which conform to all the requirements of the Board of Education as regards educational efficiency, but the managers of which do not desire to bring their schools under the conditions governing public elementary schools. The third provision is applicable to schools other than single-school areas, according to which the managers of denominational schools may make it a condition of the transfer of their schools that Cowper-Temple instruction of a definite kind shall continue to be given in the school. On educational grounds, the Government had no partiality for 'contracting out.' It was included in the Bill as a concession to denominational opinion, and he saw no other practical method of dealing with those schools in which it was proposed to submit the teachers to a religious test upon their appointment. If the spirit of partisan controversy could be allayed and a single eye be kept on the efficiency of education in this country, it ought not to be impossible for that House to come to an agreement to procure a lasting settlement."

The Bill, and also a conciliatory measure proposed by the Bishop of St. Asaph, were both ultimately held over at the Session's close.

Outside Party Politics

Two days after the second reading, the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, said at the Reform Club: "As to the Education Bill, the remarkable feature of the debate in the House of Commons was the gradual convergence from the opposite quarters into the strong, genuine disposition to bring the scandalous controversy outside the range of party politics, to get rid of the petty embroilments, ecclesiastical, sectarian, and political, which had hampered the settlement for the last six years, by something in the nature of a general concordat, so that the little children of the country might have a really efficient, uniform, and universal system of education, by which brains and ability would get their due opportunity of doing service to the State.

There is a growing feeling in favour of a concordat. To that end the Rev. J. Guinness Rogers wrote in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1908: "Clerical-minded men of all Churches are sure to feel the difficulties which can be suggested most acutely, and while I personally should be glad that ministers of all Churches should agree to a self-denying ordinance by which educational work should be handed over to the laity, it would be very rash to expect that this would result in a shortening

of the controversy. I believe that it would be wise for the Minister of Education himself to summon a select company of such advisers.

"As to the results of such an action, I venture to hope that great advantage would result from approaching the subject at a new point, and to some extent with a new spirit. We are continually having new schemes, and our Ministers of Education have sought to meet the demands of opposing parties, in relation to them. In truth, nothing has more surprised me than the ingenuity of different parties in raising objections to any and every scheme. There has either been no real desire for a settlement, or each of the opposing litigants has been so bent on securing some favourite scheme of its own that it obstinately set itself against every other. At the root of the whole there has been an idea, largely mistaken, that both Anglicans and Nonconformists, to say nothing of Roman Catholics and others, were bent on securing a party triumph. This was an almost inevitable result of such antagonism, and all parties have been slow to perceive that the victory of any one would only mean a perpetuation of the struggle. The issue would be entirely changed if, instead of seeking the supremacy of any sect or party, we simply endeavoured to find a point of general agreement and to arrange our educational work accordingly. If we were to collect three or four intelligent and fair-minded English gentlemen, understanding the needs of the people and the work of education, and throw the whole subject upon them, we might be astonished at the large amount of agreement that would be reached."

EIGHT-HOUR DAY: In 1906 the Home Secretary appointed a Committee to inquire into the "probable effect of a limit of eight hours" to the working day of coal miners in Great Britain. After hearing a mass of evidence they reported in May, 1907, an average working day of 9½ hours, and advanced the opinion that "a legal limitation in hours underground to eight per day cannot be expected to produce any marked change." The reduction in output consequent on any reduction as that inquired into would approximate 25,783 tons per annum. The Committee suggested the advisability in the United Kingdom, as elsewhere, of the Government having powers of suspension and exception of any provisions in the public interest.

During 1906, 1907, and 1908 the matter was considered in Parliament. Under the name of the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill, the Government brought in a Bill on July 1st, 1907, which, however, was not proceeded with. Similarly one brought in by the Miners' Federation, which proposed to limit the hours underground to nine hours during 1908, 8½ hours during 1909, and eight hours later, was dropped. In 1908 a further Bill was brought in by the Government and was read a second time on July 6th, the majority in favour being 270.

Notwithstanding the report of the 1906 Committee, the *Morning Post*, on July 7th, 1908, on the second reading of the latest Bill being passed, said—

"It must be said that the case for the eight-hour day is very strong, but so, also, is the case against. The case for the Bill is so strong that at any time during the past twenty years its second reading has been approved again and again by Parliaments of both political complexions. Every one feels that eight hours out of twenty-four is sufficient for any man to remain underground. Those who work in the mines, if they are not to become drudges, have a quite exceptional claim to leisure."

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill made an important speech in the House of Commons during the discussion on the second reading. Dealing with the question of the possible reduction of output, he said—

"For fifty years there have been continuous changes in the conditions of coal mining in this country. The hours have been reduced, the conditions of boy labour have been restricted, wages have been raised, compensation has been provided, and precautions against accidents have been multiplied. All these changes, the wisdom of which nobody disputes, from a purely and crudely economic standpoint, may be said to militate against production. But what has been the result? There has been one steady, unbroken expanse of output during the last fifty years. In the period of ten years ending in 1874, 76,000,000 tons were produced, in the next ten years 112,000,000, in the next ten years 145,000,000, in the next ten years 172,000,000, and in the last period of ten years 214,000,000—a figure which has been greatly exceeded since, if the average be taken. If it be admitted that there may be a certain reduction in output as a consequence of this Bill. . . . to me it seems certain that the small, temporary restriction will be lost in the general tendency to expansion, just as the recoiling wave is lost in the advance of the tide."

Looking at the other aspect of the question, Mr. Churchill said: "We believe that the well-being of the mining population, numbering some 900,000 persons, will be sensibly advanced in respect of health, industrial efficiency, habits of temperance, education, culture, and the general habits of life. We have seen that in the past the shortening of hours has produced beneficial effects in these respects. . . . But the general march of industrial democracy is not towards inadequate hours of work, but towards sufficient hours of leisure. That is the movement among the working people all over the country. They are not content that their lives should remain mere alternatives between bed and the factory. They demand time to look about them, time to see their homes by daylight, to see their children, time to think and read and cultivate their gardens—time, in short, to live."

The Bill in October, 1908, was in Standing Committee.

Present Hours

The following statistics of hours at present worked are of interest: 201,512 men work over eight hours; 10,091 boys work over eight hours, these figures being for hewers only. Some subdivisions of these figures are as follows:—

	8½–9	9–9½	9½–10	10–10½	10½–11
Men	54,348	49,898	51,265	15,136	5,622
Boys under 16	1,539	3,496	3,395	915	232

There are men returned as working up to fourteen hours at the face.

Including officials, other workers (besides hewers) at the face, such as fellers, etc., drawers, drivers, hauliers, road-makers, and repairers, pumpmen, furnacemen, etc., the grand total of men underground in the United Kingdom is—

Working over eight hours = 449,373
Eight and under = 131,710

A comparative table showing respective output, under different conditions is given below—

	Output tons per man	Hours. Day.	Hours. Week.	Accident death rate
East Scotland ..	446	8 h. 51 m.	46 h. 55 m.	1·22
Cardiff ..	302	9 54	54 59	3·71

On the general question of eight hours of labour, Mr. J. R. Clynes, J.P., M.P. (Labour member for Manchester, N.E.), has written—

"Whilst the universal or hasty adoption of an eight-hour day may involve certain confusion and changes,

steps could at once be taken, in all forms of municipal employment, in Government workshops, and in connection with public contracts, without any perceptible strain being felt from the alterations made. The State and public bodies can justly be called upon to set some example in the matter of better treatment to the workers, and in regard to a needful industrial reform.

"Numbers of the unemployed would undoubtedly be absorbed by introducing an eight-hour system in many of the trades in which employés are not affected by machinery and factory conditions. On our railways, tram-roads, canals, in public buildings, in the building trades generally, in various forms of vehicular traffic, work hours could be reduced and an opening made for thousands of the unemployed. In these trades there is no foreign competition, and in some of them there is no home competition. If the law compelled employers in these trades to fulfil a given condition, all would accommodate themselves to necessity and none be able to take advantage of another. A reduction in working hours would assuredly do much to reduce the percentage of accidents and injuries caused through excessive hours of work and the overstrain on human nature."

Sir Wm. Mather, part owner of the Salford Ironworks, Warwickshire, has had an eight-hour day in operation in these works for some years. He has decided views on the question, advocating the following: Any trade union in a district, being in favour of reducing the hours of labour, should, after conference with the employers, pass a resolution embodying the proposed rules for the working day in that trade in that district, and should then ascertain the opinion of the adult members of the trade in the district concerning the proposals. If the rules were adopted by a majority of the adult workers who voted, they would become law, and the local authorities would be bound to prosecute any employer or worker who transgressed them. Any alteration of the rules would have to be made in the same way. Reduction of the hours below forty-eight per week would be forbidden.

The ideas of the Fabian Society on the eight hours question have passed through a process of evolution. Many years ago, when they first debated the matter (1890), they were in favour of Trade Option, which provided that "where it is proved to the satisfaction of a Secretary of State that a majority of the persons employed throughout the United Kingdom in any one trade or occupation are in favour of the maximum hours of labour in that trade or occupation being fixed by law, or if already so fixed, being altered by law, he shall by order made under this part of the Act declare a maximum number of hours per day or per week for such trade or occupation."

For All Trades

The liberty, however, which this proposal left to trades of adopting eight hours or not did not prove acceptable, and the Trade Union Congress of 1892 voted that the provisions should apply to all trades except those who made a special demand for exemption. Out of this grew the proposal known as the trade exemption scheme, but on analysis of the details of its proposed working it was voted unsound and impracticable, and, like its predecessor, was abandoned in favour of the Trade Inquiry scheme which is now put forward by the Fabians as the best practical scheme they have been able to evolve. In essence this scheme, as outlined in *Fabian Tract*, No. 48, means that the Home Secretary (pending the creation of a Minister for Labour) would be compelled to hold an inquiry into the duration of the hours of labour in a trade or industry (*a*) when directed to do so by either House of Parliament; (*b*) when requested to do so by a county council, a town council, a duly registered trade union of the trade, or a trades council where there is no union; (*c*) on a special report from an Inspector of Factories. For the purposes of such an inquiry the Home Secretary would be bound to appoint a Commission of three persons, one of them a factory inspector, and one a woman in the case of trades employing women. The inquiry would embrace all trades directly dependent on the one mainly in question.

At the conclusion of the inquiry, the Commission would have to report (*a*) what appeared to be the prevalent opinion among the members of the trade or industry as to the reduction of their hours of labour by law; (*b*) the probable effect of such reduction on the trade or industry and the community; (*c*) what reduction of the hours of labour in the trade or industry was desirable, what should be the length of the working day and week, and what allowance should be made for emergencies, seasons, etc.; (*d*) whether the case was a suitable one to be dealt with by the local authorities of the districts affected by the trade or industry. The report, together with those parts of the evidence which were not confidential, would be printed and laid before Parliament.

Within three months after the presentation of the report, the Home Secretary would be bound either to report to Parliament his reasons for taking no action, or, if he determined to take action, to draw up an Order containing either (*a*) regulations prescribing the length of the working day and week, with such exceptions as he might deem advisable for emergencies, seasons, etc.; or (*b*) conferring upon county councils and town councils in defined districts the power of regulating the hours of labour in the trade within limits specified in the Order.

Even this scheme, they admit, would present many difficulties, as there are over eleven thousand different trades in the United Kingdom. The "universal" scheme would make it compulsory for all trades to adopt an eight-hour day without exception.

ELECTRICITY SUPPLY: (See under LONDON.)

ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS: (See under TRAMWAYS, ELECTRIC.)

EMIGRATION FUND, EAST END: Object: To assist poor British-born people of good character to emigrate to the British Colonies. Chairman, Mr. Townsend M. Kirkwood. *Secretary:* Mr. Robert Culver, 34, Newark Street, Stepney, London, E.

EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY: Up to 1906 compensation for injuries received in the course of employment was only legally provided for in connection with certain forms of labour, but the Workmen's Compensation Act of that year extended the scope of the legal enactment of 1897 to all employments, except a few expressly excluded. It also extended the right of compensation to cases of diseases resulting from certain processes. Before the Act can apply, however, the relationship of employer and workman must be constituted in law, and must exist at the time of the injury for which compensation is claimed. A contract of service must exist between the parties. Unless (subject to the terms of the contract) the right to control the alleged workman as to the time when and the manner in which he shall do the work exists, the relation of master and servant is not constituted, and the Act cannot apply. Further, the accident must arise "out of and in the course of the employment." The main provisions of the Act may be briefly summarized as follows:—

1. Every employer must compensate his workpeople for personal injury by accident arising out of and in the course of employment, provided—

(*a*) The workman must be disabled for more than a week.

(*b*) The workman may claim under this Act or general law, but not under both.

(*c*) If the injury is caused by the serious and wilful misconduct of the workman he has no compensation, unless the injury results in death or serious and permanent disablement.

2. The claim, if disputed, is to be settled by arbitration.

3. Certain diseases incidental to employments, if contracted, are to be deemed accidents.

4. A person not employed in manual labour and whose remuneration exceeds £250 a year, a person whose employment is "of a casual nature" and not employed for the purposes of the employer's business, an outworker or member of the employer's family living in his house are not included in the term "workman," but with that exception the term includes any person in service or apprenticeship.

5. Members of the workman's family dependent on his earnings, including illegitimate children and their parents, may share in compensation.

6. The schedules fix the scale and mode of settlement of compensation as follows:—

Compensation Schedules

In case of death leaving dependents, a sum equalling three years' earnings, not less than £150 nor more than £300.

If dependents not wholly dependent, a sum to be settled by arbitration.

In case of total or partial incapacity for work, a weekly payment during incapacity not exceeding fifty per cent. of average weekly earnings, or £1 per week.

The arbitrator may be agreed on, or the amount settled by a County Court judge.

It will be seen from the above provisions that every employer can calculate how many probable claimants may in his case exist, and he can only endeavour to protect himself from the certain burden and possible dispute and litigation arising by insurance.

Domestic Servants

Persons employed in domestic service come within the Act if their employment is of a continuous nature, but if the engagement is merely for an odd day they will not be affected. Again, a difference exists between a "servant" and an "independent contractor"; for instance, if a man agrees to clean certain windows at so much per window and is injured while so doing, he cannot claim compensation, since he is an independent contractor and not a servant as defined by the Act.

Where a servant, engaged in his master's business, is injured through the negligence of a third person, the workman may take proceedings against that person to recover damages. If, however, a servant has obtained judgment against a third person for damages his remedy for compensation from his master is gone, or if he has agreed to accept compensation from his master his right of action against any third person is gone. A servant "temporarily lent or let on hire" is, in case of accident, the servant, not of the hirer, but of the person from whom he is hired.

As to "contracting out," it is stated that "any agreement entered into between an employer and workman by which the workman, in the event of disablement, is to receive no compensation or less than he is entitled to under the Act, is worthless. The workman cannot be deprived of or give up his rights under the Act. The only 'contracting out' which is allowed must take the form of a scheme of compensation agreed to between an employer and his workmen (or a majority of his workmen), and certified by the Registrar of Friendly Societies. Such a scheme must, amongst other things, provide scales of compensation not less favourable to the workmen and their dependents than the corresponding scales contained in the Act."

ESPERANTO: This movement for the promulgation of an auxiliary language is progressing rapidly. At the Congress in Dresden, in August, 1908, it was mentioned that there were over 1057 groups of learners and speakers throughout the world. In 1902 there were twelve groups in Great Britain; at the time of the Dresden Congress 158 groups. In Germany, in 1903, there were but three groups; when the 1908 Congress was held there were eighty-seven. Similar progress was reported from many countries. In 1909 there will be two Congresses, one in America, and one in Spain, and arrangements are being made to hold the International Congress in Japan in 1912. As evidence of the progress of Esperanto it may be mentioned that thirty-nine different International Societies, not for the propagation of Esperanto, but dealing with commercial teaching, scientific and sociological matters, held their gatherings in Dresden, and made Esperanto their vehicle of communication. The organ of the organizing bodies of the Esperantists is the *Official Gazette*, 51, Rue de Chichy, Paris.

Earlier data on Esperanto will be found under LANGUAGES, page 700.

ESPERANTO ASSOCIATION, THE BRITISH: Founded in 1904. (Incorporated.) Object: To better promote the spread of the auxiliary international language, Esperanto (*q.v.*). Number of groups affiliated in June, 1908, was 122, the estimated number of group members being 2730, with seventy-three Fellows. Official organ, *The British Esperantist*, monthly, 3*d*. President, Lt.-Col. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., R.V.R. *Secretary:* Mr. Harald Clegg, F.B.E.A., 133, High Holborn, London, W.C.

ETHICAL SOCIETIES, UNION OF: Founded in 1895. Object: To emphasize the moral aspect in all personal, national, or international relations, and to free the moral life from dependence on theology. The Union has two thousand members, and among the special work done is the founding of the Moral Instruction League, the Secular Education League, and the International Moral Education Congress. Official organ, *The Ethical World*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Mr. George A. Smith, B.A. *Secretary:* Mr. H. Snell, 19, Buckingham Street, London, W.C.

EUGENICS EDUCATION SOCIETY, THE: Founded in 1908. (For general objects, see under following entry.) The membership is two hundred. President, Sir James Crichton-Browne, F.R.S. *Hon. Secretary:* Mrs. Gotto, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, Strand, London, W.C.

EUGENICS, THE FRANCIS GALTON LABORATORY FOR NATIONAL: Founded in 1904, having as its objects the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally. Various memoirs have been issued on the Importance and Scope of Eugenics and on the Inheritance of Insanity, Tuberculosis, Cancer, etc., and on the Inheritance of Ability, Psychical Characters, etc. Conducted by Professor Karl Pearson, F.R.S., in consultation with Mr. Francis Galton, F.R.S., University College, Gower Street, W.C.

EXPORTS, BRITISH: (See under TRADE RETURNS.)

F

FABIAN SOCIETY, THE: In addition to the data given on page 460, it may be stated that in September, 1908, the membership was about 2700, including about twenty-five local societies. Official organ, *The Fabian News*, monthly, 1*d*.

FAIR HOUSE: (See under TRADE UNIONISM.)

FEEBLE-MINDED, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE: Founded in 1896. Objects: To provide permanent care for the feeble-minded, to found homes and farm colonies for this purpose, to promote scientific research, and better legislation on their behalf, to give medical advice, etc. Chairman, Sir William Chance. *Secretary:* Miss A. H. P. Kirby, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Westminster, S.W.

FOOD AND BETTERMENT ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1893. Object: To supply food, shelter, clothing, and entertainment to the poor—including sandwichmen and rag-pickers—irrespective of creed, together with children's outings. The average number of resident uniformed workers is sixteen, living on a basis of self-sacrifice. Official organ, *The Welldoer*, bi-monthly, 1*d*. *Founder and Hon. Director*, Mr. H. Lee J. Jones, 119, Limekiln Lane, Liverpool, N.

FREE CHURCHES, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE EVANGELICAL: Founded in 1896. Objects: To facilitate fraternal intercourse and co-operation among the Evangelical Free Churches; to advocate the New Testament doctrine of the Church, and to defend the rights of the associated Churches, etc. There are over nine hundred local Councils and fifty district federations. Official organ, *Free Church Chronicle*, monthly, 2*d*. President, Rev. David Brook, M.A., D.C.L. *Secretary:* Rev. Thomas Law, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.

FREE TRADE: The Tariff Reform movement in Great Britain and its Colonies naturally aroused a counter-agitation by advocates of Free Trade, and the various associations formed throughout the country, as well as individual political opponents of the suggested change in fiscal policy, have by literature and speeches endeavoured to uphold the banner of Free Trade. The labours of the Imperial Tariff Committee and the Tariff Reform League have been met by the active endeavours of such bodies as the Cobden Club (*q.v.*), the most prominent Free Trade organization in the country; and the Free Trade Union (*q.v.*), formed in 1903. The propaganda of the Tariff Reformers has encountered strong opposition from these organizations.

An "International Free Trade Congress," arranged by the Cobden Club, was held at the Caxton Hall, London, in August, 1908. About five hundred delegates attended, and all the European nations were represented. There were also representatives from the United States of America, India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Ceylon. Fidelity to the principles of Free Trade was, of course, the main matter of reference, the keynote of the speeches made being the intimate connection between Free Trade and the cause of peace. The opening of the proceedings was, however, noteworthy for the admission contained in the speech of the President, Lord Welby, that "Protection is advancing in an aggressive fashion, and the prospects of Free Trade throughout the world are somewhat cloudy."

As regards the Free Trade view of the resolutions passed by the Colonial Premiers at the 1907 Conference, reference to which is made in our article dealing with Tariff Reform, the reasons for the Home Government's dissent from these resolutions and refusal to depart from the existing system, in favour of a preferential treatment of the Colonies, were set forth in a speech delivered at the Conference by the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

"How is it we have been able to maintain our position so far as we have maintained it, and I think we have on the whole maintained it very well? It is due to three things—In the first place, to our special productive activity as a people, which still keeps us, in many of the most important departments of production, at the head of the world. In the second place, it is due to the profits which we derive from keeping open to the whole world the biggest market which is to be found anywhere, so that London and England are the clearing-house in which a great part of the intermediate business, as I may call it, of the whole commercial world is done. And it is due in the third place to the earnings of our shipping, which does the carrying trade, as you know, for more than half the world. These are the means by which our wealth is maintained and secured, and they all depend, in the long run, upon our being able to maintain, unimpaired in quantity and unenhanced in price, the food of our people and the raw materials of our industries. Curtail the sources of supply, raise the cost of supply, and you strike a deadly blow at the very foundations of our whole industrial system. Our Free Trade system here is based upon practical considerations. It results from the circumstances which I have outlined to you, and so long as those circumstances remain we cannot without treachery, not only to our own convictions, but to what we believe to be the true and enduring interests of our people, abandon the foundations of that system."

Preference

The preferences given to the trade of the United Kingdom by the Colonies, which have been adduced as a favouring argument by the advocates of Tariff Reform, are much minimized by the opposite party, and the following table has been pointed to as contrasting British treatment of Colonial goods with that which is accorded to the trade of the United Kingdom by the individual Colonies:—

Imports (consignments) of Merchandise into the United Kingdom in 1906.	Free of duty.	Subject to duty.	Total.
	£	£	£
From Canada	28,019,668	15,363	28,035,036
From Australia	29,178,609	106,537	29,285,146
From New Zealand ..	15,618,850	163	15,619,013
From British South Africa	*6,327,476	16,894	*6,344,370

* Exclusive of diamonds from Cape of Good Hope, £9,179,333.

Imports of Merchandise from the United Kingdom.	Free of duty.	Subject to duty.	Total.
	£	£	£
Into Canada (year ended 30th June, 1906) (a) ..	3,406,000	10,815,000	14,221,000
Into Australia (1905) (b) ..	5,738,000	14,513,000	20,251,000
Into New Zealand (1905)..	2,484,000 (d)	5,300,000	7,784,000
Into British South Africa (1904) (c) ..	6,506,000 (a)	14,335,000	20,841,000

(a) Imports for consumption. (b) Imports of goods, the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom. (c) Approximate figures. (d) Inclusive of the value of certain goods which are free of duty when the produce of the United Kingdom, but subject to duties when the produce of other countries.

It is asserted that Britain's gifts of free markets, free defence, and preferential loans to her self-governing Colonies much more than counterbalance any advantage she may receive from them in the direction of preferential treatment, as against the foreigner, for her manufactures.

The possibilities of gain to British trade from preferential treatment are considered a doubtful quantity. Of Canada it is said: "(a) The preference which Canada has voluntarily granted to British goods has had some slight effect in assisting us to compete in some lines with the United States; (b) there is no indication of the extent to which Canada would be prepared to increase that preference; and (c) there is no reason to expect that any further preference, which it would appear would have to be bought very dearly by us, would tend to divert any considerable amount of Canadian trade from foreign into British hands. The natural preference to which the proximity of the States to the Canadian market entitles them in that market could not be counterbalanced except by a very drastic tariff preference such as we have no reason to hope for under any conceivable circumstances."

The history of South African preference, it is contended, conveys no encouragement whatever to those who contend that the solidarity of the empire can be promoted by fiscal bonds. New Zealand's Preference Act of 1907 is, however, considered of most advantage to the Mother Country. That Act increased the total number of articles on which preference is given, if they are of British origin, to over two hundred. This preference is effected partly by increasing duties on foreign goods, and partly by levying new duties on foreign goods which were formerly on the free list. In no case are the former duties on British goods diminished. The conclusions regarding Australia are: "(a) that the new Australian tariff is calculated to afford the home producer high protection, not only against foreign countries, but against the Mother Country; (b) that the amount of trade which may be diverted by preference into British channels is but slight; and (c) that the loss to the manufacturers of the Mother Country promises to be greater than any gain which the preference may eventually vouchsafe to them."

U. K. Trade

The following figures relating to the foreign trade of this country are used in evidence of the soundness of the Free Trade policy, as tested by the prosperity of the nation:—

MERCHANDISE.

	1907.	1906.	1905.
	£	£	£
Imports ..	645,904,176	607,888,500	565,019,917
Exports—			
British and Irish ..	426,204,596	375,575,338	329,816,614
Foreign ..	91,972,141	85,102,480	77,779,913
Total ..	1,164,080,913	1,068,566,318	972,616,444

BULLION.

Imports ..	73,072,439	63,330,653	51,559,909
Exports ..	77,786,858	61,482,552	45,391,519

The national savings are also referred to on a similar basis (see THRIFT).

German industrial conditions are used on both sides of the argument, Tariff Reformers instancing thereby some of the advantages of Protection, while the contra side of the balance is agitated by the Free Trade party. As showing the unsatisfactory result of the working of the new German tariff, reference is made to the annual report of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, which contains the following statement:—

"The introduction of a new customs tariff, particularly when the same contains so many changes in its arrangement as the new German tariff which came into force on March 1st, 1906, must necessarily be attended with great difficulties for all concerned; that is to say, more especially for the commercial classes and for the customs authorities. In the case of the new German tariff, these difficulties have been greatly increased by its far-reaching 'specialization'; for it differentiates even between such articles as closely resemble each other in their nature and between which in many instances no difference is made by the trading public; and it is so complicated that, in order to ensure its correct application, it has been found necessary, in addition to the publication of an official list of dutiable goods (alphabetically arranged and provided with numerous notes), to issue also a volume of instructions, three hundred pages in length, to the German customs officers, and these instructions have, in their turn, been supplemented by numerous periodically published official directions for the use of the customs authorities.

Work Involved

"The study and the attention required for carrying out of all these instructions and directions in themselves alone make heavy demands upon the customs officials and upon the commercial classes concerned; more especially as many of the former customs regulations which were not directly affected by the introduction of the new tariff have now also been revised, a measure which might well have been postponed until some later time. What, however, is yet more serious is the heavy amount of work entailed upon the German customs authorities by the numerous very minute investigations and analyses necessitated by the new tariff, and these are, moreover, the cause of very great delay in the customs clearance of many different kinds of goods, and of the consequent accumulation of the latter in the customs-houses, thus creating a source of many difficulties for all concerned in their importation."

The difficulties in the way of collecting the duties as indicated in the above report are adduced as showing that in the event of Great Britain adopting Protection, an enormous number of customs officials would have to

be created. The general aspect of the position as regards foreign trade is thus summarized by the Free Trade Union—

"(1) That the proportion of total trade is very nearly constant, and has been much less checked by tariffs than might appear at first sight.

"(2) That our imports are being paid for partly by 'roundabout trade,' and partly, as is especially the case with the United States, by our shipping and other services.

"(3) That there probably is a change in the investment of our capital, more of which is going to the Unprotected group—a process which swells our exports to them for the present, and must swell our imports from them in the future.

"Now, the moral of this is plain. Part of our sales in the so-called 'neutral markets' are directly due to our purchases from protected countries. If we check these purchases there will be fewer 'bills on London' offered by Protectionist countries to the dwellers in neutral markets from whom they wish to buy. In other words, the check to our imports in one direction will harass our exports in another. Nor will this direct effect be the end of the matter. If we exclude the manufacturers of the United States and Germany from our own market they will compete with us more actively in South America and the East. The balance of our exports as between Protected and neutral markets may be partly redressed, but at cost of diminishing our total export trade. By Retaliation we can diminish our imports and so get less of what we need, but only at the expense of diminishing our exports and so being able to sell less of what we have to offer."

FREE TRADE CLUB, THE UNIONIST: Object: To unite and combine in common work free traders in all parts of the country who may, whether as Conservatives or Liberal Unionists, belong to the Unionist party. President, Earl Cromer, G.C.B. *Secretary:* Mr. E. G. Bunker, 38, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

FREE TRADE UNION: Founded in 1903. Objects: (1) To safeguard the free import of food and raw material; (2) to maintain the general principle that taxation should be imposed for revenue purposes only; and (3) to resist the fiscal policy proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, as tending to complicate relations with the Colonies and to endanger the stability of the Empire. A staff of organizers and speakers is ready at any time, in response to invitations from Parliamentary constituencies or other organizations, to address meetings, give lectures, or help in the work of political organization. In the case of bye-elections, the Union generally opens an office and sends down a large staff to conduct an extensive campaign on behalf of Free Trade. Official organ, *The Free Trader*. Chairman, Rt. Hon. Arnold Morley. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Charles Mallet, M.P., 8, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W. (See also WOMEN'S FREE TRADE UNION.)

FRENCH INCOME TAX: (See INCOME TAX.)

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES: Remarkable progress has been made in friendly and benefit societies in the United Kingdom, as evidenced by the fact that in the two principal divisions, the ordinary friendly societies and branches of registered orders, each of which in 1877 only just exceeded a million members, in 1904 had each trebled their membership. Taking the term in its broad sense, and including trade union societies and co-operative societies, as does the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, some astonishing figures are revealed. Mr. J. D. Stuart Sim, the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, in November, 1907, made the following statement:—

There are in the United Kingdom 34,652 separately organized friendly societies and institutions having for their object the promotion and encouragement of thrift, with a total membership of nineteen and a half millions of persons, and accumulated funds amounting to £184,149,732. If to these be added the 15,297 savings banks with twelve millions of depositors, and funds amounting to £242,455,651, the result shows 49,949 institutions with over thirty-one millions of members, who, in one form or another, and, perhaps, in several forms, own the enormous capital of 426 millions of pounds sterling, an amount exceeding half the national debt of this country. The friendly societies proper show that at the last quinquennial, 1905, the total receipts during the year 1905 from members for benefit was £7,220,430, and the total payments £5,750,037, which included sickness pay (including medical aid), £4,079,022; sums at death, £865,929; and other benefits, £427,507. The balance of benefit funds at end of 1905 totalled £41,340,935 against £32,243,565 for 1899. The management fund showed aggregate receipts for 1905, £901,671; expenses of management, £816,582; and total expenses, £836,517; the balance of management funds at end of 1905 totalled £604,196 against £508,304 in 1896.

The following are comparative percentages:—

Ordinary Friendly Societies—

(*a*) General Societies (Male and female members)	Average contributions per member per annum	£·883
(*b*) Female Societies	ditto	£·621
(*c*) Juvenile Societies	ditto	£·388
(*d*) Branches of Registered Orders	ditto	£1·344
(*e*) Collecting Friendly Societies	ditto	£·391

(*a*)	Expended in benefits of each £1 received		£·749
(*b*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·822
(*c*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·621
(*d*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·714
(*e*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·363

(*a*)	Expended in management of each £1 received		£·090
(*b*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·089
(*c*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·168
(*d*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·125
(*e*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·400

(*a*)	Saved to meet future liabilities of each £1 recd.		£·161
(*b*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·089
(*c*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·211
(*d*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·161
(*e*)	ditto.	ditto.	£·237

See also page 527. REFERENCES: *Friendly Societies Act*, 1875; *Encyclopædia Britannica*; *Insurance Encyclopædia*, vol. iv.; *Quinquennial Reports of Registrar-General of Friendly Societies*, J. D. Stuart Sim; *Thrift* (1907).

FRIENDS, PEACE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF: The religious Society of Friends founded by George Fox about the year 1650 has always maintained as one of its religious principles that all war is contrary to the spirit of Christianity and has consistently advocated a policy of national righteousness as the surest foundation of peace. The work of the Society in Great Britain with respect to peace, temperance, gambling, opium and other questions of national righteousness is under the care of the "Meeting for Sufferings," a body of representative Friends meeting in London once a month and acting with the help of sub-committees. Official organ, *The Friend*, weekly, 1*d*. *Address:* 12, Bishopsgate Street Without, London, E.C.

FROEBEL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, THE: Established in 1874. (Incorporated.) Object: To educate the public mind in all matters concerning the welfare of children, etc. President, Sir William Mather, LL.D. *Secretary:* Miss Temple Orme, LL.D., 4, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

The address of THE NATIONAL FROEBEL UNION (a separate examining body) is Norwich House, Southampton Street, London, W.C.

G

GAELIC LEAGUE ("CONNRADH NA GAEDHILGE"): Founded in 1893. Object: The preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland, and the extension of its use. The League comprises about eight hundred branches, with an average membership of seventy. Official organ, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, weekly, 1*d*. President, Douglas Hyde, LL.D. *Secretary:* Mr. Padraig O'Dalaigh, 25, Rutland Square, Dublin.

GAMBLING: Repressive legislation has made a serious effort to cope with the social evils attendant upon betting in streets and public places, which previous to the Act of 1906 prevailed on a widely extensive scale. On December 21st, 1906, an "Act for the Suppression of Betting in Streets and other Public Places" was passed, whereby it was enacted that

> Any person frequenting or loitering in streets or public places, on behalf either of himself or of any other person, for the purpose of bookmaking, or betting, or wagering, or agreeing to bet or wager, or paying or receiving or settling bets, shall in the case of a first offence be liable, on conviction under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds; in the case of a second offence be liable, on conviction under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds; and in the case of a third or subsequent offence, or in any case where it is proved that the person whilst committing the offence had any betting transaction with a person under the age of sixteen years, be liable on conviction on indictment to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding six months without the option of a fine, or on conviction under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts to a fine not exceeding thirty pounds or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding three months, without the option of a fine.

Among the many pressing problems considered at the Pan-Anglican Congress held in London in June, 1908, were a number dealing with the various phases of the gambling evil. According to statistics compiled by the National Anti-Gambling League, the wage-earners of Great Britain risk every year £5,000,000 in betting and gambling, while in 5½ years there were eighty suicides, 321 embezzlements, and 191 bankruptcies traceable to betting. It has been estimated further that there are twenty thousand bookmakers who turn over, between them, £50,000,000 a year.

Betting and gambling among working women and girls was dealt with in a paper by Miss Augusta Deane, who thus describes the commoner forms: "The most usual form in the north country districts would seem to be 'putting something on a horse.' In the midlands there is also much betting on the results of football matches; this, too, is not unknown in some of the bigger west country towns. A very popular form of betting is the sweepstake, and perhaps the most pernicious the lottery or raffle. Money clubs exist in many places, kept, as a rule, by a woman, who is paid something a week to manage it, and then once a fortnight or once a month there is a great 'drawing,' and the prize-winner gets a fixed sum—perhaps £1—and the manager of the club keeps what is over. It is evident that they bet on the results of games of dominoes, and also on wrestling and walking matches when the contending parties are well-known local men. Cards are almost unknown amongst factory and mill hands, but among shop assistants and domestic servants 'playing cards for points' at their clubs and 'below stairs' is the most common form of gambling, and in big houses where there are stables it is often found that the maids are tempted by the outdoor servants to bet on a hunt steeplechase, or on a favourite horse. It has been proved that often the women who go from door to door selling things give betting papers to, or receive them from, maid-servants. Shops in some big towns have been discovered issuing what are practically 'raffle' tickets, through girls they employ, people paying so much with the chance of getting a blanket or something of that sort if their ticket turns out 'a lucky number.'"

Female Gamblers

In a paper on "The Stock Exchange and Gambling," also read before the Pan-Anglican Congress, the facilities afforded by the Stock Exchange in this connection were dealt with under the various methods of transacting business, these being described in the necessary detail to show the gradation from speculation into what is gambling pure and simple. The practice of selling stocks not in the vendor's possession at the time of sale is shown to be a system open to much abuse, "gambling in differences" and "speculating for a rise or a fall" being described as "practices which may tempt those who indulge in them to become in a way freebooters who set to work to depreciate or appreciate the stocks which they profess to sell or buy." Another form of dealing which lays itself open to the encouragement of the gambling spirit is to be found in the transactions of what are known as "bucket shops" or outside stockbroking firms. These are entirely independent of the Stock Exchange and irresponsible, and their advertisements—a feature of trading absolutely prohibited by the Stock Exchange—tend to the promotion of gambling in stocks and shares. In short, bucket shops are briefly described as very often offices kept for betting on the price of securities. Options also lend themselves to abuse. By this method of dealing the operator purchases the right to buy or sell, as the case may be, so much stock on a certain day at a certain price. The question of validity has been dealt with in the courts and depends on the circumstances of each particular case. The carrying over or continuation of a transaction beyond the ordinary settlement, which takes place twice a month, is also in many cases more or less in the nature of a gamble, while the majority of transactions in "differences" and under the cover system are mere bets on the market price of property on a future day. It is added, however, that there are many rules which are for the express purpose of putting a stop to various methods of gambling, and every member of the Stock Exchange has annually to sign a declaration that he will conform to the rules of the committee. It is very exceptional to hear of these rules being broken. (See also GAMBLING, page 530.)

Stock Exchange Gambling

GOLDEN AGE, THE ORDER OF THE: Founded in 1895. Object: To challenge the carnivorous habit as a transgression against physical and moral law, and the chief stumbling-block to the world's progress towards happiness, humaneness, and spirituality. Official organ, *The Herald of the Golden Age*, quarterly, 3*d*. President, Mr. Sidney H. Beard, Paignton, Devon.

GOOD TEMPLARS, GRAND LODGE OF IRELAND: Founded in 1871. Membership eight thousand adults, and 2,700 juveniles. Official organ, *The Irish Templar*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Mr. Robert Marshall. *Secretary:* Mr. James Haveron, City Chambers, Royal Avenue, Belfast.

GOOD TEMPLARS, GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND: Founded in 1870. Object: To procure the absolute Prohibition of the liquor traffic. Number of district lodges, forty-eight; adult lodges, 772; juvenile lodges, 489; adult members, 46,468; juveniles, 46,073. Official organ, *The Good Templar*, monthly, 1*d*. Grand Chief Templar, Coun. John Neilson, J.P. *Secretary:* Mr. Tom Honeyman, 204, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

GOOD TEMPLARS, THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF: This order in 1908 had 8924 adult lodges, with a membership of 420,000, and 3487 junior branches with 240,000 members—a total of 12,411 lodges and 660,000 members. This was an increase of 44,000 members since the preceding triennial report. The International Chief Templar is Mr. Eduard Wavrinsky, M.P., Stockholm, Sweden; and the heads of departments are: International Superintendent of Juvenile Work, Mr. J. W. Hopkins, Gloucester, England; International Electoral Superintendent, Mr. Guy Hayler, Bulmer, Yorks, England; International Treasurer, Mr. Herman Blume, Hamburg, Germany; *International Secretary:* Mr. Tom Honeyman, 160, Hill Street, Glasgow. (See also page 556.)

GORE, RT. REV. CHARLES: Bishop of Birmingham since 1905; born 1853. Educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford (Scholar). Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, 1901. Appointed Bishop of Worcester in 1902. A leading social reformer, whose sermons are largely devoted to a consideration of sociological problems; a worker on behalf of the poor, whose misery has drawn his active sympathies; and a strong opponent of sweating in every form. His belief is that "the law should be so amended as to endow a Church with the right of progress, though, at the same time, a community must be secured against passing waves of feeling." His attitude on the subject of the relations obtaining between the clergy and people is expressed in a public speech on "The Church and Wealth," wherein he asserted that the clergyman was not in touch with the mass of the people, because they were the Church of the rich and not of the poor, of capital rather than labour. It was quite rare, he said, to find an artisan and his wife really at home among the clergy. Further, the Church must get rid of the administration of poor relief, and must ensure the representation of the working classes. In his *Social Doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount*, Dr. Gore says: "The disastrous identification of Church and State, which has allowed the Church to lose its free legislative functions within its own sphere, has altogether obscured, among ordinary Church-people, the sense that there is a social law binding upon their consciences—as in matters of matrimony or of commercial dealings—which is distinct from, and which goes beyond, the law of the State."

Address: Bishop's Croft, Birmingham.

GUILD OF HELP, BRADFORD CITY: Objects: To unite citizens of all classes, irrespective of political or religious opinion (*a*) To provide a friend for all in need of help and advice; (*b*) To secure a timely aid for the suffering and needy; (*c*) To bring about lasting improvement in the condition of each case, by patient study and wise methods of help; (*d*) To prevent overlapping and charitable waste. There are four hundred active workers, supplementing by personal and individual attention the work of the Guardians, the Health and Education Committees; acting as a clearing house and registry of charity, etc. Official organ, *Help*, monthly, 1*d*. President, The Lord Mayor. *Secretary:* Mr. Walter Milledge, City Chambers, Darley Street, Bradford.

The Bradford movement has now spread to between thirty and forty other towns, numbering more than four thousand workers.

H

HERVÉ, GUSTAVE. — This ex-professor of History has become one of the most prominent men in France, as leader of a movement that has threatened to create a new line of cleavage in the Socialist camp. His earnestness and sincerity are acknowledged, moreover he is considered logical, and France is the natural birthplace for such a propaganda as Hervé has started. M. Hervé was first borne to Paris on a national wave of execration. He had chanced to remark in the local journal at Auxerre that the French flag rose from dirt, and he became at once the target of the entire press. Inevitably, as a man of mark, he sought the wider field of Paris. There he rose with extraordinary rapidity in the estimation of his socialistic comrades, being elected a member of the highest councils. Socialism with him has come to mean the repudiation of every national feeling, and M. Hervé has succeeded in raising his programme to the first place among the French problems of the day.

HIGHWAYS PROTECTION LEAGUE: Founded in 1904. Object: The amendment of the law relating to motor vehicles, and its stricter enforcement as urgently needed in the public interest. The League and its associated Road Union call attention to the fact that at the end of February, 1908, the number of motor vehicles registered in Great Britain and Ireland was 28,915, of which 18,952 were motor cars, 1822 heavy motor cars, and 8141 motor cycles. The number of driving licences was 71,943, and the total number of motor cars in the kingdom is estimated to be over 125,000. The reported cases in the first three months of 1908 were 199 accidents: 42 persons killed; 145 injured; 403 motorists summoned, and 365 convicted. *Secretary:* Mr. L. H. Barnes, 17, Figtree Court, Temple, London, E.C.

HOME-READING UNION, NATIONAL: Founded in 1899. Object: For the purpose of guiding readers in the choice of books and of directing self-education. President, H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll. *Secretary:* Miss A. M. Read, 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.

HOME WORK: (See under SWEATING and WOMAN WORKER.)

HOME WORKERS' AID ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1901. Object: To improve the conditions under which the London home workers live and labour, and to endeavour, by every possible means, to bring back to them the Day of Rest. There are now about one thousand members paying one penny per week. Official organ, *The London Home Worker*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Prebendary H. Russell Wakefield. *Honorary*

Manager: Mr. Thomas Holmes, 12, Bedford Road, South Tottenham, London, N.

HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING: Miss Annette Churton writes in *Progress*, July, 1908: "The question of the housing of the working classes in London and other large towns has now occupied public attention for many years, and efforts, both private and municipal, have been made to meet the demand of an enormously increased urban population. This increase, as is well known, has been largely augmented by the migration of the villagers into the towns. While admitting that the towns need the reviving influence of a certain amount of fresh country life to counteract the enervating effect of the town, the numbers have vastly increased during the last thirty years. During the ten years alone between 1891 and 1901 no less than 500,654 persons left the country villages for the towns, at the rate, that is, of fifty thousand annually. The effect of this upon the towns is to complicate the problems already existing there, overcrowding and consumption, with which is connected the drink problem, want of work, casual employment, and poverty.

"It is at last being recognized that the root of the difficulty lies in the country. If, therefore, we are to do more than palliate the evil, we must look beyond the town and study the conditions existing in villages. Here we find the most vigorous and enterprising of the young labourers leaving for the towns. The only way out of the difficulty would seem to be to retain the agricultural labourer on the land, and this can only be done by making the conditions such that it will be worth his while to remain. A man of the upper and middle class has often not completed his education at the age when the young farm labourer is earning as much as he can ever hope to earn, and has no further 'rise in life' to expect.

Rural Housing

"Next to the wages difficulty is the housing difficulty. In spite of a diminished country population, there exists in many districts a considerable scarcity of cottage accommodation, leading to such overcrowding as to render a decent healthy life almost an impossibility. Besides the difficulty of overcrowding, the shortage of cottages leads to the continuance in occupation of cottages unfit for human habitation, the sanitary authorities frequently considering that to condemn them would only increase the overcrowding.

"A suggestion has been made by the editor of the *Rural World* that the difficulty of the prevailing merely nominal rent paid for cottages might be met by means of the following readjustment: The labourer should rent his cottage direct from the owner at a commercial rent. The farmer should pay to the labourer the extra wage to allow of this, the owner deducting the same amount from the rent of the farm. In this way, though the owner would receive less rent from his farm, the equivalent would be paid by the cottagers."

As a result of the debate in the House of Commons on the occasion of the second reading of the Rural Housing Bill, in April, 1906, a Select Committee was appointed to consider and report on the evidence of witnesses from different parts of the country. Among others, Miss Constance Cochrane, of the Rural Housing and Sanitation Association (*q.v.*), gave a large number of facts in proof of the following statements:—

(1) That many labourers would like to remain in the country if they could obtain cottages and work. (2) That the land is insufficiently cultivated in most districts. (3) That, generally speaking, the conditions of housing, sanitation, and water supply in country villages are unsatisfactory. (4) That drastic reform is necessary in the administration of the Health and Housing Acts.

The following is a summary of the chief remedies suggested by the Rural Association: (1) Amendment and Codification of the Public Health Acts. (2) A Health and Housing Department to be constituted at the Local Government Board. (3) Improvement in qualification and position of Medical Officers of Health and Inspectors of Nuisances. (4) Local Government Board to have power to enforce the carrying out of the Public Health Acts by Local Authorities. (5) "Any individual" to have power of complaint, as in the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, and the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897. (6) Larger administrative areas. (7) Small Holdings and large gardens.

Miss Cochrane also sent in the following tabulated statement, based on her own inquiries and the reports of trusted correspondents:—

County.	Number of villages visited.	One bedroom.	Two bedrooms.	Three or more bedrooms.
Bedfordshire ..	One	5	25	9
Cambridgeshire	Five	67	111	56
Cornwall ..	One	32	70	28
Dorsetshire ..	One	—	14	37
Essex	One	13	94	19
Hertfordshire ..	Two	11	120	156
Kent	Two	20	170	48
Lancashire ..	Two	4	69	72
Leicestershire ..	Three	75	273	69
Norfolk ..	Five	124	257	73
Northumberland	One	8	10	6
Oxfordshire ..	One	2	32	—
Shropshire	Ten, including hamlets	38	141	89
Warwickshire ..	Four	14	81	46
Westmorland ..	One	8	9	6
Wiltshire ..	Three	41	321	33
Yorkshire ..	One	2	55	12
	44	464	1852	759

Many of the above, tabulated as having two bedrooms, have in reality one and a landing.

Information has been obtained from thirty-four other villages in different counties, but it is not sufficiently definite for tabulation. It may be concluded, however, from this that most of the cottages have only two bedrooms, and that the second bedroom is often not more than a landing.

After deliberating for three months on the evidence placed before them, the Select Committee, which included members of the different political parties, issued recommendations, of which the following is a summary: (1) Transfer the administration of the Public Health and Housing of the Working Classes Act from the rural district councils to the county councils, retaining to the rural district councils the concurrent power to build under Part III. of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, subject to confirmation by the Local Government Board. (2) Statutory duty of county councils to appoint a medical officer or medical officers of health and a sufficient number of sanitary inspectors for the purpose of carrying the statutes into execution. Proper qualifications as prescribed from time to time by the Local Government Board to be insisted upon. Officers to devote the whole of their time to the duties of their office, to hold their appointments during good behaviour and to be removable only with the consent of the Local Government Board. The Local Government Board to issue a more specific memorandum of instructions to medical officers of health and to require compliance with the same. County council to appoint annually a statutory Public Health and Housing Committee.

Suggested Reforms

(3) Register of survey of all buildings intended for human habitation to be compiled and revised periodically. Owners of dwelling-house property to make an annual return of the sanitary condition of every dwelling-house. Penalty for making false return. (4) The sections of the Public Health Act and Housing Act which deal with sanitary defects (Sections 91-96 Public Health Act ; Sections 30-39 Part II. of the Housing of the Working Classes Act) to be widened in their meaning to include not only houses "dangerous or injurious to health," but houses in a bad state of repair or neglect. (5) County council to be empowered, alone or in conjunction with council of adjoining county, to construct impounding reservoirs, etc. (6) County councils to be required to frame bye-laws for every district subject to the approval of the Local Government Board. (7) Local Government Board to register plans and specifications of model cottages. (8) Simplification and codification of the law under the Public Health and Housing Acts. (9) Statutory right of complaint to the Local Government Board of default of county council to be given to every rural district council, parish council, or parish meeting, or to any four householders. Local Government Board to hold inquiry and to make order enforceable by *mandamus*. Or the Local Government Board to be empowered to appoint a person or persons to execute such order, the consequent expense to be recoverable from the county council. (10) Local Government Board to appoint a special Housing and Public Health Department with a staff of travelling sanitary and housing inspectors to supervise the administration of the Public Health and Housing Laws by the county councils and their executive officers. (11) Simplification of the law for acquiring land compulsorily. (12) The Treasury to lend money for the purposes specified in the report at the lowest rate at which the Treasury can themselves borrow. (*a*) To local authorities (county council and rural district council) up to the full amount of the security upon the minimum terms. (*b*) To Public Utility Societies up to seventy-five per cent. of the security upon the minimum terms. Period of redemption of loan to be lengthened. System of increasing the rates of interest in proportion to the length of the period of loan to be abolished. (13) Grants from the Exchequer to be administered by and allocated to county councils at the discretion of the Local Government Board.

The housing problem, in so far as it affects the more populated areas, has often engaged the attention of legislators. In October of 1904 the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, in his social programme, raised hopes of some definite action, as follows :—

Town Planning

"We want to clear away these nests of disease and crime which exist in all our large cities, and where people are herded together under conditions which make comfort and health, and even proper living, entirely impossible. . . . What I propose . . . is that the local authorities should have in all cases power to take whatever land they require for the purpose of improvement at a fair price ; that they should be able to combine a great city improvement—the widening of streets and the making of squares, and so on—with sanitary reconstruction ; and in this way the value of the improved property will go to the Corporation, and will go far to compensate for the cost of the sanitary work." But nothing resulted.

The congestion in Metropolitan and provincial city areas may be gathered from statistics quoted by the Rt. Hon. John Burns at the International Housing Conference in August, 1907, that in London one-seventh of the population live at the rate of two to a room, Manchester one in six thus, Glasgow one-half thus.

The Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton recently gave expression to the aspirations of housing reformers—

"The growth of our cities presents the most formidable and the most pressing problem to all those who wish for the welfare of our race. In the first place, it is necessary to have pretty and wholesome dwellings, with gardens and open spaces at hand. In the next place, an orderly and well-designed plan should be evolved for the estate so that each house may be placed with regard to every other house. We wish to bring into being a life in which men shall have understanding of each other, in which the poor shall teach the rich, and in which the rich, let us hope, shall help the poor to help themselves."

On January 25th, 1907, the Rt. Hon. John Burns said—

"He was sure that if all the big towns and cities were only to grasp what they could do under their existing powers, the Local Government Board would be only too pleased to reciprocate. There was no reason why they should not have local expansion, local initiative power for the local authority to develop. In 1908 they hoped to have an opportunity of giving some evidence of their desire to carry out, in a practical way, the objects that had been put before them."

Speaking on the topic a few months prior to the introduction of the Town Planning Bill, Mr. Burns said: "In the last ten years there had been an extraordinary improvement in taste and appetite on the part of the people themselves for better conditions. There was no country in the world where there were so many comfortable homes, no country in which domestic architecture had developed further. But these amenities were possessed too exclusively by a small class. Their ideals were, however, rapidly extending down to the poorest people, and the Government would support it in the strongest possible way. It was the business of those responsible for town government to see that local authorities who were willing should have the means of co-operating with willing private owners to bring about that which has been done by individuals. To carry out what was immediately pressing he, in accordance with promises made by the Prime Minister and himself to a deputation, had before him alternate Bills by which he hoped the desired object would be achieved. Provisions were proposed for the laying out and planning of streets and houses, with conditions to be observed and provisions for arbitration."

Detail's of Bill

The practical outcome of this promise was the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Bill, which Mr. Burns introduced to the House of Commons on March 26th, 1908. It passed its second reading on May 12th, and was sent to the Standing Committee on the same day. Town-planning under this measure may be described as the mapping out by local authorities of their new districts as a whole, instead of allowing them to grow up in a haphazard, piecemeal manner. The municipality would settle the direction and width of new streets, decide on the extent of open spaces, and to some extent define the class of dwellings to be erected, and restrict the number of houses per acre.

This Bill contains sixty-one clauses and six schedules. It (*a*) facilitates the purchase of land by local authorities through a lengthening of the period for repayment of loans ; (*b*) empowers local authorities to inspect dwellings after giving twenty-four hours' notice, to declare houses to be unfit for habitation, to order their demolition, or, alternatively, to undertake repairs and charge the cost to the landlord ; (*c*) empowers local authorities to undertake schemes for town-planning, and, if necessary, to purchase land for the same, or, alternatively, to compensate the landowners affected.

This much-needed reform secured an unopposed reception in the Commons. So general, indeed, was the recognition of the necessity of housing reform that, though the Bill is a strong one and goes much farther than any previous measure, speakers on all sides were so

far from thinking it too strong, that their speeches were mainly devoted to showing that it should be made stronger still. To show how really strong Mr. Burns's Bill is, one point may be mentioned. At present the obligation on a landlord to see that a house is fit for human habitation applies only to cottages of less than eight pounds a year rent. The present Bill doubles this limit in the case of the country, and raises it to forty pounds in London. Besides housing, the Bill also deals with town-planning—for the first time in this country, though much has been done in regard to it abroad. Local authorities are given power to control the development of their districts, and the gain to towns in both health and beauty will be incalculable.

The trend of city workers towards living in purer and less crowded surroundings is shown by the following table covering the last century :—

	Acreage.	Population.		
		1801.	1851.	1901.
City of London and immediately surrounding parishes	1,724	256,000	266,000	100,000
Inner belt surrounding the above	5,237	345,000	711,000	710,000
Outer belt	69,491	357,000	1,394,000	3,750,000
Districts lying outside the County of London	—	—	196,000	2,050,000
Total of Greater London	—	—	2,567,000	6,610,000

To cope with this outward movement, Mr. Burns says : "Rapid means of communication into what was at present better air, and into pleasanter scenes for those who had to work in great towns were introduced, and the very provision of that rapid means of locomotion caused the creation in the country of the very evils (unsuitable dwellings) they were seeking to keep away from. The whole thing wanted to be controlled and regularized, and, of course, the only people in whose hands that power could safely and properly be put were the municipal authorities on the spot."

Rapid Transit

With regard to facilities for dwellers in suburbs of large cities reaching their homes rapidly, the proposal contained in the following opinion from the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour is progressive :—

"We have to recognize that London, from its unequalled size, presents difficulties so different in degree from those met with elsewhere that they almost amount to a difference in kind, and I am certain that the improvement of means of communication is the most important element in the problem.

"What I am anxious people should bear in mind is that trams, railways, and 'tubes' by no means exhaust the catalogue of possible improvements in transit. Indeed, I am not sure that they are the means of communication for relatively short distances which some years hence will find most favour. What I should like to see carefully thought out by competent authorities would be a system of radiating thoroughfares, confined to rapid (say, fifteen miles an hour or over) traffic—this is absolutely essential—and with a surface designed not for carts or horses, but for some form of auto-car propulsion. If the local authority which designed and carried out such a system chose to run public auto-cars along them, well and good; but this would not be necessary, and private enterprise would probably in time do all that was wanted. In such thoroughfares there would be none of the road-monopoly inseparable from trams. The number of people carried could be much larger, the speed much greater, the power of taking them from door to door unique, while there would be none of the friction now caused when the owners of the tram lines break up the public streets. It may be urged, and perhaps with truth, that at present the auto-car industry has not devised an absolutely satisfactory vehicle, but we are, I believe, so near it that the delay ought not to be material.

Radiating Causeways

"It is, of course, obvious that the present difficulty of locomotion in our streets is almost entirely due to the want of differentiation in the traffic. We act as the owners of a railway would act if they allowed luggage trains, express trains, and horse-drawn trams to run upon one pair of rails. The radiating causeways, as I conceive them, would be entirely free from this difficulty. Neither the traffic of cross-streets, nor foot passengers, nor slow-going carts and vehicles would be permitted to interfere with the equable running of the fast cars. There would be no danger and no block. No doubt the cost would be great, but the upkeep would be small, and there would be no terminal charges. No great areas would have to be cleared, as in the case of railways, for stations and sidings. The local authority which made the causeway would not be compelled to become managers of great railway enterprises. The rolling-stock would be provided by the public to suit its own needs, and as the causeway would be connected at intervals with the ordinary road and street system of the district, and would melt into that system at either end, every village in which there were enough residents who had to be in London at a fixed hour every day, could have a motor of its own. It might be well worth a manufacturer's while, I should suppose, to lodge his workpeople out of London, and to run them to and from his works. This scheme may be open to practical objections of which I am not aware ; but if it be true that improved locomotion is the real key of the housing difficulty, then I submit that this form of providing it would probably prove to be the cheapest, the easiest, and the most convenient."

A Growing Movement

The movement for better houses and rural environment is growing with rapidity. At Birmingham, Manchester, Warrington, Birkenhead, and Leeds "Garden Cities" are either progressing or planned, and at Hampstead a venture, though not precisely on the same lines, was launched in 1907 for the erection of houses on proper hygienic principles, each with an expanse of land surrounding, the average being eight houses per acre.

Thus there are several practical examples now in operation of success in town-planning, for particulars of which see GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT (532), HOUSING IN GREAT BRITAIN (583), MODEL VILLAGES (772), etc.

I

ICA, THE: The founding of colonies for Jews by the Jewish Colonisation Association in South America, and elsewhere, known as the Ica, is given on page 660. A detailed report was published in August, 1908, reporting the progress and position to the end of 1907, of the various sections of undertakings comprehended in the Ica. During the year 1238 new colonists had come into the various colonies in the Argentine, making the total persons 13,212. The harvest operations for the year realized £373,666. The report indicates that the material

situation of the colonists has ameliorated. Not only does each perfect his implements and improve his flocks and herds, but the well-being of the family and the housing accommodation are also gradually increasing. At the same time the colonists are paying off their liabilities to the Association; in all, £64,846 were repaid during the year, and, in addition, £21,603 were also refunded on account of special loans. In 1907, the remittances through the medium of the Association to relatives amounted to £12,912.

At the end of the year there were in the Argentine Colonies thirty-one schools, served by seventy-five teachers and attended by 2009 pupils (1095 boys and 914 girls). The schools continue to receive Government grants, and are frequently visited by Government inspectors.

The general position at the end of 1907 of the Argentine colonies is seen by the following tables:—

POPULATION.

	Colonists.		Immigrants.		Total.	
	Number of families.	Number of persons.	Number of families.	Number of persons.	Families.	Persons.
Moïsesville ..	467	2,642	88	645	555	3,287
Mauricio ..	270	1,384	190	934	460	2,318
Clara	542	3,000	146	810	688	3,810
San Antonia ..	132	794	1	10	133	804
Lucienville ..	305	1,716	117	645	422	2,361
Baron de Hirsch	114	611	4	21	118	632
	1830	10,147	546	3065	2376	13,212

HARVEST, 1906–1907.

	Wheat.	Flax.	Oats & barley.	Maize.	Total.
	Cwts. harvested.	Cwts. harvested.	Cwts. harvested.	Cwts. harvested.	Cwts. harvested.
Moïsesville ..	1,170	1,576	—	—	2,746
Mauricio ..	90,261	—	25,700	18,490	134,451
Clara	50,507	16,324	5,198	—	72,029
San Antonia ..	2,685	641	9	—	3,335
Lucienville ..	69,270	23,126	10,702	—	103,098
Baron de Hirsch	11,561	—	—	3,127	14,688
	225,454	41,667	41,609	21,617	330,347

CATTLE.

	Stock of horses.	Horned cattle.	Stock of sheep.	General total.
Moïsesville ..	8,830	20,768	—	29,598
Mauricio ..	7,192	8,092	—	15,284
Clara	6,538	35,886	23,170	65,594
San Antonio ..	1,528	6,133	2,700	10,361
Lucienville ..	5,314	13,519	—	18,833
Baron de Hirsch	1,576	1,003	—	2,579
	30,978	85,401	25,870	142,249

In Brazil, the Philippson colony, at the end of 1907, consisted of forty-two families of colonists, numbering 272 individuals, and 169 labourers, ninety-seven males and seventy-two females, the latter working in the fields with the same activity as men. The estate in Rio Grande covers a total area of 5,399 hectares, 2,610 of which were colonized at the end of the year. (One hectare = two acres, one rood, thirty-five perches.)

In Canada, Cyprus, Palestine, Russia, and elsewhere, Ica settlements have been established.

That in Palestine shows promise of development, though the economic conditions of many of the colonists, as reported at the end of 1907, were "far from being on a solid basis."

The "former Rothschild" colonies are Rishon le Zion (844 inhabitants), Maskereth Bathya (353); Petach Tikvah (1,207); Zichron Jacob (870); Mesha (137); Melhamieh (110); Yamma (222); Bedjen (41); Rosh Pinah (565); Yessod Hamaleh (224); and Metouleh (282).

The Association colonies comprise Waad-el-Hanine (130 inhabitants); Katra (109); Rehoboth (506); Hédérah (164); Mishmar Hayardan (105); Sedjera (27 farmers). (See also ITO, ZIONISM, AND JEWISH COLONIES.)

REFERENCES: *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. vii., "Jewish Colonisation Association."

IDO: This new "universal language" is based upon the main principles of Esperanto, but by its advocates is claimed in its essentials to be easier to learn and more methodical. The chief facts concerning its adoption by the Delegation for the Adoption of an Auxiliary International Language are contained in a prospectus issued by that body in 1908. It states that in 1907, an International Committee of scientists and linguists was elected, who, after examining all past and present schemes for an international language, adopted Esperanto with a few alterations, so calculated as to preserve the principles and essential qualities of the language invented by Dr. Zamenhof, while applying those principles more consistently and doing away with what they allege are unnecessary complications.

The *Secretaries* of the Permanent Commission are MM. L. Couturat, Lit. D., and L. Leau, D.Sc. British address: c/o Mr. Guilbert Pitman, 85, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

See ESPERANTO and LANGUAGES.

ILLICIT COMMISSIONS: The widespread custom of recognizing the goodwill of a servant or employé by monetary gifts received a check by the "Prevention of Corruption Act," which came into force in January, 1907, and provides that—

"If any agent corruptly accepts or obtains, or agrees to accept or attempts to obtain, from any person, for himself or for any other person, any gift or consideration as an inducement or reward for doing or forbearing to do, any act in relation to his principal's affairs or business, or for showing or forbearing to show favour or disfavour to any person in relation to his principal's affairs or business; or if any person corruptly gives or agrees to give or offers any gift or consideration to any agent as an inducement or reward for so doing or forbearing so to do; or if any person knowingly gives to any agent, or if any agent knowingly uses with intent to deceive his principal, any receipt, account, or other document in respect of which the principal is interested, and which contains any statement which is false or erroneous or defective in any material particular, and which to his knowledge is intended to mislead the principal, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and shall be liable on conviction on indictment to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding two years, or to a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds, or to both such imprisonment and such fine, or on summary conviction to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding four months, or to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or to both such imprisonment and such fine.

"A person serving under the Crown or under any corporation or any municipal, borough, county, or district council, or any board of guardians, is an agent within the meaning of this Act."

A Christmas box to a postman does not come within

the scope of the Act. A league to prevent the Act from becoming a dead letter has been formed, with Sir Edward Fry as President, and, as *Secretary*, Mr. R. M. Leonard, 3, Oxford Court, Cannon Street, London, E.C.

Municipal Bribery

Analogous to this subject are the prosecutions of certain Poor Law Guardians and officials, notably at Poplar, London (1907 and also 1908), Mile End, London (1908), for bribery and illicit commissions in connection with contracts and supplies. There were ten accused in the Mile End case, and after a twenty days' hearing at the Central Criminal Court the whole were found guilty. Sentences varying from two years' imprisonment with £250 fine to six months' imprisonment with £25 fine were imposed. Throughout the country, resulting upon the stringent action of the Local Government Board, under the Rt. Hon. John Burns, M.P., there has been much voluntary inquiry by local authorities. The general question of corruption is dealt with on page 316.

REFERENCE: *Poplar Guardians—Report of Commission.*

IMPERIALISM: The British Empire occupies approximately twenty-one per cent. of the earth's surface, and its population is in the proportion to the world of twenty-two per cent. The total area of the British Empire is nearly 11,400,000 square miles, with a total population of about 410,000,000. The known surface of the globe is estimated at 55,000,000 square miles, and its total population is believed to be about 1,800,000,000. The total revenue exceeds £400,000,000, the debt totals over £1,500,000,000, and the trade exceeds £1,600,000,000.

Units of Empire, 1908.	Estimated population.	Area in square miles.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland	44,100,000	121,000
Commonwealth of Australia, etc.	4,100,000	3,100,000
Dominion of New Zealand	900,000	105,000
Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, etc.	5,600,000	3,750,000
West India Islands, South America, Falkland Islands	1,502,000	130,000
Antarctic, South Georgia	—	1,500
Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus	3,721	450,000
Empire of India and its dependencies	1,900,000	300,000,000
Ceylon and Maldives	26 000	4,000,000
Eastern Asia	2,000	1,000,000
Africa, South	1,238,000	6,300,000
West	600,000	33,000,000
East and Central	750,000	8,000,000
Mauritius, Seychelles, etc.	900	400,000

Fuller and earlier tables appear on pages 130–131.

The Prince of Wales

The Prince of Wales delivered a memorable speech on "Britain beyond the Seas" in May, 1908, at the annual festival of the Royal Colonial Institute, in which he said—

"During the time that has elapsed since I first went to sea, in 1879, I have been able to visit almost every part of our Empire. I am indeed deeply sensible of my good fortune, and without boasting, I may claim that probably no one in this room has landed on so many different portions of the British soil as I have. Under the circumstances, it would be strange indeed if I did not take a deep and continuing interest in the progress and welfare of those Dominions beyond the seas.

"By England we do not mean these islands in the Western sea, but an England which is spread over the whole surface of the world.

"One of our first objects should be to develop the true spirit of Empire, and to strengthen those links of kinship which will bind for ever the vast and varied portions of the over-sea dominions with the Mother Country. We must not lose sight of our common interests, aims, and objects, in the fulfilment of which there must be mutual efforts, mutual self-sacrifice.

"Does such co-operation as we would desire really and fully exist? Undoubtedly there has been a great improvement in this direction. But still, is there not much to be accomplished by strengthening our social relations—by the Mother Country making it clear to her children that they are always certain of finding here a home, not in name only, but in reality, and the same warmhearted hospitality as is always extended to us in every portion of the globe where the British flag flies? I have endeavoured to touch lightly on the vital necessity for reciprocal action between those at home and our brethren beyond the seas. We must foster, now and always, the strongest feelings of mutual confidence and respect. By methods of education, by unity of action in everything that leads towards the noblest ideals of civilization, by utilizing the great powers of science, and by means of defence by sea and land, we must strive to maintain all that we esteem most dear. If we hold hands across the seas we shall preserve for future generations a noble heritage, founded upon the highest patriotism and knit together by the ties of race and of mutual sympathy and regard."

Lord Curzon

Another speech on the subject of Imperialism which created considerable interest was one given in Birmingham on December 11th, 1907, by Lord Curzon of Kedleston. In entitling his address "True Imperialism" he did not suggest that there was a false Imperialism. "There can be no false Imperialism," he said, "if the proper meaning of the conception as the faith of Empire be borne in mind. I speak of Empire because I am a convinced and unconquerable Imperialist. It had been too much the fashion to represent that the Empire had been built up by a succession of wicked and unscrupulous men, that Empire-makers, as a rule, were commandment-breakers, and pro-consuls—a class to which, fortunately or unfortunately, he belonged—represent in general a particularly dangerous type.

"But, in the list of the men who have made the British Empire we find that moral virtues, a spirit of humanity, and an almost puritanical fervour have been more common qualities than those of the filibuster. Equally untrue was it that the British Empire was acquired in a fit of absence of mind. It had been the work of time and of many minds. He would describe the Empire, therefore, as the result, not of an accident or a series of accidents, but of an instinct—that ineradicable and divinely implanted impulse, which has sent the Englishman forth into the uttermost parts of the earth, and made him there the parent of new societies and the architect of unpremeditated creations.

"As a result of three centuries of such effort, we have the British Empire as it now exists. It is the largest Empire that now exists or that ever has existed. It is unique in character and organization. Two features we may at once notice. Wherever this Empire has extended its borders, there misery and oppression, anarchy and destitution, superstition and bigotry, have tended to disappear, and have been replaced by peace, justice, prosperity, humanity, and freedom of thought, speech, and action, and, what is unique in the history of empires, by a passion of loyalty and enthusiasm.

"These islands are the heart and core of the Empire. But what would England be without the Empire? Suppose India and the Colonies gone; then your ports and coaling-stations, your fortresses and dockyards, your Crown Colonies and Protectorates will go too; and England from having been the arbiter will sink at best into the inglorious playground of the world.

"No generalization could be more historically inexact than to say that Great Britain has been urged into an Imperial career by national vanity or territorial greed.

If our Empire has advanced by leaps and bounds, it has commonly been in spite of our government and statesmen. The parings of our Empire, areas once held and afterwards surrendered, would make a respectable Empire. South Africa fell in to us against our will. Lord Salisbury, himself an Imperialist, strove his hardest to extricate us from Egypt. We have thrice conquered and thrice evacuated Afghanistan.

Ebb and Flow

"Any false image of Imperialism is one against which we should be on our guard—our conception must not rest on a merely material basis. The maxim that trade follows the flag suggests the planting of the flag in order that it may be followed by trade. In my view the reverse is much more historically correct, namely, that the flag follows the trade. I believe strong Imperialistic sentiments are shared by the great majority of the working classes of the Empire. The late Mr. Richard Seddon, who declared himself an arch-Socialist, was one of the most ardent Imperialists. If the Empire of the future is to continue, it must rest upon a democratic basis and must satisfy democratic ideals. Imperialism must give us a policy.

"The Empire is still only in a fluid and transitional formation; it has yet to be welded into a great world-state. The constituents are there, the spirit is there; but the problems are still unsolved and the plan has yet to be produced. In the economy of the Imperial household we are dealing not with children, but with grown men. That they are bound to us by sentiment is a priceless asset; to throw it away would be a criminal blunder. Empire can only be achieved with satisfaction and maintained with advantage, if it have a moral basis. To the people of the Mother State it must be a discipline, an inspiration and a faith. To the people of the circumference it must be more than a flag or a name; it must give them not merely justice and order, or material prosperity, but partnership in a great idea. In our national character, if we can keep it high and undefiled, still lies our national strength."

IMPORTS, BRITISH: (See under TRADE RETURNS.)

INCOME TAX: The budget for 1907–8, introduced in the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on April 18th, 1907, made an important change in the incidence of taxation by differentiating, in the matter of income-tax, as between earned and unearned incomes that do not exceed £2000, the tax imposed being at the rates of 9*d.* and 1*s.* in the pound respectively. An income not exceeding £160 is exempt; other exemptions allowed are £160 on incomes below £400, £150 on those below £500, £120 when under £600, and seventy pounds below £700. In 1906–7 income-tax yielded £31,600,000. Income-tax was made the subject of special consideration by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed on May 4th, 1906. Its report was issued on November 29th following. The Committee, after discussing the modes in which graduation could be applied, approved of the principle of the "super-tax," that is, "a second income-tax, distinct from and supplementary to the existing tax, to be levied on individuals by direct personal assessment."

This proposal required that a full statement of individual net income should be obtained from all persons upon whom the super-tax would be levied. The report also discussed the method of graduation by "digression" on the lines of the present system of abatements and approved of the principle. The Committee's conclusions may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Graduation of the income-tax by an extension of the existing system of abatements is practicable; (2) Graduation by a super-tax is practicable; (3) Abandonment of the system of "collection at the source" and adoption of the principle of direct personal assessment of the whole of each person's income would be practicable; (4) Differentiation between earned and unearned incomes is practicable; (5) A compulsory personal declaration from each individual of total net income in respect of which tax is payable is expedient and would do much to prevent evasion and avoidance of income-tax payments.

"Earned income" is defined as "any remuneration from any office or employment of profit held by the individual, including any pension, superannuation allowance, or deferred pay in respect of past services in that office or employment."

Under the reduced charge from 1*s.* to 9*d.* in the pound on all earned incomes not exceeding £2000, the amounts actually paid in the pound are estimated as follows:—

(1) The average rate is only 9½*d.*

(2) Not more than one-fifth of the total number of income-tax payers pay 1*s.*

(3) Of the remaining four-fifths, the majority pay 8*d.*, while many pay much less.

In a speech on July 25th, 1908, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (the Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd-George) pointed out that the amount of income in the country on which income-tax might be levied had increased during the last ten years by no less than 220 millions a year, while during the same period taxation had increased by some twenty or thirty millions, or only one-tenth of the 220 millions.

The question of the basis upon which income tax should be imposed in France, has been the subject of prolonged discussion by the Chamber of Deputies, and many amendments have been made to the original scheme introduced by the French Government in February of 1907, but the Bill has not yet been finally passed. Its provisions have given rise to considerable agitation throughout the country, particularly on the difficult question of the administrative control, and declarations made by the taxpayers, a point upon which a compromise was effected in the beginning of July, 1908. The matter was discussed by a special committee on legislation, and the Government agreed to the compromise mentioned, of which the following was the text:—

France

"If the Controller accepts the declaration as true, it is taken as the basis of the tax. If he regards the declaration as inaccurate, he invites the taxpayer to alter it within twenty days. If after the lapse of that period it has been impossible to come to an agreement, the Controller makes an official valuation. That estimate and the declaration are submitted to the procedure provided for in clause 4. The Controller justifies his estimate before the administrative tribunals with the help of information resulting from all Acts, judgments, declarations, administrative documents, and notes, or proofs and titles of any kind legally in the cognizance of any of the State administrations. The taxpayer may contest the estimate of the Administration by the use of any documents which he may consider conclusive. In no case, even if expert evidence is ordered, can the Court demand the production of accounts. The tax is doubled, but only on the dissimulated portion of the revenue, in the case of the taxpayer who has made a declaration below the facts. . . . If there is no declaration, the Controller proceeds to a regular estimate, which he presents to the taxpayer who has twenty days in which to present his observations. . . ."

In the revenue returns for 1908, the tax on income for personality was estimated to produce 91,394,000 francs, as against 85,839,500 francs for 1907.

An outline of the Government proposals is given on page 601.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY: In addition to the details given on page 603, it may be added that in September, 1908, there were roughly nine hundred branches on the register, a net increase of

about 350 branches within the fiscal year, more than have been established in any like preceding time. The membership then stood at fifty thousand. Assets of the party at February, 1908, were £3762, and the cash at call in case of emergency £1989; the total sales of literature amounted to £4663, and the *Socialist Review*, a new monthly, appeared on March 1st, 1908. The party now has fifty-six branches, in and around London, federated into five councils, and during the last year the movement was established in Ireland, with five branches in the Belfast district, and one in Dublin.

INDIAN SEDITION: Serious disorders in India led the authorities, in 1908, to adopt strong measures for suppression of a movement, which from the partition of Bengal into two provinces in September, 1905, had developed alarming proportions. The discontent was most marked among the Bengali Hindus, especially among the educated class, or the Babus.

On June 8th, 1908, the Legislative Council passed two Bills by which it was hoped to restore order and give protection to the civil and military servants of the Government. The Explosives Act was designed to prevent the manufacture and use of explosive machines, and the concealment of substances intended for that purpose; while the Press Act was intended to stop inflammatory utterances in the native journals. The partition, or more properly the reconstitution, of Bengal had been followed by an anti-British or Swadeshi movement as it was termed, which from a boycott of British goods that, however, proved ineffective, eventually became a campaign of disorder and lawlessness which occasioned the Indian Government considerable trouble. In 1906, Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, decided to take measures to enforce proper discipline and order in the Hindu schools of Eastern Bengal, which had become hotbeds of sedition and mischief. His proposals, however, failed to obtain the support of the Indian Government, and shortly afterwards he resigned. The condition of affairs then began to assume a dangerous character so far as the safety of European residents was concerned. In the Punjaub particularly riots and attacks on missions and white men took place, which were only checked for the moment by the deportation of two notorious political offenders.

The Three Movements

There were in reality three distinct movements in progress. (1) The "Swadeshi movement," which nominally sought to encourage Indian manufactures by forbidding the use of British imported goods, but which was rather aimed at the Mohammedan merchants and shopkeepers, the special objects of Hindu detestation, who happened to hold large stocks of British wares; (2) The "Swaraj movement," which demanded Home Rule for India; (3) The "National Volunteer" movement, which consisted in the organization and training of semi-military bodies of Babus and Hindus. They drilled with sticks and bows and arrows, and pervaded the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal.

About the end of 1907, the native newspapers daily published incitements to natives to attack Europeans. Bomb outrages became frequent; the Viceroy's motor-car was stoned, and an attempt made to blow up a train in which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir A. H. Leith Fraser, was travelling. Finally a bomb factory and a college for giving instruction in the art of murder were discovered in a suburb of Calcutta. A large number of persons were arrested, and their admissions and the papers seized afforded proofs of the existence of a widespread conspiracy. Legislative measures to cope with the danger became necessary, and for this purpose the two Bills referred to were introduced and passed by the Legislative Council.

The more important of the two new Acts was that which dealt with incitements in the Press. It provided summary measures for dealing with journals guilty of urging the commitment of murder or other major crimes of violence, without procedure before a court. Should the Government consider that a newspaper has infringed the provisions of the Act, they may instruct the magistrate of senior grade to enforce the law by suppressing the offending publication, closing its office, and confiscating the plant. There are no arrests and no prosecutions entailed. If the owner of the office and plant considers that the Government have acted wrongfully, he may appeal to the High Court, and if the Court holds that the articles complained of do not come within the meaning of the Act, it may reverse the decision of the Government.

The measure dealing with explosives was based upon the provisions of the Explosive Substances Act, passed in England in 1883, which enacted that any person causing a dangerous explosion should be liable to penal servitude for life; conspiring with the object of causing an explosion, or being in possession of explosive substances for that purpose, became offences punishable with twenty years' penal servitude; even the possession of explosive substances under circumstances giving rise to "a reasonable suspicion" that they were not to be used for a lawful purpose, rendered the accused person liable to fourteen years' imprisonment. Moreover, any person who, by the supply of or the solicitation of money, the providing of arms, the supply of materials, or in any manner whatever "procures, counsels, aids, abets, or is accessory to the commission of any crime" under the Act, was declared guilty of felony in the same degree as a principal. That enactment rapidly put an end to the felonious use of dynamite in Great Britain, and its existence upon the Statute-book is still regarded as a valuable deterrent. The necessity for a similar Act in India was amply demonstrated by the outrages that had taken place against the lives and property of Europeans.

Swadeshi Methods

The boycotting methods of the more violent and less influential supporters of the "Swadeshi" movement were soon shown to be of little value in operation. The more intelligent and far-seeing members of the industrial community saw the advantages of the protection and peace guaranteed to commercial enterprise by the British in India, and did not believe in a "Swadeshi" which refused to join hands with foreign experts and foreign capital, much as they desired to see the fruits of India's wealth and industry kept within their own country. This is pointed out by Mr. S. M. Mitra, a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, in his work *Indian Problems*, published in London in February, 1908. He says:—

"There is nothing to be disheartened about in the 'Swadeshi' movement in India. A true 'Swadeshi' enterprise appreciates the expert assistance of the English. There is nothing to trouble about in the false 'Swadeshi.' There is nothing genuine about it. The extreme utterances of the Indian professional agitators represent as much Indian popular feeling as Hyde Park speeches represent the London Chamber of Commerce. The Bengal Boycott is only a political ventriloquism inspired by the irrational opposition to the so-called Partition of Bengal. The native newspapers of India in their editorial columns denounce, but in their advertisement columns give a tremendous impetus to, the sale of English goods. So much for the consistency of the Bengal Boycott. The Anglo-Saxon race is strong in commercial cleverness and resourcefulness. I have no doubt that it will prove strong enough in commercial unity to put down the Bengal Boycott. Not knowing the ABC of economics, the false 'Swadeshi' agitators, in trying to throttle British enterprise in India, are really throttling their own country. The relations between England and India must be those of close co-operation. Commercial England must adapt herself to the new

phase of her commercial position. Commercial contact leads to political unification."

This expression of opinion is practically in a line with Anglo-Indian views generally, in not regarding the agitation as dangerous to British rule. The Mohammedans and the native Princes remain thoroughly loyal and active in the suppression of sedition within the territories over which they exercise control, and the measures adopted by the Government are considered to meet the situation.

On June 6th, 1908, in the House of Commons, Viscount Morley promised inquiry with a view to reform of Indian Government and further participation by the natives in the work of legislation and administration. He outlined certain reform proposals which the Indian Government had evolved for the purpose of democratizing the Government of India :—

"We have given approval to the establishment of an advisory Council of Notables. It would be purely advisory, but would serve the double purpose of eliciting independent opinion and of diffusing, what is most important of all, correct information as to the facts and intentions of his Majesty's Government. The second proposal is the acceptance of the general principle of a substantial enlargement of the Legislative Councils, both the Governor-General's Legislative Council and the Provincial Legislative Councils. Thirdly, in the discussion of the Budget in the Viceroy's Council the subjects are to be grouped and explained severally by the members of the Council in charge, and longer time is to be allowed for this detailed discussion and for general debate. The Secretary of State has the privilege of nominating members of the Council of India. I think that the time has now come when the Secretary of State may safely, wisely, and justly nominate one, and it may be two, Indian members."

Council of Notables

The Council of Notables was to be called the "Imperial Advisory Council," and its sixty members Imperial Councillors. They would comprise twenty ruling chiefs and a number of the territorial magnates of every province. They would hold office for five years. The functions of the Council would not be legislative but advisory, and the proceedings private. A Commission was appointed, of which Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, was chairman, "to inquire into the relations now existing, for financial and administrative purposes, between the Supreme Government and the various Provincial Governments in India, and between the Provincial Governments and the authorities subordinate to them ; and to report whether, by measures of decentralization or otherwise, those relations can be simplified and improved."

The Governor-General's Legislative Council was to be composed of fifty-four members, to include two elected Mohammedans, seven members elected by the nobles and great landowners of Madras, Bombay, etc. ; four non-official members to represent minorities.

The Council of India would in future consist of from ten to fourteen members, with salaries of £1000 ; office to be held for seven years. Two natives—one Hindu and one Mohammedan—had been appointed—Syed Husein Belgrami and Mr. K. G. Gupta.

INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL : (See under SOUTH AFRICA.)

INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE (STATE) IN FINLAND : The movement that has for some time been apparent in England, in favour of the better insurance of the working classes, of which Germany was the pioneer, has developed with much greater rapidity in several of the countries upon the Continent. The question has occupied, for instance, the consideration of special committees in Norway, Sweden, Finland, etc. ; and the trend of legislative action in this direction is well shown in the various provisions contained in the Bill drawn up by the Government Committee appointed for that purpose by the Grand Duchy of Finland, the main sections of which comprise the following proposals :—

The object of the Bill is primarily to insure against the consequences of invalidity and old age in the case of all persons over fifteen years of age who work for wages for other people, whether these wages be paid in money or in kind. Officials and employees of the State, of the Commune, of the Churches, and of public institutions are exempted from the duty of insurance, as are also private officials if their annual earnings exceed £100 ; persons who do not regularly work for other persons, if their earnings exceed the above amount ; persons who only get free board and lodging for their work ; persons who under the Bill are considered invalids ; and, lastly, such persons as are not yet insured at the end of their fifty-fifth year. The Bill further stipulates that at their request also other persons than those enumerated above may be freed from the duty of insuring themselves, and it further provides a voluntary insurance for persons having not yet finished their thirty-fifth year, whose income does not exceed £100 per year, and who cannot under the Bill be considered invalids.

A person for whom insurance has been compulsory and who leaves work, shall also be entitled to continue the insurance voluntarily. If by his work an insured person acquires the right to an annual State pension of £25, or if he receives another pension to the same amount, or a State insurance to the same amount, that person shall have to be struck off the lists of the insurance. The same shall hold good for any Finnish subject giving up his citizenship or for any foreigner who leaves Finland. The contributions as well as the pensions have been divided into classes.

	Earnings per week.	Earnings per year.	Contributions per week.
	s. d.	£ s. d.	d.
Class I.	up to 3 11	up to 9 16 10	1½
,, II.	,, ,, 5 10	,, ,, 14 14 1½	2
,, III.	,, ,, 8 7½	,, ,, 21 11 4½	2⅝
,, IV.	,, ,, 13 4	,, ,, 33 6 8	4
,, V.	,, ,, 19 7½	,, ,, 49 — 4½	5⅜
,, VI.	over 19 7½	over 49 — 4½	7½

The agricultural day-labourers shall without consideration of the amount of their wages be reckoned among the second class, and the women employed in agriculture shall be reckoned among the first class. One-half of the contributions for the compulsory insurance shall be paid by the insured persons, the other half by the employers, who shall be entitled to deduct the necessary amount for the contributions of the workers from the wages. If an insured person desires to pay higher contributions, he shall be entitled to do so ; the employer, however, cannot be forced to pay higher contributions. The whole contribution for the voluntary insurance shall be paid by the insured person. In case of invalidity the pension shall either be paid if the invalidity is permanent, or if it lasts for more than four weeks, in case the person asking for the pension has been insured for at least four years, and if at least 150 weekly contributions have been paid for him. The old age pension shall be granted to every person living in Finland, who has finished the sixty-fifth year of age, has been insured for thirty years, and can prove having paid at least 1200 weekly contributions. The pensions shall be composed of two parts, the original amount, and the increase. The original amount shall be £2 10s., the increase to consist of twenty per cent. of the contributions booked for the person receiving the pension. To every invalidity pension paid out the State contributes £2 10s. To every old age pension the State also contributes £2 10s. per year, if the income of the person receiving the pension does not amount to more than £20, apart from the pension, and £1 5s., if the income without the pension does not exceed £30. In further clauses the relation of the persons receiving pensions to the accident insurance is regulated, and also the special conditions regarding foreigners, etc. If an insured person is struck off the lists for one of the reasons mentioned above, such as giving up his citizenship, emigration, or the receipt of a State pension or State insurance of £25, half of the money paid by him in contributions can be claimed back again ; the same shall hold good, if an insured person who has become incapable to earn his living does, under the Act concerning Accident Insurance, resign his claim to the invalidity pension because he receives an accident insurance, or if he is refused an invalidity pension. If an insured person dying before he has received a pension leaves children of less than fifteen years of age, half of the contributions paid by him shall be paid to his family.

INDUSTRIAL LAW COMMITTEE : Founded in 1898. Object : To supply information as to the legal protection of the industrial classes with regard to the conditions of their trade ; to constitute a central body to which may be reported breaches of the law, in order that these may be inquired into, or referred to the proper authorities. Chairman, Mrs. H. J. Tennant. *Secretary* :

Miss Irene Cox, York Mansion, York Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

INEBRIATES' SANATORIA: (See under TEMPERANCE PROBLEMS.)

INEBRIETY, THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF: Founded in 1884. Objects: The investigation of all forms of alcoholism. Membership, nearly eight hundred; subscription, 5*s.* annually. Official organ, *The British Journal of Inebriety*, quarterly, 1*s.* President, Thomas Claye Shaw, B.A., M.D., F.R.C.P. *Hon. Secretary:* T. N. Kelynack, M.D., M.R.C.P., 133, Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London, W.

INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH: Mention of a few centres only of this important religious movement will suffice to show its scope in the United Kingdom. Opened in the autumn of 1908, and erected specially for Institutional work by the Wesleyans of Sheffield, the Victoria Hall, Norfolk Street, is a fine example of a building specially planned for carrying out in the most effective manner the various organizations comprehended in Institutional work. It cost £41,000. There is also a specially erected Institutional Church at Deptford, a part of London so poor that a "Deptford Fund," under Royal auspices, exists for relieving the chronic poverty of this south-eastern suburb. Here, grouped round the spacious central hall, are many branches of work covering the district and showing decided progress under the Rev. Gregory Mantle. The various older Institutional Churches of the Congregational, the Wesleyan, and the Baptist bodies are referred to on page 509, and the Settlements on pages 1107 and 1109. In each the sociological character of the work, as well as the strictly religious services, finds enthusiastic support. Of those specified the West London Mission has seen some recent changes. The mission migrated from the St. James's Hall to the large hall in Great Queen Street, Kingsway, and there for two or three years conducted a useful work, first under the Rev. Ensor Walters, and after his removal to Sheffield in 1907, the Rev. J. E. Rattenbury. In October, 1908, the Kingsway hall being vacated meantime and partly demolished, the Lyceum Theatre (of Sir Henry Irving fame) was taken for a period of two years, with further options, for carrying on the work of the mission. In other parts of London and in many of the cities of the United Kingdom, such as Birmingham, Leeds, Nottingham, Bolton, etc., progressive work of a similar character is being carried on. Where it exists the Institutional movement stands to the people for a positive social centre, having just as much "churchiness" as ever, but with the distinctive Church elements co-ordinated with its multifarious social agencies. This type of Church is in reality a large social club, based on the fundamental doctrine of Christian brotherhood, and wedded to the promulgation of Christian beliefs.

IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS: (See under TRADE UNION CONGRESS, IRISH.)

ITO, and ITOLAND: (see JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION.)

J

JEWISH TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION, (ITO): Founded in 1905 at Basle. Object: To procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot or will not remain in the lands in which they at present live. The word "Ito" means Jewish Territorial Organization.

The special work of the Emigration Regulation Department of Ito is to divert the existing spontaneous stream of Jewish emigrants from New York to Galveston, and thence, as far as possible, to States west of the Mississippi. The headquarters of the Department are in London. In order to carry out the object of the Department, special Committees have been formed in Russia, the U. S. A. and other countries. Up to December 31st, 1907, the number of emigrants despatched by the organization to the new American "Itoland" was 672 men, eighty-two women, and seventy-nine children.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. Clement I. Salaman, King's Chambers, Portugal Street, London, W.C.

Speaking at Manchester in December, 1907, the President, Mr. Israel Zangwill, said—

"Rome was not built in a day, neither will a Jewish State be built in twenty-four hours. As the life of a State exceeds vastly the life of a man, so is its infancy proportionately long. Before a territory is fully 'procured,' *i.e.*, made capable of receiving all those 'who cannot or will not remain' in other lands; before railways and ports are built; before towns arise and factories are established, and mines are working, many years must pass. The foundations of a Jewish land must be laid slowly and cautiously in our best human material. To try to solve our emigration problem without an autonomous Territory is to build on sand; but to expect that such a Territory can receive our emigration immediately is to build on air. This is the dilemma of the Jewish position. No undeveloped land could receive our emigration. No developed land would afford us autonomy. If we grasp at an immediate solution we shall never get a final solution. If, on the other hand, we try for a final solution, we are left with the immediate problem. What is the escape from this dilemma? Why, the way the Ito has found—to try both for the temporary solution and the final solution; with one hand to work for the present, and with the other for the future."

K

KYRLE SOCIETY, THE: Founded in 1876. Object: For bringing beauty home to the people. The Society owes its origin to a letter by Miss Miranda Hill, calling attention to the dull, commonplace lives of the poor, and suggesting that means taken to enliven and better those lives would be labour well spent. The name "Kyrle" was taken from Pope's lines eulogizing John Kyrle, the "Man of Ross." President, H.R.H. Princess Louise. *Hon. Secretary:* Miss Lilian James, 2, Manchester Street, London, W.

L

LABOUR CHURCH UNION, THE: Founded in 1892. Object: To give expression to the religion of the Labour Movement. There are about thirty Churches in England and Wales with three thousand members. President, Mr. Lewis Watson, Ashton-under-Lyne. *Secretary:* Mr. John Mitchell, 13, Moorwell Place, Eccleshill, Bradford.

LABOUR CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BOARD, LONDON: (Formerly the London Conciliation Board.) Founded in 1890. Object: To promote amicable methods of settling labour disputes and the prevention of strikes and lock-outs. As showing the continuity of the Board's work, there were in existence, up to August, 1908, fifteen voluntary agreements, in some of which the parties are bound to give notice of termination through the Board, which is also expressly recognized, in the majority of cases, as a body to deal with any question that may arise in connection with them; there were in existence twenty-seven awards, which may be regarded as more or less permanent settlements of matters in dispute by the Board. Where, from altered circumstances, a modification of an award has been sought for, there has as yet been no difficulty in re-opening the subject, and pronouncing a judgment. The employers on the Board (twelve) are annually elected by the London Chamber of Commerce and the labour members (twelve) by the Metropolitan Trade Unions. Chairman, Sir S. B. Boulton, Bart. *Secretary:* Mr. Kenric B. Murray, London Chamber of Commerce, Cannon Street, London, E.C. (See also ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.)

LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1884. Object: To bring about an organization of industry based on the principle of labour co-partnership, wherein all those engaged shall share in the profits, capital, control, and responsibility. Official organ, *Co-Partnership*, monthly, 1*d.* President, Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, M.P. *Secretary:* Mr. Henry Vivian, M.P., 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

The following figures show the progress in Great Britain of the Workmen's Labour Co-partnership Societies since the Association was formed:—

	1883.	1893.	1907.
Societies ..	15	77	112
Capital ..	103,436	619,153	1,865,610
Trade ..	160,751	1,115,842	4,108,807
Profit ..	9,031	65,387	203,445
Loss ..	114	2,112	4,321
Divi. on wages	not known	8,225	25,017

LABOUR DEFENCE, FREEDOM OF: An association formed to protect workers, especially adult women workers, from restrictive legislation which would lessen their wage-earning capacity, limit their personal liberty, and inconvenience them in their private lives; also to maintain the rights of women in regard to the nature, hours, and conditions of their employment. President, Lady Frances Balfour. *Secretary:* Miss Edith Lawson, 48, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.

LABOUR EXCHANGES: (See under UNEMPLOYMENT.)

LABOURING CLASSES, SOCIETY FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE: Founded in 1844. Object: The improvement of the condition of the dwellings of the labouring and artisan classes by the provision of improved tenements. *Secretary:* Mr. Alfred Humphreys, F.C.I.S., 4, Bloomsbury Mansion, Hart Street, London, W.C.

LABOUR PARTY: In addition to details given on page 685, the report of the Eighth Annual Conference held in Hull in January, 1908, indicated a total membership of 1,072,413; trade unions affiliated, 181; local labour parties affiliated, 92, with increase of membership from the affiliation with the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society, 22,267. Owing to the imposition of the Parliamentary levy one of the co-operative societies affiliated last year dropped out; the other, Tunbridge Wells, continues its affiliation.

The following table shows the growth of the party since January, 1900:—

	Trade Unions. No.	Membership.	L.R.C.'s No.	Trades Councils and Socialist Societies. No.	Membership.	Total
1900-1	41	353,070	7	3	22,861	375,931
1901-2	65	455,450	21	2	13,861	469,311
1902-3	127	847 315	49	2	13,835	861,150
1903-4	165	956,025	76	2	13,775	969,800
1904-5	158	885,270	73	2	14,730	900,000
1905-6	158	904,496	73	2	16,784	921,280
1906-7	176	975,182	83	2	20,885	998,338*
1907-8	181	1,049,673	92	2	22,267	1,072,413†

* This total includes 2271 Co-operators.
† Includes 473 Co-operators.

LABOUR PARTY, INDEPENDENT: (See INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.)

LAND SOCIETIES: (See under THRIFT.)

LAND VALUES, TAXATION OF: The value of the land in the United Kingdom can only be approximately estimated, as there are no real statistics for guidance in the matter. Only land yielding an income is referred to in the Income Tax Returns, and local taxation is based upon occupancy. Agricultural land, for instance, can only be estimated at its Income Tax valuation, namely, £52,000,000. The adequate and just taxation of land has been the subject of much discussion in recent years, one section of the reformers contending that the present system of valuing land according to the return it brings when in use works badly, and that pressure should be brought to bear upon those who are keeping land out of use, or putting it only to an inferior use. They argue that the land should be valued at what it would bring if put to a proper and full use. Further, it is contended that the increased value of land due to the labour and expenditure of the whole community belongs to those whose efforts have made it—the community—and that means should be devised to secure for the community that increased value; one method being to secure it by taxation, which involves, in the first place, the separate assessment of land and buildings where they exist together.

A New Bill

Recent movements in this direction are to be found in the legislative programme, the early introduction of a new Valuation Bill for England having been promised by the Prime Minister in a speech on April 20th, 1907, in which he indicated the lines upon which the proposed measure was likely to run. "In providing," he said, "as we propose to do, for making a separate valuation of the value of the land apart from buildings and improvements, we shall be preparing the way for a reform of the rating system in our urban areas which is urgently needed and properly desired, and we shall at the same time very much simplify the process of the public acquisition of land by getting a record of how much of their value is due to improvements and how much to the annual value of the land. It is an indispensable preliminary step. It will show us what the land values are and where they are." The Bill was intended to have been introduced

in the House of Commons by the President of the Local Government Board during the ordinary Session of 1908, but its introduction had to be postponed, and was looked for early in the special Autumn Session of Parliament following.

Meanwhile, on July 9th, 1908, the Land Values (Scotland) Bill passed the House of Lords. Reviewing the position as then existing, the August number of *Land Values* said: "In the first place the Lords, by passing the Bill as amended, concede that it is possible to value and tax the land apart from the value of buildings and improvements. The alleged impossibility of separate valuation is now definitely abandoned. Secondly, it is conceded by the passing of the Bill as amended that among the improvements the value of which can be separated from land value, are drainage and reclamation work, levelling, and the like, the value of which is unexhausted at the time of the valuation, and that such land is a proper subject for land value taxation whether or not buildings have been actually erected on it. Thirdly, the Bill as amended, although optional, applies equally to town and country, and the old contention that the principle is applicable only to urban districts, is therefore given up. Fourthly, the definition of yearly land value provides that 'in the case of land proved to be required in the public interest at the time of valuation for building or industrial purposes, and to be unreasonably withheld from use for such purposes, the yearly land value shall be estimated as if such land were in use for the purposes aforesaid.' This definition clearly recognizes that it is possible, and in some cases may be desirable and necessary, to value land on the footing of its being put to a use to which it is not being put at the time. It admits that land may be found to be unreasonably withheld from use for building or industrial purposes contrary to the public interest, and that in such case the proper course is to enter the value of such land as if put to the purposes for which it is required."

In Scotland

The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values in July, 1908, addressed a "plea of urgency" to the Government, in which the situation is comprehensively dealt with. Referring to the passing into law of the Small Holdings Act and the pressing forward of the Housing and Town Planning Bill, they point out that "those measures are not economic measures in the sense that a Land Values Bill would be. They make no change which would tend generally to induce all those who control the land to allow it to be used on more reasonable terms for the purposes to which it could best be put and for which it is required. They do nothing to affect universally the economic relation between the owners and the would-be users of land." Transfer of rates on to land values is described as the true housing policy, which would allow building to proceed. "In such situations as the margins of towns, the ground rent or land value usually represents about one-fifth of the rateable value on which rates are now levied. If charged on land values, therefore, the rates on such property would be only two-fifths of the amount levied under the present system, even assuming that the rate in the pound on land values would have to be double the present rate in the pound on rateable values." Rating of land values is further advocated as a means of securing equitable distribution of burdens and preventing undue enhancement when land is required for public use.

A Plea of Urgency

On the benefits of taxing land values, reference is made in the *Financial Reform Year Book* (1908) to an argument adduced that as the total rental of the landowners is only £100,000,000 a year, the taxation of land values would be a very trifling reform, and it is pointed out as against this that there is a vast difference between the value of the land and the amount of rent received by the landowners. Statistics are also provided giving an approximate estimate of the value of land in the United Kingdom, as follows:—

"If we value London land at the same rate as New York, viz. sixty per cent. of total of Income Tax valuation for both land and houses; Lancashire, Yorkshire, Middlesex, and Essex at forty per cent.; and the houses in the rest of the kingdom at twenty-five per cent., we have value of land in London sixty per cent. of £46,019,333, or £27,612,000; Lancashire, Yorkshire, Middlesex, and Essex, forty per cent. of £53,020,000, or £21,208,000; land value portion of house property in rest of kingdom, twenty-five per cent. of £106,447,000, or £26,612,000. Total for town land values, £74,432,000.

Total Land Values

"Then we have the profits of railways, mines, gasworks, ironworks, waterworks, canals, quarries, tolls, springs, shooting rights, all to a large extent land values, amounting to £82,338,000; taking one-eighth we have £10,300,000. At the present prices of coal and ironstone, the royalties, dead rents, mine rents, wayleaves, airleaves, etc., will come to over £10,000,000 on the quantity of these minerals turned out last year. Then it must be remembered these values are all less rates, and if the rates were paid from some outside source the rents would be raised so as to absorb the amount so saved. Thus the amount raised in rates must be added to these land values. Thus we have—

Agricultural land	£52,000,000
Building land	74,000,000
Mint rents, royalties, etc. ..	10,000,000
Railways, mines, etc.	10,000,000
Rates, tolls, etc.	70,000,000
	£216,000,000

"None of these items will bear much scrutiny, either by those who think the amount ought to be less or those who think it ought to be more, but it will serve as a basis for calculation.

"We thus perceive that in times of peace the land value of the kingdom amounts to more than the cost of government, both local and national; therefore, both the Local Authorities and the Chancellor of the Exchequer could avail themselves of the new source of revenue. The tax ought to be both local and national. But the economic effects of taxing land values would be far greater than the financial. The tax would break down the land monopoly, which exercises such a baneful influence upon the welfare of the people, for it lowers wages, causes overcrowding in towns, sweating, and, briefly, is the root of almost all the economic evils we suffer from. It is necessary, therefore, that the tax should be extended to all land, and not confined, as many seem to think it should be, to town lands. Agricultural, town, and mineral lands should all be subjected to the tax if we are to alter the present system, by which labour is deprived of its proper reward."

LAW ASSOCIATION, THE INTERNATIONAL: Founded in 1873. Object: The reform and codification of the law of nations. The Association holds biennial conferences, the most recent being at Budapesth, in September, 1908. Chairman, Sir Walter G. F. Phillimore, Bart., D.C.L. *Hon. Secretaries:* G. G. Phillimore, B.C.L., M.A., and Thomas Baty, D.C.L., LL.D., 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.

"L'ENTENTE CORDIALE" ANGLO-FRENCH ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1897 to promote and maintain friendly relations between the two peoples, by organizing lectures, dissemination of literature, etc. Number of members, 750. Chairman of Council,

Mr. A. Barton Kent. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. W. H. Sands, 6, Fig Tree Court, London, E.C.

LIBERAL FEDERATION, SCOTTISH WOMEN'S: Founded in 1891. Objects: To promote and extend the knowledge of Liberal principles and to secure just and equal legislation and representation for women, especially with reference to the Parliamentary Franchise; and the protection of the interests of children. Membership, 14,129. Special work done: The organization of Women's Liberal Associations throughout Scotland. Official organ, *Scottish Liberal Women's Magazine*, monthly, 1*d*. President, The Lady Marjorie Sinclair. *Secretary:* Miss Alice Younger, M.A., 7, West George Street, Glasgow.

LIBERAL FEDERATION, WOMEN'S: Founded in 1886. The Federation has 635 affiliated branches, with an approximate membership of 94,600. Official organ, *Summary of Federation News*, monthly, 1½*d*. President, The Countess of Carlisle. *Secretary:* Miss Margaret Bunney, 124, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

LIBERATION OF RELIGION FROM STATE PATRONAGE AND CONTROL, THE SOCIETY FOR THE: Founded in 1844. Objects: (1) The abrogation of all laws and usages which inflict disability, or confer privilege, on ecclesiastical grounds, upon any subject of the realm; (2) The discontinuance of all payments from public funds, and of all compulsory exactions, for religious purposes; (3) After an equitable satisfaction of existing interests, the application to strictly National purposes of the National property now held in trust by the Established Churches of England, Wales, and Scotland; and, concurrently therewith, the liberation of those Churches from State control. The Society has over twelve thousand members and subscribers. The Disestablishment Council for Scotland (*q.v.*) works in co-operation with the Society, which is now turning its special efforts towards disestablishment in Wales. Official organ, *The Liberator*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Rev. John Clifford, M.A., D.D. *Secretary:* Mr. David Caird, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

LIBRARIES, PUBLIC: Public libraries have now become an integral part of municipal life. The early Acts were consolidated into the Public Libraries Act of 1892. This was amended by the Acts of 1893 and 1901. Although the 1892 Act limited the rate to one penny in the pound for libraries, there have been several instances where it has been increased; thus at Bury it is threepence in the pound, and at Brighton fourpence in the pound. It will be common knowledge that all over the country Mr. Andrew Carnegie and Mr. Passmore Edwards (in lesser degree) have provided the means for establishing libraries in a large number of towns. In January, 1908, there were about eight hundred public libraries in the United Kingdom, and the number of volumes in circulation was 4,409,565 in the lending libraries and 2,315,050 in the reference libraries. At the congress of the Library Association held in Brighton during August, 1908, one of the latest developments discussed was that of a "circular ticket," whereby a borrower need not be restricted to the libraries within his own municipality for obtaining books. This innovation is in practical operation. The public libraries of Woolwich, Poplar, Stepney, and other districts in London and Greater London have agreed to lend books to one another on application from borrowers, readers in these libraries, which embrace more than a score of lending libraries, being thus permitted to use an aggregate stock of nearly 200,000 volumes.

It is hoped to extend this system of interchange to public libraries throughout the Metropolis, and if the movement proves successful the logical outcome will be to make borrowers' tickets interchangeable throughout the Metropolis, and even further afield.

LICENSING BILL: By a long way the most sweeping measure of social reform advocated in the House of Commons during 1908 was this much-discussed measure, as introduced by the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, on February 27th, the consideration of which still continues (October, 1908).

The Bill, as originally framed, contained the following provisions:—

1.—A Time Limit of fourteen years to the compensation clauses of the Act of 1904. At the end of the fourteen years all licences are to be considered new licences—subject to pay monopoly value, etc.

2.—Reduction of Licences. A gradual and compulsory reduction in the number of licences, so that at the end of fourteen years they shall not exceed one licence to every four hundred persons in country places, nor more than one to from six hundred to one thousand persons in towns. Extensions of licensed premises to be liable to pay monopoly values.

3.—Sunday Sale of Drink in the provinces to be limited to one hour in the daytime and two hours in the evening. The *bonâ-fide* traveller will have to go six miles instead of three miles before he can be served with alcoholic drink.

4.—Magisterial Discretion. The power taken from the Licensing Magistrates by the 1904 Act is to be restored and enlarged—thus the local Licensing Authority will be enabled to impose conditions on licences regarding complete Sunday closing, closing on election days, exclusion of children from drinking bars, the employment of women and children, the long pull, etc. And the appeal to Quarter Sessions is to be abolished in large boroughs.

5.—Compensation. The levy for compensation is to be national and compulsory. A better method of assessment is to be adopted, and it is claimed that the licensee will, under this Bill, be better treated than under Mr. Balfour's Act.

6.—Local Option is to be applicable immediately to new licences, and the same principle is to be applied to all licences at the termination of the Time Limit.

7.—The freedom of clubs is interfered with as little as possible, but power is given to the justices to stop bogus drinking clubs.

The Bill also deals with the abuse of beer-hawking, control of off-licences, betting on licensed premises, sale of drink on passenger vessels, and other points of immediate and practical value.

The most striking speech in the House of Commons during the second reading of the Bill was that of Sir Thomas Whittaker. He stated that

"The Bill fixes a maximum number of houses in proportion to population, and not a very low one where the houses are redundant. The majority report of the Royal Commission on Licensing, which it must always be remembered was signed by the chosen representatives of the liquor trade, said: 'We regard a large suppression of licences as essential.' They also recommended a reduction in Scotland. In England there are fifty per cent. more licences in proportion to population than in Scotland."

He combated Mr. Austen Chamberlain's opposition by quoting his father, the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, in his evidence before the House of Lords' Committee on Intemperance, who said: "The enormous number of public-houses, which is clearly out of all proportion to anything like the legitimate wants of the people, must tend to increase temptation."

After dealing with various phases of the Bill, Sir Thomas Whittaker thus treated the question of the legal right of tenure in licences—

The Time Limit

"As to the question of the time limit, there is no legal right to the renewal of an ordinary public-house licence beyond a year. It is an expectation and nothing more. It has been repeatedly declared to be so, and the brewers themselves in their manifesto issued at the beginning of this year say that all they claim is an expectation, and not a right. The law is perfectly clear, and the whole object of an annual licence is not to review the conduct of the licence-holder only, but to review the whole position. It has been said that it must be a judicial decision. What can be more judicial than a decision that the licence is not required, and that it is desirable in the public interest that it should cease? That is a good and judicial reason. We have had in the course of this

debate a great many quotations, but I should like to quote what Lord Halsbury said in 1897 in the Boulter case: 'You draw a distinction between the original granting of the licence and the renewal of the licence. One must clear one's mind and see what it is. It is a new licence for the new year. It is important to observe the accuracy of language. It is not a renewal of the licence, it is another licence for another year.' That unquestionably is the strict law."

For the Government he claimed, in regard to the fourteen years' time limit, that all legal right was on their side, but that they recognized much money had been invested. At the same time, Sir Thomas argued that "in the interest of the public well-being the nation must have full control over its own licences." This fourteen years' time limit did not mean that all the houses were going to be closed, but that then they should "start afresh and charge the proper fee for the licence;" and that the nation would resume its dominion over its own licences. The monopoly value of the licences he computed to figure at £95,000,000, and in demonstrating that the time limit did not unfairly press upon publicans, said: "During the time limit a number of these houses will be wiped out and paid for. The owners will get £12,000,000, and that leaves £83,000,000 to be provided by the trade at the end of the time limit, and they have altogether got towards it, I find, in one way or another, £15,000,000 to £20,000,000. That means they have £63,000,000 to £68,000,000 to provide, call it roughly £70,000,000—which at four per cent. means £3,500,000 a year, and at five per cent. £3,250,000. That is what they have to deal with, and I say that every other trade in the country, almost every year of its existence, has to cope with greater variations of cost and price than these figures represent."

During the further discussion of the Bill in October, 1908, the Prime Minister hinted that the possible emendations might include some elasticity on the time limit to, say, twenty-one years.

The opinion of the Labour Party with regard to the temperance reform is shown by the resolution passed with acclamation at their annual conference in 1907: "That any measure of temperance reform should confer upon localities full and unfettered power for dealing with the licensing question in accordance with local opinion. By this means localities should be enabled to (*a*) Prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries; (*b*) Reduce the number of licences and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and (*c*) If a locality decides that licences are to be granted, to determine whether such licences shall be under private or any form of public control."

The Fabian Society gives as the Socialistic solution of the drink problem that it should provide "public control, real trust in the people and their representatives."

The Bill is viewed by the licensing trade as "confiscation and robbery." By the Bill they allege, in *Fifty Points against the Licensing Bill* (Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London, Ltd., 1*d*.), that "the investor is to be robbed of the interest of his investment, and part at least of his capital, while the trader is to be robbed of the reward of his industry in the shape of goodwill."

Opposing Views

They further maintain: "What the Government really propose is to deplete the resources of the publican by annual contributions to the extinction of licences during the reduction period, and at the end of the fourteen years appropriate without any compensation the value of the licences which have survived."

Another contention advanced by the trade is that "the Bill distinctly attacks the generally accepted theory of individual liberty, that a man has the right to do that which does not interfere with the equal liberty of all." In another pamphlet, *The Real Facts about Public-house Reform* (issued by the same Society), they say the Government "seek to pass a Bill by which one-third of the public-houses in England are to be shut up before the end of fourteen years. The licence, which is the most essential and valuable part of those houses, will then be resold, in some cases to the men who have already bought and paid for them once, and the State—which really means any little body of irresponsible faddists who may be in power at the time—will be able to impose any restrictions they choose to make as a condition of sale."

In a further leaflet, *Sober by Act of Parliament* (Common Sense Library, 1*d*.), occurs this argument on behalf of the publicans: "The only legislative coercion which has any share in the increasing sobriety of the nation is the kind which consists in providing police supervision of public-houses, and makes it a criminal offence to serve a drunken person—and the influence even of such legislation may very easily be exaggerated, for it is less, for example, the fear of police proceedings which keeps a publican from serving an intoxicated customer than the desire to keep his house respectable, which in many cases means keeping his business together."

See also DRINK TRAFFIC, TEMPERANCE PROBLEMS, etc.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION BUREAU: Founded in 1900. Membership, 191. *Address:* The Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

LODGE, SIR OLIVER JOSEPH: M.Sc., F.R.S., D.Sc., London. Also honorary D.Sc. of Oxford, Victoria, and Liverpool Universities; and LL.D., of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. Sir Oliver is specially well known as a scientist, philosopher, and social reformer; and also has special interest in the interpretation and spreading of religious knowledge. He was born at Penkhull, Staffordshire, in 1851, and is Principal of the University of Birmingham. Sir Oliver is a profound thinker and is the author of several books on scientific, psychological, religious, and reform matters. He also contributes topical articles to the *Hibbert Journal*, *Homiletic Review*, etc. His books on social reform deal chiefly with child life, though this is by no means the only side of reform he studies. He believes that children should have a sound religious education. At the Annual Conference of the British Child Study Association, held in Birmingham in 1907, he delivered an address on the "Religious Education of Children," in which he stated that such education should have the attributes of indirectness and continuousness; that they were teaching religion by forming habits of cleanliness, order, punctuality, and courtesy, and by helping children to make animals happy and responsive; by teaching them to take care of their garden, to plant some flowers, and by turning the instinct of destruction into one of creation. He further said that religion to children should not be based on the doctrine of sin. He has drawn up a New Catechism for little children, which teaches duty towards God and man without reference to creed or sect. As a public lecturer and speaker his apt and witty diction is well known.

Address: Mariemont, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

LONDON: That part of the administration of London coming within the powers of the London County Council comprehends a wide range of departments. The most recent developments are dealt with below. For a general résumé of the bodies governing the county of London, and the particular sphere of their operations, see LONDON, LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL, EDUCATION, SCHOOLS.

The general question of the administration of Education in various parts of the world, including London, is dealt with under separate sections (see SCHOOLS, EDUCATION, TECHNICAL SCHOOLS, etc.), and the latest legislative proposals are detailed under the EDUCATION BILL. Certain recent

Education

developments in Educational systems are given individual treatment below.

Upon the recommendation of its Education Committee, the London County Council in March, 1908, decided upon the recognition of voluntary committees or associations formed for the purpose of providing evening play centres or other means of recreation for the children, with the view of their being granted the use, free of charge, of schools or class-rooms. The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, made provision for children attending public elementary schools in the matter of vacation schools, play centres, etc., during holidays, and under this provision the County Council has made full use of its powers. A report of the Day Schools Sub-committee, made on March 4th, 1908, stated that the total number of schools let for such purposes was 110, of which number eighty-three were let to the Children's Happy Evenings Association, fourteen to the Evening Play Centres Committee, and thirteen to other agencies. In connection therewith, manual training, cookery, laundry work, gymnastic, and other apparatus is loaned by the Council for the purposes of vacation schools, provided that the voluntary associations can satisfy the Council that a suitable person will be in charge of the apparatus. While the Council accept no financial or other responsibility they retain the right to inspect the work of any association or committee. An estimate of the expense entailed upon the Council in connection with these schools places the amount at under £2000. The Walworth Vacation School may be taken as a typical example of the lines upon which these schools are run :—

Vacation Schools

The report of the Education Committee for 1907 showed that 257 of the poorest children of Walworth who did not succeed in obtaining a stay in the country during the summer holidays were provided for by the holiday school, and during 1908 it was decided that the school should be open for four weeks, beginning on the first day of the ordinary holidays, when it was hoped to accommodate three hundred children for the first fortnight and another three hundred for the second. It was proposed that, with the consent of the Council, the school should be held at the Royal-hill London County Council school, near Greenwich Park, as being the most convenient that could be found for the purpose. It had the advantage also of being sufficiently near Blackheath for cricket pitches to be reserved on the heath, and for various other games to be played there. Visits could also be paid to swimming baths. The nature of the instruction arranged was an attractive blending of work and play, the classes covering such subjects as musical drill, ambulance, drawing and painting, singing, the study of flowers, and story-telling. Anything in the nature of formal instruction is avoided as far as possible, and the health and recreation of the children made the first consideration. Dinner and tea are given to the children, and the Ragged School Union undertook also to pay the fares of the children to and from the school on the trams.

With regard to the teaching staff, it was considered that many of the teachers who have just left college would be glad to undertake the work, and it was suggested that each teacher should work for only a fortnight out of the period during which the school was open. It was proposed to engage three ambulance drivers to look after the assembly of the pupils at Pollock-road, supervise their journey on the tramcars, convey them to the school at Greenwich, and act similarly in respect of the return journey. It was also proposed to obtain the services of a bathing instructor from the Royal Naval College, who would undertake the swimming for an almost nominal charge. The managing committee asked that the Council should defray the expenses in connection with the salaries of teachers, wages of caretaker, nurse, ambulance drivers, bathing instructor, and incidentals, amounting in all to about £100 for the period of four weeks.

It was the opinion of the Education Committee, that the Council should not incur any actual expense in the matter beyond what would naturally be incurred in connection with the use of the Royal-hill School as a vacation school, but they thought that the recognition of the school, if granted, should be under the same conditions as those imposed in respect of other institutions of the same nature. As it did not seem probable that the recommendations with reference to the recognition of such schools could be submitted to the Council before the summer recess, the Education Committee proposed that recognition should be granted under the same conditions as had been imposed in previous years. In the event, however, of the matter being dealt with by the Council before the school was opened, they were of opinion that any new regulations made by the Council should be applied. They therefore suggested that favourable consideration should be granted to any application made by the managing committee for the recognition of the school under these terms.

At the close of the holidays, August 26th, 1908, the experiment was viewed as having proved a success, and an extension of the system will doubtless result.

Medical Inspection

By the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, which came into force on January 1st, 1908, provision is also made (section 13, i. b.) for the medical inspection of the children attending elementary schools. In a memorandum on the subject, issued by the Board of Education to Local Education Authorities on November 23rd, 1907, the intention of the Legislature was explained as follows—

The fundamental principle of Section 13 of the new Act is the medical examination and supervision not only of children known, or suspected, to be weakly or ailing, but of all children in the elementary schools, with a view to adapting and modifying the system of education to the needs and capacities of the child, securing the early detection of unsuspected defects, checking incipient maladies at their onset, and furnishing the facts which will guide Education Authorities in relation to physical and mental development during school life. The character and degree of medical inspection will depend on the standpoint from which the subject is viewed, the difficulty being, of course, to attain a due sense of proportion and uniformity, particularly as to fundamental points. Valuable to science though the findings of a more thorough and elaborate medical examination might be, it is the broad, simple necessities of a healthy life which must be kept in view. It cannot be doubted that a large proportion of the common diseases and physical unfitness in this country can be substantially diminished by effective public health administration, combined with the teaching of hygiene and a realization by teachers, parents, and children of its vital importance.

This view "required that the work of medical inspection should be carried out in intimate conjunction with the public health authorities, and under the direct supervision of the medical officer of health." The Memorandum therefore laid it down that, generally speaking, the work of inspection should be supervised by the medical officer of health (with assistance where necessary) of the authority which appoints the Education Committee. Where there is no County medical officer, the Board of Education consider that the duties of medical inspection under the Act "render it inadvisable any longer to postpone such an appointment." The Board were of opinion that the work of medical inspection could not be properly accomplished by medical men without assistance. The teacher, the school nurse, the parents or guardians of the child must co-operate with the school medical officer, and Education Authorities were specially recommended to invite parents to be

present at the first inspection, so that misunderstandings might be avoided and prejudice disarmed. Only one inspection during a child's school life is obligatory by the Act, but the Board in the exercise of the powers conferred on them, decided that not less than three inspections during the school life of the child are necessary to secure the results desired. The first inspection should take place at the time of, or as soon as possible after, admission to school; the second at or about the third year (say, the seventh year of age); and the third at or about the sixth year of school life (say, the tenth year of age). A further inspection immediately before the departure of the child into working life is considered desirable where practicable, and in some areas it may be best for this to take the place of the third inspection.

Discussing the statements made at the International Congress on School Hygiene, held in London, the *New Age* of August 15th, 1907, drew attention to the statement of Sir William Osler, Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, that there was no progress to be reported since the last Congress, held three years before at Nuremberg. He told the Congress that ninety per cent. of the children suffered from defective teeth, that fifty per cent. suffered from vermin, twenty-eight per cent. were mouth-breathers through disease of the nose, that twenty-five per cent. were very dirty, and thirteen per cent. suffered from malnutrition. The County Council had just agreed to spend £500 on furniture for the meals at some of its schools. Did the most rigid vegetarian believe that deal tables would allay the hunger of its 120,000 starving school children? After Dr. Osler's list, came the comparatively cheerful announcement from Dr. Ivens that one-third of the children had deficient hearing, and from Dr. Wright that out of 52,000 Glasgow school children examined thirty-five per cent. had defective vision, nearly one-half being due to mental deficiency, partly arising from malnutrition.

Open-air Schools

In the matter of open-air schools London has followed the lead of Germany, where the movement was first begun at Charlottenburg. The result of the experiment in this direction at Bostal Woods was so satisfactory that the Education Authority of the London County Council decided to increase the previous year's grant of £400 to £2000 for 1908, in order to provide three open-air schools in different parts of London. The places selected were Shooter's Hill (which took the place of Bostal Woods), Forest Hill, and Kentish Town. The schools are open from June 1st to October 31st, and each provides for seventy-five children, divided into three classes of twenty-five each. The staff consists of one head and three assistant teachers, a nurse, a cook and helper, and school keeper. It is expected that with Government grants the £2000 will cover all expenses, except the absolutely necessary school-feeding. For this private funds are relied on.

At their meeting in March, 1908, the London County Council, on the recommendation of the special schools sub-committee, agreed to the erection of a new permanent school for seventy physically defective children to be erected on a site at High Street, Limehouse, London, E., in addition to others already existing in Greenwich and other parts of the metropolis.

Physical Defects

The Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, of which the Rt. Hon. A. H. Dyke Acland was chairman, in an exhaustive report issued in September, 1908, expressed the unanimous opinion that the best training for children between three and five years of age is that obtained from their mothers in their own homes, provided the conditions are good, but they emphasized the urgent need for making some public provision for infants, below the age of compulsory attendance at school, where home conditions are imperfect. Live pets, flowers, and toys were recommended for use in Kindergarten schools, with a view to making them a real "children's garden" instead of a stuffy, map-hung class-room. Among other recommendations the committee said that infants should be allowed to sleep when they are drowsy. They should be encouraged to sleep in the open air, under proper conditions, and the committee recommended the provision of net beds for sleeping infant scholars. Freedom of movement, constant change of occupation, frequent visits to the playground, and opportunities for sleep were essential, while great discretion should be allowed the teacher in the absence of a rigid time-table, and classes should be limited to thirty. Special attention was drawn to the need for adequate provision being made in the matter of light, air, and sunshine in arranging the children's class-rooms. Heavy desks and galleries should never be used, since they lent themselves to forms of instruction unsuitable to young children and injurious to their physical development. Small tables and chairs were recommended instead, as these could be more easily put on one side to make room for games and play. The report described the committee's conception of an ideal infant school, the main idea of which was freedom from mental pressure and physical discipline, and from all formality in teaching. Such a school should be roomy, well lighted, warmed, and ventilated, and the following apparatus was recommended:—

1. Light chairs and low kindergarten tables.
2. Net-beds, or other suitable and sanitary provision for sleeping.
3. Blackboards fixed round the lower part of the walls.
4. Pictures, simple in design and outline, and brightly coloured.
5. Bricks of various sizes.
6. Large sand-troughs on wheels, for planting seeds and flowers, making "sand-pies," shell impressions, etc., with a supply of small spades and buckets.
7. Pets, such as goldfish and birds.
8. Plants, especially when grown by the infants themselves.
9. Swings, a rocking-horse, reins, balls, dolls, dolls'-house, Noah's Ark, and models of animals.
10. A piano.
11. Ample cupboards for toys, etc.

The lessons should include singing, recitations, some of the kindergarten gifts and games, and varied occupations, such as ball, brick-building, drawing on the blackboard, modelling in wet sand, reed and bead threading, rush-plaiting, matching and sorting colours and shapes, stick-laying, sand-drawing, picture and conversational lessons, nursery rhymes, story-telling, and story-acting.

Infant Instruction

The following occupations are specifically noted as not suitable for these infants: Mat weaving, clay modelling, tablet laying, needle-threading, pricking and sewing cardboard, and unravelling. As to ways and means, it was recommended that in assessing the school accommodation needed the industrial and social condition of the area should be considered. No obstacle should be raised to the admission of young children whose home conditions are unsatisfactory, and there should be the alternative of appeal to the Board of Education. The committee did not overlook the difficulties of country districts, and suggested that each case be considered on its merits.

In order to relieve local authorities as much as possible, the committee made the following special recommendations:—

(*a*) The rate of annual grant for infants should be raised so as to equal that for older scholars. If this cannot be done, owing to the increased cost, infants and older scholars should at least be paid for at the same rate per head, the actual amount of the rate being such that, while no additional charge would be placed on the Imperial Exchequer, as few local education authorities as possible

would receive a smaller aggregate grant than at present. If this also is impossible, the committee would recommend as an alternative that the higher grant of 22*s.* should begin to be given to children, not when they are promoted to the upper school, but when they reach a certain age. They believe that by this means the main inducement to subject young children to mental overpressure would be removed.

(*b*) The Board of Education should consider whether it would not be advisable to revert to the system by which grants were formerly paid in respect of individual children, who, to prevent infection, were temporarily excluded from school attendance by medical advice.

The enormous work of education, which has added so greatly to the burden of the London County Council, has increased the number of municipal servants to the extent of many thousands. In the elementary schools alone there were seventeen thousand teachers at the end of March, 1907, and in the evening schools four thousand were employed, while over three hundred men and women were employed as teachers in the technical institutes and art schools. At the same time there were three-quarters of a million children on the registers of the elementary schools. The cost of the year's educational work was £3,183,316.

Open Spaces

The annual report of the London County Council issued in August, 1908, shows that at the end of the twelve months under review, the London County Council was maintaining 110 parks and spaces with an area of 5036 acres. Additions during the year included the extension of Hampstead Heath, the dedication to the public use of Hainault Forest, and other well-situated open spaces. The provision of prepared pitches for games in the parks is a popular feature of the Council's policy in this connection. The numbers of games played in these prepared grounds during the year were: Lawn tennis, 102,649; cricket, 28,904; bowls, 24,749; football, 16,228; hockey, 2246; quoits, 2063; croquet, 1535; lacrosse, 120. A profit of £2015 was made on the Council's boats on the lakes in Battersea Park, Dulwich Park, Finsbury Park, and Victoria Park. More than twelve hundred open-air band concerts were given under London County Council auspices, the cost amounting to only ·06 of a penny in the pound.

Police

The police of London had, in February, 1908, a working force of 18,959, including the City police, who work only within the City area. The total mileage under their control is 10,892, the rateable value £52,911,670, and the population 6,581,407. The cost of this protection in 1907 was £2,453,115, of which £1,744,342 was for salaries. A Royal Commission was held in 1908 on the conduct of the police as a body, arising out of certain cases in which it was alleged there had been injustice. At the close of the Commission in July, 1908, the almost unanimous opinion was that for honesty and integrity the reputation of the force had been enhanced. Their organization and effectiveness have made them world-models. M. Lepine, the prefect of the Paris police, and the deputy head of the New York police are among those who have studied London methods for the betterment of their own systems. The City Police is under the control of Captain J. W. Nott Bower, whose salary is £1250 per annum.

Port of London

Various proposals have been put forward for municipalizing the Port of London or putting it under public control. The last Government's Port of London Bill, which provided for the transfer of the undertakings of the Dock Companies to a new body to be called the Port of London Commission, was before Parliament in the Session 1903. The measure, after the second reading in the House of Commons, was referred to a joint committee of both Houses. When Parliament reassembled it was announced that there was no intention of proceeding with the Government measure; and under these circumstances the London County Council promoted another Bill, which, in its main principles, followed the lines of the Government proposals. It differed, however, in regard to the membership of the Council on the proposed Port Commission. The second reading of this Bill was rejected on April 13th, 1905, by a majority of sixty-eight. On March 28th, 1906, Mr. Dickinson moved in the new House of Commons the following resolution, which was adopted without a division: "That this House is of opinion that the condition of the port and docks of London urgently demands attention with a view to the management thereof being forthwith placed in the hands of a public authority."

The proposition was that the authority should purchase the undertakings of (1) The London and India Dock Company; (2) The Surrey Commercial Dock Company; and (3) The Millwall Dock Company.

The following are the docks comprised in this enumeration:—

Dock.	Water area.	Depth.	Quayage length.	Made.
	Acres.	Ft.	Ft.	
East India ..	31·48	24·8	6,200	1806
West India ..	97·14	26·5 (import dock)	20,400	1802
St. Katherine	10·35	24 (neap tide on sill)	4,550	1828
London ..	38·72	24 ,, ,,	14,150	1805
Royal Albert	87·97	32 ,, ,,	17,250	1880
Royal Victoria	84·45	21·5 ,, ,,	22,000	1856
Tilbury ..	69·08	38 (Trinity high-water mark)	14,450	1868
Millwall ..	36·41	25·5 (neap tide on sill)	8,800	1886
Surrey Commercial ...	157·61	Various	27,420	1807

Port Authorities

The authorities now concerned in the government of the port comprise thirteen Governmental departments, two conservancy authorities, the eight dock companies, seven municipal authorities, four legal and judicial authorities, ten railway companies, and eight miscellaneous bodies. The principal are:—

I. Thames Conservancy.—For conservancy purposes, regulation of navigation, removal of obstruction, dredging, etc. The area of its jurisdiction differs in limits for various purposes.

II. City Corporation.—Port sanitary purposes from Teddington Lock seawards.

III. Trinity House.—Pilotage, lighting, and buoying from London Bridge seawards.

IV. The Watermen's and Lightermen's Company.

The others include the County Council, the Board of Trade, the Admiralty, and the police.

During November, 1907, a number of members of the London County Council inspected various Continental ports, and in November of 1907 a plan for the better operation of the Port of London was thus succinctly epitomized by the Chairman (Mr. C. J. C. Scott) and Deputy Chairman (Hon. Sydney Holland) of the London and India Docks Company. The plan is to strengthen the Thames Conservancy, making it the paramount authority in the port, but not to give that body power to own or provide any dock or river accommodation, *i.e.* to maintain the present system of private enterprise under which London has become the greatest port of the world with an annual tonnage of eighteen millions as against eleven million tons for Liverpool. It is proposed to abolish present exemption from port dues on goods from abroad (thereby giving effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission), and to appropriate new port dues in such way as to justify the Company in raising and applying the capital necessary for the

construction of a new dock to the south of the Royal Albert Dock, for which Parliamentary powers were obtained six years ago, and also to enable the Thames Conservancy to raise funds for the deepening of the river, and for any future dock works as may be agreed between the Thames Conservancy and the dock companies.

Compulsory Powers

Power would be given to the Board of Trade to compel the dock companies to execute necessary improvements from time to time, only providing for reasonable protection to the interest of the dock proprietors, thus assuring that proper provision be made for traders' and shipowners' requirements.

Among concessions to shipowners and traders are proposed: (*a*) To reduce the dues on shipping from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* per ton; (*b*) To submit to a maximum scale of dock rates, and to allow a reference to the Railway and Canal Commission, with a view of deciding any disputed questions as to the fairness of rates within the maximum; (*c*) To reduce by about twenty-five per cent. the dues in the schedule of port dues on goods; (*d*) To fix four per cent. as the maximum dividend payable on all stocks, withdrawing the clause for cumulative dividends which was objected to last year.

These authorities maintain that such a scheme would prove a more economical and efficient method of dealing with the problem than any scheme for municipalizing the docks, or of working them in combination by a trust on the Liverpool plan. It would avoid the great upheaval and inconvenience to business which would inevitably attend any gigantic purchase scheme, and there would be no complaint from warehouse keepers or wharfingers on the score of rate-aided or dues-aided competition.

The problem of the Thames waterway and the difficulties of keeping it clear have often engaged the attention of experts. One of the suggestions, from the Thames Barrage Committee, proposes to convert the Thames into a huge lake, into which steamers of any size could enter at any time, by constructing a dam across the river at Gravesend, and placing sluices and locks at intervals between that point and Teddington, the landward limit of the authority of the Port of London. The dam would rise six feet above the highest known tide. The top would be utilized for crossing traffic, by making it into a roadway one hundred feet wide, whilst further facilities would be provided by piercing the dam longitudinally with tunnels for rail traction, etc. The navigating connection with the sea would be achieved by building six locks into the dam, varying in size from one thousand feet long by 120 feet wide, down to five hundred feet long by sixty-five feet wide.

The Bill

On April 2nd, 1908, the Rt. Hon. Lloyd-George, then President of the Board of Trade, introduced his Bill "to provide for the improvement and better administration of the Port of London and for purposes incidental thereto." The Bill was at once favourably received by all parties, and it passed second reading in the House of Commons on May 6th, being then referred to a Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons, which represents its stage and progress up to September, 1908. The Bill, which is one of great length, contains the following salient features:—

The Port Authority may, subject to the provisions of this Act, do all or any of the following things:—

(*a*) carry on the undertaking of any dock company transferred to the Port Authority by this Act;

(*b*) construct, equip, maintain, or manage any docks, quays, wharves, jetties, or piers, and buildings, railways, and other works in connection therewith;

(*c*) exercise any other powers conferred on or transferred to the Port Authority under this Act.

As from the appointed day the undertakings of the London and India Docks Company, the Surrey Commercial Dock Company, and the Millwall Dock Company (which companies are in this Act referred to as dock companies) shall be transferred to and vest in the Port Authority, and the Port Authority shall issue to those companies, or as they may direct, as consideration for their undertakings the following amount of port stock created under this Act—

(*a*) in the case of the London and India Dock Company, seven million nine hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred and seventy-six pounds of A port stock and nine million eight hundred and ninety-three thousand eight hundred and thirty-five pounds of B port stock;

(*b*) in the case of the Surrey Commercial Dock Company, five hundred and twenty-two thousand pounds of A port stock and two million three hundred and eighty-eight thousand four hundred and eighty-five pounds of B port stock;

(*c*) in the case of the Millwall Dock Company, six hundred and fifty-one thousand two hundred and seventy-six pounds of A port stock and nine hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred and four pounds of B port stock.

The stocks so issued shall be substituted for the existing stocks of the dock companies in accordance with the provisions of the Second Schedule to this Act, and on such substitutions being effected the existing stocks of those companies shall be cancelled:

Provided that no interest shall accrue due on any such existing stock in respect of any period after the appointed day but the port stock issued in substitution therefor shall carry interest as from the appointed day.

Transference of Powers

All enactments relating to the Conservators (except those regulating the funds and accounts of and borrowing by the Conservators) shall, so far as not repealed by this Act and so far as they relate to the rights, powers, duties, property, and liabilities transferred, have effect as if references to the Port Authority were substituted for references to the Conservators:

Provided that—

(*b*) in any such enactments references to the River Thames above and below Teddington Lock shall be construed as references to the River Thames above and below the landward limit of the Port of London; and

(*c*) in the definition of "the Thames" in section three of the Thames Conservancy Act, 1894, for "an imaginary straight line drawn from the entrance to Yantlet Creek in the county of Kent to the city stone opposite to Canvey Island in the county of Essex," there shall be substituted "the seaward limit of the Port of London.

Within six months after the appointed day or such further time as the Board of Trade may allow for the purpose, the Port Authority shall submit to the Board of Trade a schedule of maximum rates on goods, and the Board of Trade shall embody the schedule in a Provisional Order made for the purposes of this section, either without modifications or with such modifications as the Board think fit, and if the Port Authority fail within such period as aforesaid to submit to the Board of Trade such a schedule, the Board shall themselves prepare and embody in such a Provisional Order a schedule of maximum rates on goods:

Provided that the rates specified in the Schedule shall be such that, in the opinion of the Board of Trade, the amount of revenue produced thereby will, with the other receipts on revenue account of the Port Authority, be sufficient to meet the expenditure of the Port Authority on revenue account.

There shall be established a port fund, and all receipts of the Port Authority shall be carried to that fund, and all payments by the Port Authority shall be made out of that fund.

The Port Authority may borrow money for the purpose of—

(*a*) raising any money payable in respect of the transfer of the undertaking of any dock company under this Act;

(*b*) purchasing, redeeming, or paying off any debentures, mortgage debt, or other charge the liability for which is transferred to the Port Authority by or under this Act;

(*c*) dredging and otherwise improving the river;

(*d*) constructing works for improving the accommodation and facilities of the Port of London, or acquiring land for any such work;

(*e*) paying any compensation payable under this Act otherwise than by way of annuity;

and, with the consent of the Board of Trade, for the purpose of any payment by the Port Authority or of any work or other thing which the Port Authority are authorized to execute or do, and which or the cost of which ought, in the opinion of the Board of Trade, to be spread over a term of years. Such moneys shall be repaid within such period not exceeding ninety years, or within such period not exceeding sixty years, according to the purpose of borrowing, from the date of loan as the Port Authority with the consent of the Board of Trade may, having regard to the circumstances of each particular case, determine.

For the purpose of enabling the Port Authority to raise money which they are authorized to borrow, and to issue any port stock which, by or under the provisions of this Act, is to be, or may be, issued, the Port Authority may create stock, to be called Port of London Stock, and in this Act referred to as port stock.

The port stock so created shall consist of A port stock bearing interest at 3 per cent., and B port stock bearing interest at 4 per cent. per annum, and if the Port Authority so determine, of other classes of port stock ranking *pari passu* with B port stock and bearing interest at such rate as the Port Authority, with the consent of the Board of Trade and after consultation with the Governor of the Bank of England, may resolve.

The Port Authority shall carry to a reserve fund such part of the receipts on revenue account as are applicable to the purpose until the fund amounts to one million pounds, and if the fund is

subsequently reduced below that amount, the Port Authority shall carry to the fund so much of any such receipts as is required to restore the fund to that amount and is available for the purpose. The reserve fund so formed shall be applicable only towards meeting any deficiency on revenue account in any year.

The Port Authority shall as soon as may be after the appointed day take into consideration the then existing surveys of the bed and shore of the river and tidal waters within the Port of London, and if in any respect the surveys are defective they shall, after consultation with the Admiralty and the Board of Trade, take such steps as may be necessary for the purpose of remedying such defects.

Compensation

The Port Authority shall issue by way of compensation for the loss of office sustained by such of the directors of the several dock companies as were in office both at the date of the publication of the notice of the Bill for this Act and on the appointed day, the following amounts of A port stock:—

(*a*) to the London and India Docks Company sixty-seven thousand six hundred pounds;

(*b*) to the Surrey Commercial Dock Company forty thousand pounds;

(*c*) to the Millwall Dock Company twenty thousand pounds;

and the stock so issued shall be distributed amongst the directors entitled to compensation in such proportions as those directors or a majority of them determine.

The Port Authority shall take into consideration the existing methods and conditions of engagement of workmen employed in dock, riverside, and warehouse labour in connection with the Port of London, and shall, either by themselves or in co-operation with other bodies or persons, by establishing or maintaining or assisting in the establishment or maintenance of offices, waiting rooms, and employment registers, and by the collection and communication of information and otherwise, take such steps as they think best calculated to diminish the evils of casual employment, and to promote the more convenient and regular engagement of such workmen or any class thereof.

Subject to the provisions of this Act—

(*a*) every officer and servant of the Conservators, unless he is immediately before the appointed day employed solely or mainly in connection with the powers and duties of the Conservators not transferred by this Act to the Port Authority; and

(*b*) every officer and servant of the several dock companies; and

(*c*) every officer and servant of the Watermen's Company immediately before the appointed day employed solely or mainly in connection with the powers and duties of the Watermen's Company or the court of that company by this Act transferred to the Port Authority,

(all which officers and servants are in this Act referred to as existing officers and servants), shall, as from the appointed day, become an officer or servant of the Port Authority, and shall hold his office or situation by the same tenure and upon like terms and conditions (including all conditions regarding pension or other superannuation allowance), under the Port Authority as he would have held the same under the body from whom he is transferred if this Act had not been passed, and while performing the same duties shall receive not less salary, wages, or pay than he would have been entitled to if this Act had not been passed.

The Port Authority may abolish the office or situation of any existing officer or servant which they deem unnecessary, and every existing officer or servant whose office is so abolished or who otherwise suffers any direct pecuniary loss in consequence of this Act, shall be entitled to be paid by the Port Authority compensation for such pecuniary loss.

The financial clauses of the Bill may be summarized as follows:—

The stock issued to the transferred companies will be of two classes, A and B. The "A" stock will bear interest at 3 per cent., and the "B" stock at 4 per cent., and the "A" stock will be a prior stock both as to interest and capital. The largest company is, of course, the London and India Company, the present capital of which is £365,650 mortgage debentures, £2,805,291 3 per cent. "A" debenture stock, £3,259,254 3 per cent. "B" debenture stock, £1,814,331 3 per cent. "C" debenture stock, £1,986,423 4 per cent. preference non-cumulative stock, £1,438,723 4 per cent. non-cumulative "B" preference stock, £2,866,548 4 per cent. preferred ordinary stock, and £4,802,855 4 per cent. deferred ordinary stock.

The nominal fixed capital issued by the three companies at the end of 1907 was £23,702,686, and the Port stocks to be issued for this capital are—

In "A" Stock (3 per cent.)	£9,152,152
In "B" Stock (4 per cent.)	£13,210,824

The annual interest charges falling on the Port Authority in respect of these issues amount to £802,998.

Thames Steamboats

The London County Council inaugurated a service of thirty steamboats on the Thames in June, 1905, and from that date until October 2nd, 1905, the number of passengers carried was 7,390,473. On October 2nd, 1906, the service was suspended for the winter, being resumed on May 15th, 1907. From then until October 31st, 1907, when the boats ceased running, 2,392,643 passengers were carried. On February 18th, 1908, the Council decided to give authority for negotiations to be opened for the sale or chartering of its steamboats. Thus it will be seen that, as the position at present stands (November, 1908), the County Council have abandoned all present intention of continuing the service.

Congested Traffic

In view of the ever-increasing dangers and difficulties occasioned by the enormous growth of vehicular and pedestrian traffic in the Metropolis, many suggestions of reform in various directions have been advanced in recent years, but effective remedies have not been forthcoming in any successful measure. The narrowness and inadequacy of a large number of London thoroughfares to cope with conditions undreamt of when the city was laid out, is of course the most fruitful, as it is one of the most difficult, evils to remedy, and motor traction has added greatly to the dangers attendant upon swift movement in the narrow, crowded streets. The enormous extension of the London County Council's system of tramways has, doubtless, been of great benefit to the working classes, and has perhaps done much to lessen the evils of overcrowding; but, on the other hand, complaint is made by other road users against the practical monopoly of certain narrow arteries of traffic by double lines of rails, which besides constitute a fertile source of accidents.

London has received many and high encomiums on her fine tube and underground railways, which she in a great measure owes to Transatlantic genius and enterprise, and these are undoubtedly one of the most potent factors in alleviating the crush of workers that daily pours into the city from Greater London. Even here, however, there exists much need for reform, particularly towards obviating overcrowding, which at certain periods of the day on the tube railways prevails to a considerable extent. Again, whereas the London County Council, exercising its influence over the Metropolitan and the extra-Metropolitan districts, has spent large sums of money in widening streets, and thus helping traffic generally, the City itself—with all its financial resources—has done little to expedite traffic within its limits. The nature of vehicular traffic varies at different points, but it has been estimated that sixty per cent. of the vehicular traffic of London is made up of omnibuses and hackney carriages. At places of great congestion, the vast volume of traffic which pours through the thoroughfares of London is reduced to a walking pace, the rate of movement being set by the slowest vehicles. The burden of delay falls on all passengers, but presses most heavily on the professional and working classes, and especially on those who have to proceed a considerable distance to their work or business every day.

The question of cheap and rapid communication, as it affects the housing of the working classes, was dealt with under one of the heads of the report issued by the Royal Commission on London Traffic in 1905. Illustration was given therein of the loss incurred by the London County Council in re-housing the working-classes in the central portions of London, and the report stated that the evidence before the Commission appeared to clearly establish the fact "that the price of land in the central districts of London makes it impossible to re-house the working classes within those districts at rents which they can afford to pay without a heavy loss to those who undertake the re-housing. Also that the price of land a few miles out is still sufficiently low to admit of re-housing, without loss, at rents which the tenants can afford to pay." The solution lies, therefore, in providing the means to enable workmen to get into and out of London quickly and cheaply. Experience, too, has shown that, since a large proportion of workers in the overcrowded parts of the City do not need to live near their work, the population readily avail themselves of facilities to live outside of London. It is emphatically pointed out in the Report of the Commission that "the magnitude of the population of London, and the extent of the area over which the

population is spread, make the problem of locomotion specially important for London, and if the standard of movement cannot be raised to the level attained elsewhere, London must fall behind in competition with other cities, and the life and growth of the Metropolis will be slowly, but not the less surely, strangled, by the choking of the great arteries of traffic." They suggest that, so far as practicable, a preference should be given to such street improvements as are indispensable for the development of a complete system of tramways throughout London. In further discussing the position the report continues :—

The Difficulty

"The chief difficulty that stands in the way of improving the means of locomotion in London is the narrowness of the streets, and the fact that they were not originally laid out on any general plan. If the streets were of sufficient width, and had been laid out on a regular plan, the congestion of vehicular traffic would practically disappear; the long distance traffic could be provided for by shallow underground railways at a cost which would not be prohibitive; and a complete system of surface tramways could be laid down, which would carry the short-distance and miscellaneous passenger traffic of London cheaply and quickly.

"The present unsatisfactory conditions are largely due to the fact that there did not exist in the past any municipal or other authority having jurisdiction over the whole area, and possessed of sufficient power and resources to enable it to deal satisfactorily with the problem of locomotion, and the other questions allied thereto.

"The London County Council, since it was established in 1889, has either carried out, or is engaged in carrying out, street improvements, estimated to cost £11,946,007 gross, with 'recoupment' amounting to £5,812,878, the net cost being £6,133,129. Of the works undertaken by the London County Council, by far the most important is the new street from Holborn to the Strand (Kingsway), the gross cost of which is estimated at £4,866,000, and the net cost at £774,200.

"The difficulty is simply one of money. There can be no doubt that the cost of all improvements in London must be very heavy, even where land is comparatively cheap; in some districts, where the value of land is enormous, the cost is almost prohibitive. Hitherto, railway improvements have been effected by private enterprise in the expectation of a commercial profit. Tramways have been constructed both by municipal and by private enterprise, also in the expectation of profit; but the burden of street improvements of late years has fallen almost wholly upon the rates, and, however great the indirect advantages, this class of work cannot show any direct pecuniary return. We have been informed by the London County Council that, although the traffic requirements of London in respect of widening and opening streets have not been nearly met, the existing charge is as high as the ratepayers can bear.

"We recommend that the Building Laws, and bye-laws made thereunder, in 'Greater London,' outside the Administrative County of London, should, as far as practicable, be made uniform; that the power to define frontages should be given to all local authorities; and that new streets or roads should not be taken over by the local authorities until sufficient provision has been made for main roads.

"As no practicable improvement of the streets, that can be carried out for many years, will completely remove the congestion of street traffic, special attention should be given to: (1) Improved regulations for traffic; (2) The avoidance of certain oversights or defects in the construction and maintenance of the streets, the removal of fixed obstructions from them in certain cases, and the control, in the future, of the erection of such obstructions; (3) The introduction of a system for minimizing the evils caused by the breaking up of the streets by persons and companies having statutory authority to do so; (4) Regulation of the use of the streets by costermongers and itinerant vendors; (5) The removal of special obstructions to traffic."

Motor Traffic

In June of 1908 the question of regulating motor traffic in the City of London was discussed by a large meeting of influential business men, which was held at the Mansion House, on the invitation of the Lord Mayor, on the 22nd of the month. A resolution was passed urging upon the Government the necessity of providing the police authorities with such legislative powers as would enable them to regulate the construction and use of motor vehicles. The existing powers of the police for controlling such traffic were considered inadequate, and it was further suggested that the time had arrived when a Central Traffic Board should be formed. A deputation was also arranged to wait upon the Home Secretary, the President of the Local Government Board, and the President of the Board of Trade with reference to motor-omnibus and traction-engine traffic throughout the Metropolis. In consequence of the numerous representations made both in Parliament and elsewhere respecting the danger and annoyance not infrequently caused by the driving of motor-cars, the Local Government Board on September 17th, 1908, issued a circular to county councils and town councils of boroughs with a population of over ten thousand respecting the Motor-car Acts of 1896 and 1903.

It stated that many of the representations which had reached the Board suggested that further legislative restrictions should be imposed on motor-cars, and before determining upon that question the Board thought it desirable to direct notice to the provisions of the existing laws which had a bearing upon the subject.

With regard to the provisions dealing with reckless driving the only question to be considered in any particular case was whether in the circumstances the speed or manner of driving constituted danger to the public. The Board thought that the regulations regarding the suspension of licences should be sufficient to prevent most of the evils of which complaint was made. What was wanted was that they should be carefully and systematically enforced in proper cases.

On the question of speed it had been widely recognized that motor-cars could often travel with safety at speeds exceeding ten miles an hour, but a reduced speed-limit was needed in some cases. The Board were willing to consider applications for the imposition of the lower speed-limit in places where it might properly be imposed.

Expressing a preference for motor traffic being regulated under the reckless driving section of the Act where that was possible, the circular added that the Board were convinced that a steady and systematic enforcement of that section by all the authorities concerned would prevent, if not entirely, at all events to a very large extent, the flagrant and in some instances wanton abuse of the highway by inconsiderate and reckless drivers.

At the same time, while motorists should be required to obey the law, it was of importance that the road authorities should use every effort to diminish the risk of accidents from a form of traffic the existence of which could not be ignored. Thus it appeared to the Board that where there were dangerous corners advantage should be taken of suitable opportunities to obtain their removal; that where practicable street corners in towns should be rounded; and that where street improvements or road widenings were contemplated which would have the effect of giving increased facilities for traffic, these should be undertaken as soon as possible.

A conference was held at Paris in October, 1908, to discuss the question of street traffic, and two delegates attended from the London County Council in order to gain whatever information might be likely to assist in any contemplated scheme of street improvement in the

Metropolis. Thereat (on October 15th, 1908), a majority of the two thousand delegates decided that apart from the ideal of specially constructed roads the most efficient dust-preventing material was that which resulted when tar was incorporated into the structure of the road. Whilst expressing approbation of the effectiveness of oils, fluid salts, and other compounds as dust-allayers, the frequency with which such had to be laid on roadways made the expense proportionately great as compared with the method of combining tar with road metal and material as above referred to.

Electricity Supply

Three Bills relating to electricity supply for London were considered during the early part of 1908 by a Select Committee of the House of Lords, under the chairmanship of Lord Cromer. These were promoted respectively by the London and District Company, by eight of the existing supply companies of London, and by the Westminster and Kensington group of electric supply companies. The first-named company is concerned with an area including the whole of the Administrative County of London, *i.e.* the boroughs over which the London County Council has jurisdiction, together with the City area. They asked for further powers to supply various authorities outside that area, as far east as Tilbury and Swanscombe, and extending west to Ealing and Kingston, north to Enfield, and south to Croydon. Their scheme, as submitted, was —(1) to supply in bulk to authorized undertakers, and to permit authorized undertakers to take supply from them; (2) to purchase existing undertakings; (3) to supply railways within or without the area; (4) to supply in areas where there is at present no authorized undertaking; (5) to go into the area of an authorized undertaker and, with the consent of the authorized undertaker, to supply a consumer there with energy if the demand exceeded a prescribed limit. Should the authorized undertaker refuse consent, the District Company asked to be allowed to submit the matter to arbitration; and if the authorized undertaker refused to supply as cheaply as the District Company, the Bill asked that the District Company might then supply.

The Committee passed, without alteration, the area in respect to which powers were asked for, but the company's proposal that twenty per cent. of the energy supplied to a power user might be applied for lighting purposes was altered, the percentage being reduced to fifteen. A simplification was made in the method of adjusting the relationship between the price to be charged per unit and the corresponding dividend, and it was agreed that they had established the substantial character of their initial financial support. The Committee, however, did not confirm the London County Council as the final purchasing authority. It would thus appear that the District Company may be bought out fifty-three years hence, or at the expiration of any subsequent period of ten years, at the then value of lands, buildings, and works; or upon special terms, in less than fifty-three years at the then value, plus an item for goodwill—but the actual purchasing authority is undefined. The company may not supply any power consumer in any district, except by consent of the authorized distributor. If, however, the authorized distributor does not supply at a less price, or at an equally favourable price, the District Company can, in the event of disagreement as to their right to supply, go to arbitration; and if the Board of Trade approve, the District Company can then supply. Assuming that within the London area the total power of all kinds used for machinery likely to be available for electrical driving is only about 103,000 horse-power, of which nearly half is already supplied by existing electrical companies, the District Company have to face the difficulty of finding unappropriated users for the sixty thousand kilowatts upon the supply of which they rely in order to proceed upon the estimated basis. The principal alteration made, however, concerns the terms of purchase. When the Bill was introduced it was given in evidence by the promoters that, in order to raise the money, investors had to be assured that their capital would be returned to them intact. The company, therefore, proposed that their undertaking should be purchased at the end of fifty-two years, on terms of repaying to them all capital properly expended, together with such a sum as would be required to make up the aggregate amount of dividends, paid to the date of purchase, to six per cent. per annum. On this footing the promoters pledged themselves to raise a certain amount of capital. The terms of purchase now, however, assimilate to some extent to those applicable to the existing London companies, only that whereas none of the London companies obtained a grant of more than forty-two years, the District Company have, with the consent of the London County Council, been granted a period of fifty-three years. Moreover, the District Company are authorized to pay interest out of capital, during construction, up to a maximum sum of £400,000, a concession never granted to existing companies, who have invariably been compelled to wait for profits to be earned before shareholders could secure dividends.

Linking up

The companies promoting the second Bill proposed to supply any authorized distributor of electrical energy within the Administrative County of London, and they asked for powers within an area which circles the county through Hendon, Walthamstow, Barking, Chislehurst, Croydon, and Richmond. As the more important of the eight companies have already six large stations in various parts of the area, they desired permission to link up between them. If so linked up they would have immediately available ten thousand kilowatts from spare plant, over and above their existing requirements. The Committee seriously modified this Bill by the rejection of the clause which was to enable the companies concerned to form a joint committee. They cannot, therefore, build a joint station, nor can they jointly own machinery in any one of the stations. It was decided also that they cannot supply authorized distributors other than themselves, nor local authorities, nor any distributor not mentioned in the schedule of their Bill. They are, further, precluded from supplying the Westminster Company, the Central Electric Company, and the Kensington and Knightsbridge Company. The Committee, however, agreed that, except for certain restrictions in regard to the supply of Victoria Dock in West Ham, and the West India Dock so far as related to Stepney, the eight companies should have powers to supply any railway, tramway, canal, or dock, within, or partly within and partly outside, the scheduled area.

Five companies are concerned in the third Bill, including the Central Electric Bulk Company, which was formed to supply the Westminster Company and the St. James's Company in bulk, and which has a generating station in Marylebone. They now take powers to link up with Wood Lane generating station—a joint power station, owned by the Notting Hill Electric Lighting Company and the Kensington and Knightsbridge Electric Lighting Company, and they also take powers to supply each other. The area concerned is chiefly residential, with comparatively small demand for electricity for power purposes. This Bill was allowed by the Committee to proceed on similar lines to those promoted by the eight companies.

The decisions of the Committee removed a restriction that had greatly hampered London electric supply companies, who, by the terms of their orders, were prohibited from associating with each other; and further good service was done in settling a doubt which existed as to whether any undertaking requiring electric energy for traction purposes could take a supply outside the area supplying it.

These Bills were down for further consideration in the House of Commons on July 30th, 1908, but only one was

dealt with, namely, the London and District Electricity Supply Bill, a common policy being applicable to the three from their inter-relation. The Bill passed its second reading and was sent to Committee. The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill had intended to propose an instruction to the Committee to insert in the Bill a provision conferring purchasing powers on the London County Council, but this could not be taken owing to the hour. An instruction to this effect, however, was carried on October 19th.

Tramways

In a London County Council report issued August, 1908, the Highways Committee gave the following particulars regarding the position of the undertaking, as at March 31st, 1908 :—

Total capital expenditure	£8,414,590
Debt repaid :	
Out of revenue	819,376
From sale of materials, etc.	264,515
Debt outstanding	7,262,139

Receipts and working expenses for the year, in round figures—

	Electric traction.	Horse traction.	Total.
Total receipts	£1,274,660	£388,371	£1,663,031
Working expenses	724,381	445,734	1,170,115
Surplus on working			£492,916

Against this had to be set the following charges :—

Debt charges—		
Interest (gross)	£233,821	
Repayment	216,203	
		£450,024
Income-tax (after crediting £11,691 for tax retained from interest on debt)		3,309
Interest on purchase-money		423
Parliamentary expenses		2,350
Deficiency on Drake Buildings (rehousing obligation)		96
		£456,202
Less net interest on cash balances, etc. ..		8,692
		£447,510

Deducting this amount from the surplus of £492,916, there remained a net balance of £45,406.

Of the existing lines, nearly seventy miles are now under electric traction, the operating expenses in connection with this system being equivalent to 6·79*d.* a car-mile run, as compared with 7·06*d.* a car-mile in 1906–7, while the working expenses in connection with horse traction represented 10·73*d.* a car-mile run. The following are the details of the year's traffic :—

	Electric traction.	Horse traction.	Total.
Number of passengers ..	279,166,461	93,349,293	372,515,754
Number of car-miles run ..	25,591,028	9,970,161	35,561,189

It was proposed to seek Parliamentary powers in 1909 for the construction of further new tramways. Eight separate sections, having a total length of over seventeen miles, are to be constructed, at an aggregate cost of £403,430. The conduit system of electric traction will be adopted, save in the case of one or two sections, which will be constructed on the overhead system.

Powers are also to be sought in next year's Bill for the reconstruction, on the electric conduit system, of upwards of twelve miles of existing lines, at an estimated cost of £297,830.

The Tramways Department employs about 8200 persons on weekly or daily wages, and a large number on yearly salaries or fixed wages. The regulators are paid 42*s.* to 44*s.* weekly, and the rates of pay to motormen, car-drivers, and conductors are 5*s.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* per day. The district inspectors are paid 45*s.* per week; the ticket inspectors 42*s.* per week ; and so on.

Water Supply

The Metropolitan Water Board came into existence early in 1903, having been created by the Metropolis Water Act, December 18th, 1902, by an amalgamation of the various London Water Companies. The regulations under which water is supplied by the Board were brought into operation on April 1st, 1908, by the passing of the Metropolitan Water Board (Charges) Act in the previous year. Under these the rate of water for domestic purposes may never amount to more than five per cent. of the rateable value of the house. When a house, occupied for the purpose of a business or profession, is assessed at more than £300, and is not charged with the payment of Inhabited House Duty, a rebate of not less than twenty per cent., and not more than thirty per cent., of its water rate may be allowed by the Board under certain conditions. Water is supplied by meter at 11*d.* per thousand gallons for not more than fifty thousand gallons, down to 6¾*d.* per thousand for more than five million gallons. In his report on the condition of the Metropolitan water supply during the month of May, 1908, the Water Examiner appointed under the Metropolis Water Act, 1871, shows that for a population supplied in all districts of 6,991,164, the number of gallons per head per day consumed during the month was 32·13.

Works Department

The establishment of the Works Department of the London County Council originated in a crisis that arose between the Council and its contractors in 1892, when it was resolved at a meeting on November 22nd of that year, to form a Works Department on a permanent basis. The Department began work in February, 1893, the Works Committee consisting of eight members.

Contractors employed by the Council on works of construction or manufacture within a radius of twenty miles from Charing Cross were required to pay wages at rates not less, and to observe hours of labour not longer, than were for the time being recognized by associations of employers and trade unions and that were in practice obtained in London. With regard to labour employed outside that radius, the rates of wages and hours of labour recognized and in practice obtained in the district where the work was to be done were required to be observed. In the Council's Works Department no distinction was drawn in the employment of labour between union and non-union men.

The discontinuance of the Works Department of the Council was decided upon at the meeting of the Council on July 28th, 1908.

LONDON, CITY OF: The most important recent change in the administration of the City of London was its unification, which took place in April, 1908, under the "City of London (Union of Parishes) Act, 1907." By it the 112 parishes which existed within the square mile which comprises the City of London were amalgamated into one administrative area under the Lord Mayor and Corporation. Previously there had been a multiplicity of offices held under the separate system, and one of the principal achievements of the new enactment has been to greatly reduce the expenses of such separate parochial working, whilst in actual administration greater efficiency has been achieved by the centralization and amalgamation into "the parish of the City of London." The net expenses of the City administration for 1906 were £188,917.

LONDON MUNICIPAL SOCIETY, THE: Founded in 1894. Object: To fight Municipal Socialism, and generally to bring municipal and social questions under public consideration with a view to

sound administration and practical reforms. Official organ, *London Municipal Notes*, monthly, 2*d*. President, The Duke of Norfolk, E.M., K.G. *Secretary:* Mr. W. G. Towler, 11, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

LONDON REFORM UNION: Founded in 1892. Object: (1) To encourage good citizenship among all who live or work in London, and to promote united action in furtherance of social reform and better municipal government; (2) To secure the adoption of progressive principles by all municipal bodies in and around London, etc. There are about one thousand members. Among the special efforts made by this influential organization may be mentioned those on behalf of the Milk Depôts Bill, Municipal Elections Corrupt Practices Bill, Women on Municipal Councils, and Citizen Sunday (October 27th, 1907), for which 521 ministers of all denominations intimated their intention of preaching special sermons. President, Earl Beauchamp, K.C.M.G. *Secretary:* Mr. F. W. Galton, Trafalgar Buildings, Charing Cross, London, W.C.

LONDON SCHOOLS DINNER ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1889. (Incorporating the Board School Children's Free Dinner Fund.) Object: To provide cheap or free meals for underfed children attending the elementary schools of London. *Secretary:* Mr. Arthur H. Ward, L.A.A., 32, John Street, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.

LUNACY, INCREASE OF: The sixty-second report, issued August 20th, 1908, by the Commissioners in Lunacy gives the number of insane persons known to be under control in England and Wales on January 1st, 1908, as 126,084, or 2096 more than on the same day of the previous year. This is well below the average increase for the previous ten years, which was 2411. Although this is so, however, the rate of increase per decade is very decided—

Year.	Number of insane.	Total increase on 1859 figures.
		Per cent.
1859	36,762	—
1869	53,177	44·6
1879	69,885	90·1
1889	84,340	129·4
1899	105,086	185·9

The increase in population between 1859 and 1899 was only 79·5.

Taking the yearly figures since 1898, the yearly percentage of increase is seen to be—

Year.	Number of insane.	Increase on previous year.	Increase on 1898 figures.
1898	101,972	—	—
1899	105,086	3·0	3·0
1900	106,611	1·4	4·5
1901	107,944	1·2	5·8
1902	110,713	2·6	8·5
1903	113,964	2·9	11·7
1904	117,199	2·8	14·9
1905	119,829	2·2	17·5
1906	121,979	1·8	19·6
1907	123,988	1·6	21·6
1908	126,084	1·7	23·7

Taking the cases for the last five years, an averaged analysis of causes reveals—

	Men.	Women.
Intemperance	2341	1004
Domestic trouble	384	956
Adverse circumstances ..	699	407
Mental anxiety and worry ..	572	638
Religious excitement	137	197
Love affairs	53	204
Fright	83	204
Sunstroke	118	8
Old age	815	988
Privation and starvation ..	119	96
Hereditary influence	2173	2908
Congenital defect	676	494
Over-exertion	47	26

There is little difference between the figures for single and married patients; see the following table of the yearly average of admissions :—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Single	4854	4670	9524
Married	4772	4791	9563
Widowed	971	1733	2704
Unknown ..	84	30	114
Total	10,681	11,224	21,905

In five counties only are decreases on 1907 figures shown, the greatest being Devon which has sixty-four less than in 1907. In Oxford the figures are exactly as in 1907. Middlesex shows the largest increase, *i.e.* 155 more than in 1907. The figures for London are 1907—25,279, 1908—25,689, making an increase of 510. The figures for large provincial cities are—

	1907.	1908.	Increase.
Birmingham ..	1810	1867	57
Leeds	1198	1210	12
Liverpool	3088	3134	46
Manchester ..	2070	2113	43

The Royal Commission

On July 31st, 1908, the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded, appointed in 1904, issued a blue book containing the first part of their report. It embodied recommendations, one of the more important of which reads—

"That the State should have authority to segregate and to detain mentally defective persons under proper conditions and limitations, and on their behalf to compel the payment of contributions from relations who are able to pay for their support; or should itself provide such care and accommodation as may be necessary, either directly or through the local authority.

"This, subject to many variations and adjustments, is an extension to the whole class of the mentally defective of advantages now given to lunatics and idiots only."

They also reported—

"We find lunatic asylums crowded with patients who do not require the careful hospital treatment that

well-equipped asylums now afford, and who might be treated in many other ways more economically, and as efficiently.

"We find also at large in the population many mentally defective persons—adults, young persons, and children—who are incapable of self-control, and who are therefore exposed to constant moral danger themselves, and become the source of lasting injury to the community."

For England and Ireland important proposals were made for dealing with criminal mentally defective persons, the chief being that upon conviction the Court, instead of sending the offender to prison, may accept recognizances on his behalf, on condition that he remains under the control of the Statutory Committee through the medium of which the Board of Control operates, until discharged by that committee.

The number of lunatic asylums in the United Kingdom is: England 112, Scotland 30, Ireland 24.

The average cost of maintenance per head during the year ending March 31st, 1907, according to the Commissioners' return issued August 1908, exclusive of repairs to buildings, was 10*s.* 0¾*d.*, a reduction of 1⅜*d.* per head on the previous year and lower than any financial year since 1902.

Total cost of maintenance in county, district, and county borough asylums for the twelve months ending March 31st, 1907, was £2,465,977, and the cost of repairs to buildings for the same period £588,107. Up to January, 1908, the land occupied by asylums totalled 17,831 acres, which was acquired at a cost of £1,635,232, whilst the original buildings and additions to above date showed an aggregate cost (exclusive of repairs) of £20,418,846.

M

MENDICITY SOCIETY, LONDON: Founded in 1818. Object: To suppress street begging and to investigate the *bona fides* of begging letters. President, Mr. Robert Pierpoint. *Secretary:* Mr. W. Fitzgerald Arbuthnot, 9, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London, W.C.

METALLURGISTS' INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION (BRITISH SECTION): In all twelve nationalities are associated with this Federation, the total membership being 600,000, of whom 130,000 are embraced in the British section. The headquarters of the general body is at Rotestrasse 16, Stuttgart, Germany. *General Secretary:* Herr Alexander Schlicke. In the British section, the President is Mr. John Hodge, M.P. *Secretary*, Mr. Chas. Hobson, Alpine Road, Sheffield.

METRIC SYSTEM: This system, which was invented in 1793, and which is in practical use in France, Germany, and other countries on the Continent, has many advocates in the United Kingdom. They claim that we lose business because we do not manufacture and sell in terms of the metric system, and argue that to avoid the trouble, confusion, and expense of having one system of weights and measures for our home trade and another for our foreign trade, we should adopt the metric weights and measures for all purposes, and so place ourselves on an equal footing with our competitors.

In 1895 a select committee of the House of Commons received a large amount of evidence on the subject and reported as follows: (*a*) That the metric system of weights and measures be at once legalized for all purposes; (*b*) That after a lapse of two years the metric system be rendered compulsory by Act of Parliament; (*c*) That the metric system of weights and measures be taught in all public elementary schools as a necessary and integral part of arithmetic, and that decimals be introduced at an earlier period of the school curriculum than is the case at present.

A Bill advocating the metric system was brought before the House of Commons in 1904, but did not pass. The system in brief works out as follows—Length: Metre (m.) divided into 100 centimetres (cm.), or 1000 millimetres (mm.), kilometre (km.) = 1000 metres. The metre is the fundamental unit of all metric weights and measures. An exact official standard metre is in every civilized country. Surface: Square metre divided into square centimetres. Bulk: Cubic metre divided into cubic centimetres. Capacity: Litre (l.) divided into 1000 cubic centimetres. Weight: Kilogram (kg.) divided into 1000 grams. It is the fundamental unit of weight, and approximately it is the weight of one litre of distilled water at its greatest density.

The late Lord Kelvin, Col. Sir Howard Vincent, Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, Lord Charles Beresford and others have expressed opinions as to the desirability of the system coming into general use. The Decimal Association of London are its special exponents. The weight of public opinion in the United Kingdom, however, is at present unfavourable to the system, the legitimate argument being that it would be too huge a task to uproot the existing system of British weights and measures, and that the complexity would not be appreciably relieved by adopting metricism.

REFERENCE: *The Standard Dictionary.*

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD: (See under LONDON.)

MINIMUM WAGE: (See under SWEATING, and WAGES BOARDS.)

MORAL EDUCATION CONGRESS, INTERNATIONAL: Object: To improve the moral education offered in schools. The first session was held at the University of London in September, 1908. *General Secretary:* Mr. Gustav Spiller, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C. (See EDUCATION, MORAL.)

MORAL INSTRUCTION LEAGUE, THE: Founded in 1897. Object: To urge the vital importance of efficient moral and civic education in schools. There are about seven hundred members, and the League has succeeded in influencing the Board of Education to make some provision for moral instruction in all the public elementary schools of England and Wales; has influenced more than fifty local education authorities to provide for systematic moral instruction in their schools; publishes moral-lesson text-books, graduated syllabuses of moral and civic instruction for elementary and secondary schools; and is now exercising considerable influence in other countries. President, Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, Litt.D. *Secretary:* Mr. Harrold Johnson, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS, THE ASSOCIATION OF: Founded in 1873. Object: By complete organization, more effectually to watch over and protect the interests, rights, and privileges of municipal corporations, as they may be affected by Public Bill Legislation, or by Private Bill Legislation of general application to boroughs; and, in other respects, to take

action in relation to any other subjects in which municipal corporations generally may be interested. President, Mr. J. S. Harmood-Banner, M.P. *Secretary:* Mr. A. Goring Pritchard, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

MUNICIPALISM: The particulars and statistics given under MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP and kindred headings deal in some fulness with existing forms of municipal enterprise. According to the *Municipal Year Book*, 1908, 256,258 persons are employed by municipalities in England and Wales, *i.e.*—

Councils included in Local Government Board Return.	Number of persons employed on the clerical staff.	Other employees.	Total number of persons employed.
London County Council ..	1,829	37,920	39,749
Councils of Metropolitan Boroughs	1,762	19,739	21,501
Councils of County Boroughs	11,619	183,389	195,008
Totals ..	15,210	241,048	256,258

The chief channels of municipal enterprise are markets, gas, electricity, water, tramways, estates. In most towns a profit accrues, and the rates are relieved accordingly, but in some thirty towns the estimates for 1907–08 calculate on a loss. Thus, during 1907–08 an expert estimate showed £1,113,732 profit on municipal undertakings, and a loss of £165,731 in the thirty above mentioned. An exhaustive analysis of municipal trading, with tabulations of profits, etc., is given in *Fabian Tract* 138, issued in July, 1908.

Mr. Bernard Shaw

In addition to the authorities already quoted, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, in his 1908 work on *The Commonsense of Municipal Trading*, asserts that "municipal trading is not an evil to be staved off by any possible means, but a highly desirable and beneficial extension of civilization.

"This is the central commercial fact of the whole question. The shopkeeper, by municipal trading, can get his light (to quote that as an example) for the current cost of production plus a rate of interest which includes no insurance against risk of loss, because the security, in spite of all theoretical demonstrations to the contrary, is treated by the investing public and by the law of trusteeship as practically perfect. Any profit that may arise through accidental overcharge returns to the ratepayer in relief of rates or in public service of some kind.

"The moment this economic situation is grasped, the successes of municipal trading become intelligible. As far as their legal powers have gone, municipalities have always traded, and will always trade, to the utmost limits of the business capacity and public spirit of their members. The moment public spirit and business capacity meet on a municipality you get an irresistible development of municipal activity. Operations in land like those effected by the Corporation of Birmingham in Mr. Chamberlain's time, and by the London County Council in our own, are taken in hand; and the town supplies of water, of light, of tramways, and even of dwellings, are conquered from competitive commerce by civic co-operation. And there is no arguing with the practical results. A man who has just paid a halfpenny for a ride in a municipal tramcar under commercial management would have had to pay a penny or twopence. The importance of management as a factor in industrial success cannot easily be exaggerated. A municipality can always get an efficient official more cheaply than a company can.

"On the whole, then, when the directors of a joint stock company on the one hand, and the representatives of the ratepayers on the other, come into the market to engage an executive staff, the municipality has the advantage of its competitor. It can get its management cheaper as certainly as it can get its capital cheaper. In short, all such public business of sufficient magnitude to keep the necessary plant working full time until it has paid for itself, can, when it is purely local, be done more cheaply by municipal than by private enterprise."

MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSES: (See in connection with ROWTON HOUSES.)

N

NATIONAL FREE LABOUR ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1893 to maintain freedom of labour, based on the right possessed by every man to pursue his trade or employment without dictation, molestation, or obstruction. To afford legal and other protection to its members in the assertion and enjoyment of that right. To provide means for the free registration of the unemployed of all trades and industries, whereby the wants of employers requiring labour may be met, and for the more convenient and ready selection of workers when required, thus bringing labour and capital together in the free and unrestricted exercise of their individual rights as employer and employed. Membership, 680,000. Official organ, *Free Labour Press*, weekly, 1*d*. President, Mr. John Chandler. *General Secretary:* Mr. William Collison, 5, Farringdon Avenue, London, E.C.

NATIONAL HYGIENIC LEAGUE: Founded in 1903. Objects: (1) The suppression of smoking by juveniles; (2) The securing of a weekly rest day. President, Lord Charles Beresford, K.C.B. *Secretary:* Mr. Charles Ware, 22, Great Quebec Street, London, W.

NATIONALIZATION OF RAILWAYS: (See under RAILWAY PROBLEMS.)

NATIONAL VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT: (See under INDIA.)

NATIVE RACES, AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC UNITED COMMITTEE: Founded in 1887. Object: To call the attention of Government to every opportunity of advancing the welfare of the subject and aboriginal races by (*a*) prohibiting, or failing that, (*b*) by checking the liquor traffic among them. Since the formation of the Committee, legislation for the protection of native races from the liquor traffic has been introduced in many different parts of the world. In large areas of the African continent prohibition of the sale of liquor to natives is carried out, and the international agreement which was secured by the Brussels Act of 1890, and revised in 1899, has been of the greatest benefit to the races of Central Africa. President, The Duke of Westminster. *Secretary:* Mr. L. H. Nott, 139, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W.

NAVY, BRITISH, AND COMPARISONS: The reports issued by the Admiralty in August, 1908, show that Great Britain still maintains a good lead, as the following table indicates:—

	Battleships less than twenty-five years old.	Armoured cruisers less than twenty years old.	Completed destroyers.	Destroyers building.
Great Britain ..	57	34	142	12
United States..	25	13	20	5
France ..	21	19	48	27
Germany ..	22	8	61	12
Japan	11	11	54	4

In addition Great Britain has thirteen torpedo-boats, formerly designated coastal destroyers, completed and twenty-three building; while Germany has ten divisional torpedo-boats completed.

Comparisons of expenditure for the past and future are given below, together with amounts voted for similar periods—

TOTAL NAVAL EXPENDITURE.

	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.
	£	£	£
Great Britain	31,472,087	31,419,500*	32,319,500*
France ..	13,003,238	12,486,793	12,797,308
Russia ..	12,490,444	8,850,240†	9,833,915
Germany ..	12,005,871	13,623,924*	16,596,561*
Italy	5,322,154	5,661,822†	6,266,193†
United States	21,358,199	21,260,732	25,833,217‡
Japan	3,952,311	8,248,222	8,094,884

* Estimate. † Gross. ‡ Voted.

In the case of Russia, special credits were voted as follows and are not included in the figures given above: 1904-05-06-07, voluntary war contribution of £1,800,000, spent wholly in new construction and armaments. Russia's naval expenditure for 1908 was increased by £350,625 by supplementary estimates passed in July of that year. No part of this sum was for new construction.

AMOUNT VOTED FOR CONSTRUCTION.

	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.
	£	£	£
Great Britain	10,859,500*	9,227,000*	8,660,202
France ..	5,702,267	5,132,494	5,315,790
Russia ..	4,576,583	2,846,268	2,703,721
Germany ..	5,342,466	6,285,225	8,366,438
Italy	1,362,207	1,398,111	1,866,358
United States	8,600,774	6,783,705	7,798,815
Japan ..	752,595	3,233,298	2,967,918

* In these years the amounts actually expended were £10,486,397 and £9,166,876 respectively.

It is interesting to know that the British Naval outlay reached its highest point in 1904-5, when £38,859,000 was voted.

The aggregate tonnage of new warships of every kind in construction during the periods noted comes to—

	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Great Britain ..	83,260	119,637	74,712
France	19,338	33,602	—
Russia	80,860	31,461	—
Germany	53,180	33,985	—
Italy	16,016	19,510	—
United States ..	37,283	20,633	—
Japan	39,870	56,450	—

New Ships

The four new battleships and three new armoured cruisers which, with other war vessels, are almost ready (October, 1908) to be placed on service, will add materially to British naval strength. The new battleships are: *Bellerophon*, 18,600 tons; *Temeraire*, 18,600 tons; *Superb*, 18,600 tons, each with ten 12-inch guns; *Lord Nelson*, 16,500 tons, with four 12-inch, and ten 9·2-inch guns. All the first three ships are capable of steaming twenty-one knots, and will carry no gun (other than anti-torpedo craft guns) smaller than the 9·2-inch weapon.

The three cruisers are: *Invincible*, 17,250 tons; *Inflexible*, 17,250 tons, with eight 12-inch guns each; *Defence*, 14,600 tons, with four 9·2-inch and ten 7·5-inch guns. Of the three vessels named above, the first two have designed speeds of twenty-five knots, and the third twenty-three knots. Any one of them is equal to any battleship which Germany has in commission. The *Deutschland*, flagship of the German High Sea Fleet, is armed with four 11-inch and fourteen 6·7-inch guns, and has an extreme speed of nineteen knots. The Cruiser Squadron is also remarkable in having ships armed with 12-inch guns (no foreign completed cruiser outside the Japanese Navy carrying anything larger than the 10-inch gun) and in having no fighting gun smaller than the 7·5-inch.

The two-power standard is thus more than maintained, but the fact that the German Navy Act, passed in the spring of 1908, provides for ten vessels of the *Dreadnought* type being laid down in 1908, and four more during 1909, will obviously affect the balance. To maintain supremacy it is asserted in well-informed circles that in the autumn of 1908 "proposals had been put forward by financiers of the highest standing, who undertook to find £100,000,000 on nominal terms, so as to meet the necessities of the fleet in the next few years without disorganizing the annual budgets or casting a heavy burden on the present generation."

For earlier statistics, see NAVAL POWERS, page 817.

NEW REFORM CLUB, POLITICAL COMMITTEE: Object: To push a Liberal propaganda. Membership, 422. An important series of conferences to discuss the finance of Social Reform was arranged for the autumn of 1908. Chairman, Lord Weardale. *Secretary:* Mr. Holford Knight, 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C.

NON-SMOKERS, THE BRITISH UNION OF: Founded in 1889, and earlier work incorporated with it. Affiliated with it is the British Lads' Anti-Smoking Union. Object: To educate on the harmful effects of tobacco using, and to agitate for legislation against juvenile smoking. Official organ, *The Anti-Tobacco Journal*, monthly, 1d. President, Deputy Surgeon-General Partridge. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. G. W. L. Barraclough, F.R.H.S., Floraville, Malmesbury Road, Woodford, London, N.E.

O

OLD-AGE PENSIONS: By the Act of August, 1908, as brought in by the Liberal Government, and fathered by the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, and in force from January 1st, 1909, persons are eligible for old-age pensions in the United Kingdom, provided the statutory conditions are complied with:—

(1) The person must have attained the age of seventy;
(2) The person must satisfy the pension authorities that for at least twenty years up to the date of the receipt of any sum on account of a pension he has been a British subject, and has had his residence, as defined by regulations under this Act, in the United Kingdom;
(3) The person must satisfy the pension authorities that his yearly means as calculated under this Act do not exceed thirty-one pounds ten shillings.

Between the maximum thus indicated and an annual income of £21, the Act fixes a sliding scale—

Means of pensioner.	Rate of pension per week.
	s. d.
Where the yearly means of the pensioner as calculated under this Act—	
Do not exceed £21	5 0
Exceed £21, but do not exceed £23 12s. 6d.	4 0
Exceed £23 12s. 6d., but do not exceed £26 5s.	3 0
Exceed £26 5s., but do not exceed £28 17s. 6d.	2 0
Exceed £28 17s. 6d., but do not exceed £31 10s.	1 0

A point in the Act which has been generally commended is "The receipt of an old-age pension under this Act shall not deprive the pensioner of any franchise, right, or privilege, or subject him to any disability." The Act provides for the pension being payable weekly in advance, through the post-office. There are disqualifications, however, the principal one being the receipt of any poor relief at any time from January 1st, 1908, with the exception of any medical or surgical assistance (including food or comforts) supplied by or on the recommendation of a medical officer. This disqualification may be removed in 1910. Moreover, a person otherwise qualified cannot secure a pension if he has habitually failed to work. A person will not, however, be disqualified if he has "continuously for ten years up to attaining the age of sixty, by means of payments to friendly, provident, or other societies, or trade unions, or other approved steps, made such provision against old age, sickness, infirmity, or want or loss of employment as is recognized as proper provision for the purpose by the regulations."

Disqualifications

Claims are made through the local postmaster, and considered by a local pension officer and a committee appointed locally. A computation of the allowances due at January 1st, 1909, gives an approximation of a million persons eligible.

The earlier political history of old-age pensions is told on page 849. Statistics issued March, 1907, of the working of pensions in the Colonies, show that in New Zealand 22,000 pensioners over sixty-five years of age receive £325,000 per annum between them, the maximum being recently altered from 7s. to 10s. per week. The estimate for 1908 shows an advance of £10,000, *i.e.* £335,000. New South Wales divides £508,000 per annum among 22,000 pensioners, and Victoria £205,000 among 11,452 pensioners. An estimate made in Melbourne on June 1st, 1908, forecasted the cost of the Commonwealth pension scheme of giving 10s. per week to all indigent persons over sixty-five years of age as amounting to £1,800,000 yearly.

In the Colonies

The feature of the English Act is that it is non-contributory, *i.e.* all the sum is raised from the rates. In distinction to this is the report from Italy, where a tentative contributory scheme (see page 849) is in operation under the name of the National Fund. Signor Luig Luzzatti, in a lecture given in Rome on June 1st, 1908, admitted that the contributory scheme was a failure. Instead of the six or seven million workmen who were expected to insure themselves, only 251,000 subscribed, and one-fourth of these allowed their payments to lapse.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd-George, spent his holiday in Germany in August, 1908, in order to obtain a more efficient understanding of the practical working of old-age pension schemes, which for twenty years have been in successful operation in the Fatherland. In an interview on August 27th, on returning to England, he described its working as "the finest system in the world." To further quote him: "It is a far more gigantic enterprise than I had ever expected to find. It is the most wonderful piece of organization that I have ever witnessed. I have interviewed employers and workmen, and I have seen the workings of the system in the central offices of the Provinces, and finally, in the great central Imperial office at Berlin. It covers the cases of sickness, old age, accident and invalidity. The scope of it is shown by the fact that in the present year £34,000,000 will be raised for all these purposes in Germany. The Government are now adding clerks and widows; that in all will bring it up to £53,000,000, contributed by the nation itself for its own insurance. The sum contributed by the State amounts to a little more than the working expenses. Both Socialists and trade union leaders seem to me to be perfectly satisfied with its working. I pressed them for suggestions for improvement, and the chief suggestion they had to make was that the pension was too small. It certainly is too small, and in the case of sick insurance—to which the State contributes nothing, but which is a compulsory scheme forced upon all employers and workmen—there is a large growth of collateral organizations for supplementing the pension. Trade union leaders, I found, were not in any case opposed on principle to the contributory system. They were all full of enthusiasm as to the influence of the whole system in raising the general standard of life and comfort in Germany. The employers seem to have been at first very dissatisfied; but now they are highly pleased with it. One of the most remarkable parts of the system is that the funds are invested by the State, partly in workmen's dwellings and in sanatoria, as a means of lowering the final expenditure; for it obviously becomes the interest of all parties concerned that the whole health of the country should be raised."

In Germany

REFERENCES: Lord Avebury, *Times*, September 3, 1907; *Local Government Board—Old Age Pensions*, Cd. 3618; *Financial Review of Reviews*, *The Cost of Old Age Pensions*; *Fabian Tracts*; *Reformer's Year Book*, 1908.

OPIUM TRADE, SOCIETY FOR SUPPRESSION OF THE: Founded in 1874. Object: The suppression of the growth of the poppy for opium in India, and its subsequent export to China for other

than medical purposes. Membership, one thousand. By the influence of the Society a unanimous resolution condemning the opium trade as "morally indefensible" was passed by the House of Commons on May 30th, 1906. Official organ, *The Friend of China*, monthly, 3*d*. President, Sir Matthew Dodsworth, Bart. *Secretary:* Rev. G. A. Wilson, 181, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.

P

PARKS AND OPEN SPACES: (See under LONDON.)

PAROCHIAL RELIEF: (See under POOR LAWS.)

PATENTS ACT, 1907: The new Patents and Designs Act came into force on August 28th, 1908, as framed by the Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Its provisions are contained in the enactment officially called "Patents and Designs Act, 1907," but a time limit was fixed which allowed arrangements by foreign firms to be made in order that they might comply with the conditions of the Act, and this limit did not mature until the date above mentioned. The minor provisions which came into force on January 1st, 1908, are of general application, but the important feature of the Bill is in clause 27 of section 1, which stipulates that "At any time not less than four years after the date of a patent, and not less than one year after the passing of this Act, any person may apply to the Comptroller (of the Patent Office) for the revocation of the patent on the ground that the patented article or process is manufactured or carried on exclusively or mainly outside the United Kingdom."

According to this clause, holders of foreign patents operating in England have three courses open to them: (1) They may take no action at all, thereby permitting any British firm to apply at once for the revocation of their patent, and commence the manufacture of the goods themselves by British labour and on British soil; (2) They may come to an arrangement with some British firm for the manufacture of their goods under a royalty in the United Kingdom; (3) They may at once erect a factory in this country and manufacture in it all their goods intended for the British market.

The enforcement of the Act in its entirety is expected to have the effect of accentuating the trade of the country, insomuch as an enormous number of articles hitherto made abroad and sold here, must now be manufactured within the United Kingdom, either entirely or in part. A large number of foreign firms affected by the maturing of the Act have factories in the course of erection on sites in various parts of England. To quote the London *Daily Mail* of August 28th, 1908: "Thirty great foreign firms now have factories completed or under construction, in this country. In three years' time the number should be increased to quite three thousand. About twenty of the concerns erecting their works in England are of German origin. The remainder are American. The principal things which the German firms will make in this country are: Aniline dyes, pottery, gasmaking plant, rifles, patent foods, electric appliances, furnaces, sanitary appliances. The American goods which are to be manufactured in England are chiefly confined to typewriters, safety razors, phonograph records, shoes, telephones, and wire roofing. In one district of England alone it was estimated recently that £150,000 of capital had been sunk in sites for factories by one or two foreign firms, and that employment would be forthcoming for over two thousand men."

The Act will have the result, in the opinion of no less an authority than Sir Alfred Jones, of securing the investment of some £25,000,000 of foreign capital in England, and will prove to be an important factor in the solving of the unemployed problem. In this connection, it is important to note the large number of foreign patents which are annually registered at the Patent Office. The last report of the Comptroller-General gives the figures thus:

	1906.	1907.
Germany	2608 ..	2901
United States	2792 ..	2595
France	753 ..	769
Austria-Hungary	299 ..	257
Switzerland	190 ..	178
Sweden	138 ..	105
Italy	112 ..	111

PAUPERISM: (See under POOR LAWS.)

PEABODY DONATION FUND: Founded in 1862 by the late Mr. George Peabody of the U.S.A. (*q.v.*), whose total donations amounted to £500,000. Object: To ameliorate the condition of the poor and needy of London, and to promote their comfort and happiness. As shown by statistics up to September, 1908, the Governors had provided for the artisan and labouring poor of London, 12,913 rooms, including those occupied by the superintendents and porters, besides bathrooms, laundries, and lavatories. These rooms comprise 5586 separate dwellings, viz. 199 cottages of five rooms, 105 tenements of four rooms, 1833 of three rooms, 2550 of two rooms, and 899 of one room. Chairman, the Duke of Devonshire, K.G. *Secretary:* Mr. F. B. Crouch, 64, Queen Street, London, E.C.

PEACE AND ARBITRATION SOCIETY, WEST OF SCOTLAND: Founded in 1888. Membership, 205. President, Rev. James Barr, B.D. *Secretary:* Mr. Wm. J. Begg, 150, Hope Street, Glasgow.

PEACE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS: (See FRIENDS, PEACE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF.)

PEACE, UNIVERSAL: During recent years the efforts of many kings and other rulers have been directed towards the attainment of a world-peace and systems of arbitration. Since the Peace Rescript of the Tsar, much has been done—see PEACE CONGRESS references. How much is owed to Great Britain for the promotion of peace may not be generally recognized as it might be. There is little doubt that in the early training of the Tsar he was imbued by both his mother and his father with a hatred of war. That the thought of universal peace was not a mere passing fancy is seen by the fact that only four years after his accession to the throne, Nicholas II. issued his famous Peace Rescript, the text of which as handed by Count Muravieff, on August 24th, 1898, to all the foreign representatives accredited to the Court of St. Petersburg, was as follows:—

The Tsar's Rescript

"The maintenance of general peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations present themselves in the existing condition of the whole world, as the ideal towards which the endeavours of all Governments should be directed.

"The humanitarian and magnanimous ideas of his Majesty the Emperor have been won over to this view. In conviction that this lofty aim is in conformity with the most essential interests and the legitimate views of all Powers, the Imperial Government thinks that the present moment would be very favourable to seeking, by means of international discussion, the most effectual means of assuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and, above all, of putting an end to the progressive development of the present armaments.

"In the course of the last twenty years the longings for a general appeasement have grown especially pronounced in the consciences of civilized nations. The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy; it is in its name that great States have concluded between themselves powerful alliances; it is the better to guarantee peace that they have developed in proportions hitherto unprecedented their military forces, and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice.

"All these efforts, nevertheless, have not been able to bring about the beneficent results of the desired pacification. The financial charges following an upward march strike at the public prosperity at its very source.

"The intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labour and capital, are for the major part diverted from their natural application, and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field.

"National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each Power increase, so do they less and less fulfil the object which the Governments have set before themselves.

"The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments *à l'outrance* and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident then that if this state of things were prolonged it would inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance.

"To put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world—such is the supreme duty which is to-day imposed on all States.

"Filled with this idea, his Majesty has been pleased to propose to all the Governments whose representatives are accredited to the Imperial Court, the meeting of a conference which would have to occupy itself with this grave problem.

"This conference would be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century which is about to open. It would converge into one powerful focus the efforts of all the States which are sincerely seeking to make the great conception of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord.

"It would, at the same time, cement their agreement by a corporate consecration of the principles of equity and right on which rest the security of States and the welfare of peoples."

The Second Rescript

This rescript resulted in the Hague Conference (see page 881), and to the Governments whose representatives took part in it the Tsar addressed a further rescript on January 5th, 1900, drawing attention to—

"The fact that in the new century the rival arming of nations, hitherto confined to land forces, is to be extended also to naval armaments. Navies are being built in hitherto unknown measures, at accelerated speed, for the protection of coasts and for the security and advantage of commerce in distant harbours and colonies. Monstrous sums are being spent on floating fortresses, on cruisers and torpedoes, which are no sooner built than, owing to improved methods of shipbuilding, they become obsolete; in warships, worth millions, which may be sunk in a moment, commerce is not protected.

"The nations are beginning to see more and more clearly the ruinous character and hopelessness of all this; therefore they fall victims to fanatics who utilize this state of affairs to mislead the masses and incite them against all orderly society. The instinct of self-preservation, the laws of the Christian religion, the justifiable claims of the nations longing for peace, demand that this new evil shall be speedily obviated.

"The end of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of the work of peace. Let the opening of the twentieth century see the great idea of universal peace triumphant over human weakness and sinfulness."

From revelations made in September, 1908, it seems that the Tsar was adverse to the Russo-Japanese War, his expression when the possibility of a conflict was discussed being that "war was extremely undesirable."

When it was thought that King Edward might intervene to prevent the threatening railway strike in November, 1907, the *Review of Reviews* remarked, "What is the use of having a King if we cannot use him as a peacemaker?" And, indeed, during the few years he has been on the throne his Majesty has made the prosecution of peace his primary object; not merely peace between men, but peace between nations. The situation was thus expressed by Mr. Maurice Low in 1907, in *The Forum:* "'Peace and goodwill' appear to be tacked up in every European Foreign Office, and this era of good feeling is entirely due to the extraordinary diplomacy and tact of the King of England." It is characteristic of the King that he should be a man of deeds rather than words, but among the various peace-speeches that his Majesty has made may be quoted his speech on February 20th, 1906, when the Moroccan Conference negotiations were in progress:—

King Edward VII.

"It is earnestly to be hoped that the result of these negotiations may be conducive to the maintenance of peace among all nations," he said.

Six days later, on the occasion of receiving deputations with addresses from the convocation of both houses of the provinces of Canterbury and York, King Edward VII., previous to a levée at Buckingham Palace, made the following significant speech:—

"It is ever, as you know, my earnest desire to do all in my power to contribute towards the maintenance of peace and tranquillity throughout the world, and to foster that spirit of goodwill and charity which is characteristic of our holy religion. I share your thankfulness for the peace that has prevailed in Europe throughout my reign, and I rely upon the Christian sentiment of my people for supporting the pacific policy which has consistently guided my counsels."

In Paris, in March of 1906, the *Liberté* reported an interview its representative had with King Edward VII., in the course of which, says the journal, "the King was anxious to make clear that he considers his *rôle* to be that of a peace-maker."

Two months later (May 4th, 1906) when in Paris the King, in responding to an address, said—

"I desire above all the prosperity of your great country; and I am sure that the *entente cordiale* between our two countries will do more than anything else to maintain peace."

In connection with the Seventeenth Universal Congress of Peace, which opened in London, July 28th, 1908, and in reply to an address presented by Lord Courtney, his Majesty said—

"There is nothing from which I derive more sincere gratification than the knowledge that my efforts in the cause of international peace and goodwill have not been without fruit, and the consciousness of the generous appreciation which they have received both from my own people and from those of other countries. Rulers and statesmen can set before themselves no higher aim than the promotion of mutual good understanding and cordial friendship among the nations of the world. It is the surest and most direct means whereby humanity may be enabled to realize its noblest ideals, and its attainment will ever be the object of my own constant endeavours."

Emperor William II.

Two years after the German Emperor's accession, at the opening of the Reichstag (May 7th, 1890), his Majesty said—

"The lasting maintenance of peace is the unceasing aim of all my efforts. I may express the conviction that I have succeeded in inducing all the foreign Governments to put greater faith in the steadfastness of my policy. With me and my exalted Allies, the German people recognize that it is the duty of the Empire to foster . . . the friendly relations existing with all foreign powers, in order to preserve peace and to further prosperity and civilization."

When he visited London in November, 1907, the Emperor's speech at the Guildhall breathed aspirations

for universal peace, and at the state banquet at Windsor Castle on November 12th, after King Edward had expressed "a fervent hope for the maintenance of peace," the Emperor William replied—

"It is also my very anxious wish that the close relationship between our two families may be reflected in the relations of our two countries, and thus confirm the peace of the world, the maintenance of which is as much your Majesty's endeavour as it is my own."

On April 13th, 1908, in his toast when lunching on board of H. M. S. *Implacable*, the Emperor said—

"I drink to our two flags, and wish they may be ever united for the welfare of the world's peace."

Still later, at a banquet in Strasburg, August 30th, 1908, the Kaiser said—

"I rejoice to be able to express to you my deepest conviction that the peace of Europe is not in danger. It rests on too solid foundations to be easily upset by the incitements and calumnies provoked by envious and ill-disposed individuals.

"A firm security exists in the first place in the conscience of the Princes and statesmen of Europe, who know and feel that they are responsible to God for the lives and prosperity of the peoples entrusted to their leadership.

"On the other hand, it is the will and desire of the peoples themselves usefully and tranquilly pursuing the development of magnificent achievements of a progressive civilization, to measure their strength in peaceful rivalry.

"Finally, peace is also assured and guaranteed by our power on sea and land, by the German people in arms. Proud of the manly discipline and love of honour of her armed forces, Germany is determined to keep them on their high level, without menace to others, and to develop them as her own interests demand—favouring none, injuring none."

Theodore Roosevelt

It has been widely admitted that the Chief Executive of the United States is a born fighter, with all the virility that comes of a strenuous life. Nevertheless his views and sympathies are toward peace. President Roosevelt, during his Annual Messages to Congress, December 6th, 1904, December 5th, 1905, and December 6th, 1906, made extended references to international peace, saying among other things—

"The steady aim of this nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice—all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safeguarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty towards others.

"It remains our clear duty to strive in every practicable way to bring nearer the time when the sword shall not be the arbiter among nations. At present the practical thing to do is to try to minimize the number of cases in which it must be the arbiter, and to offer, at least to all civilized Powers, some substitute for war which will be available in at least a considerable number of instances."

PENAL REFORM LEAGUE: Founded in 1907. Object: To advocate the principle that the treatment of criminals should be entirely curative. *Hon. Secretary:* Capt. Arthur St. John, 7, Holly Village, Highgate, London, N.

PENOLOGY: The trend of recent reforms in the treatment of prisoners in England has been largely in the direction, not so much of exacting punishment for offences committed, as of endeavouring to establish some system for improving the character of the prisoner and rendering him fit to take his proper place in the social scale. Particularly is this the case in regard to young offenders. Under the standing orders for the treatment of juvenile-adult prisoners by the modified Borstal system, as contained in the report of the Commissioners of Prisons for the year ended March 31st, 1908, this class is divided into the following categories: (*a*) prisoners between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years whose sentences exceed one month and are less than four months; (*b*) prisoners between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years with sentences of four months and over. Where practicable, prisoners are specially located on reception, unless, in the opinion of the Governor, having regard to their character and antecedents, they are manifestly unfit for special treatment in the class. Those in the Star Class (*i.e.* prisoners whose characters render them unfit to associate with the ordinary prisoners) are, as far as practicable, kept apart from other prisoners. Subject to certain conditions as regards conduct, etc., prisoners may earn remission of their sentences, and special provision is made, where possible, on the discharge of each prisoner for some arrangement with benevolent societies or persons willing to assist the case by finding employment or otherwise. For statistical purposes a register is kept for entering up all the cases treated. During the year dealt with 282 male juvenile-adult prisoners were received into Borstal and Lincoln prisons, in both of which the same system is carried out, the sentences ranging from nine months to ten years, while one was sentenced to penal servitude for life. Special rules sanctioned by Parliament established the system of grades, with particular privileges attached to each, according to industry and conduct, special instruction and useful trades were organized, and physical drill made a part of the daily routine. The Borstal Association make prisoners the subject of care on discharge. A Borstal prisoner, it may be added, is subjected to a very rigorous discipline. He is well, but not over-fed, but he is made to work hard.

Borstal Treatment

On his arrival he is placed in the lowest grade, marked by a brown dress; and under no circumstances does he pass out of this grade and exchange his brown for a blue dress under five months. The strictest obedience to orders is exacted, and any failure to comply with orders or regulations retards the period of advance, which is attainable, not by mere obedience to rules and orders, but only by proof that the youth is doing his best to improve himself in conduct and in what he has to learn. Admission into the higher grade is found to be eagerly sought after. The youth is set to field-work, carpentry, blacksmithing, or cooking and bakery. Even when he has reached the higher grade, however, he may, through bad behaviour, be reduced to the lower penal grade, when he will do his full work, but will have no books from the library, no visits from friends, no permission to write to them. The Commissioners, in their report, state that experience has shown the futility, and perhaps even harmfulness, of admitting to the comparative advantages of Borstal treatment lads under very short sentences, *i.e.* a month or less.

The system initiated at Borstal and followed at Lincoln met with such marked success that local Borstal Committees were later established at nearly all the prisons, the arrangement being that members of the local committees should become *ex officio* honorary members of the Central Borstal Association, which as the parent society directs the general aid on discharge of this category of young prisoners. Tables are given in the report which show that whereas in 1893, 17,940 male and 3645 female

juvenile-adults were received into prison on conviction, their numbers had fallen to 12,644 and 1286 respectively during the year 1907–8.

In 1907 a Bill was introduced into Parliament, entitled "The State Reformatories Bill," for giving effect to the principle of a long period of detention for reformatory purposes, with a free power of conditional licence, where, in the opinion of the authorities, a young offender might be released from detention with a reasonable prospect of his criminal career being broken. The Bill, however, could not be proceeded with that session; but another, for a similar purpose, was introduced in 1908 under the title of the "Prevention of Crime Bill."

Of 189 lads received on release by the Borstal Association during the year, ninety-six were known and twenty-nine believed to be doing well, and the Association express the opinion that absence of a system of control and organization for the employment of the young is one of the principal causes of wrong-doing. In passing it may be remarked that in one of the London prisons many lads of from sixteen to twenty-one are still received who can neither read nor write.

Statistics of Crime

Dealing with the general statistics for the year the Prisons Commissioners, of whom Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise is chairman, report that the number of prisoners received into local prisons during the year under sentence of penal servitude or imprisonment by the ordinary courts was 176,602, besides 501 soldiers and sailors sentenced by courts-martial. There were also 17,918 persons imprisoned as debtors, or on civil process, and 1212 in default of sureties, making a total of 196,233. The corresponding numbers for the preceding year were, respectively, convicted by the ordinary courts, 178,343; by courts-martial, 545; debtors and civil process, 19,230; in default of sureties, 1164; total, 199,282. There was, therefore, during the year, a diminution of 3049 in the total number of prisoners, as compared with the previous year.

The population of the local prisons on March 31st, 1908, was 18,354, having been 16,888 at the end of the previous year. The average daily population in 1907–8 was 17,719, viz. 15,055 males and 2664 females. In the previous year it was 17,911, viz. 15,161 males and 2750 females. The population of the convict prisons on March 31st, 1908, was 3029, having been 3038 at the end of the previous year. The average daily population in 1907–8 was 3064, viz. 2934 males and 130 females. In the previous year it was 3032, viz. 2898 males and 134 females.

The number of convicts received into local prisons under fresh sentences of penal servitude during the year was 1179, of whom 430 had served previous sentences of penal servitude, a proportion of 36·5 per cent. as compared with a proportion of 33·2 per cent. during the previous year, when the number received was 1035, of whom 344 had served previous sentences of penal servitude.

The average length of sentences to imprisonment during the year, including both indictable and summary cases, was 39·8 days in the case of male prisoners and 26·3 in the case of female prisoners, as compared with 35·9 days for males and 24·3 days for females in the previous year, an increase of 3·9 days in the case of males, and 2 days in the case of females. The average length of the sentences of all the convicts received into local prisons under fresh sentences of penal servitude during the year was 4·33 years for males and 4·13 for females. During the previous year it was 4·38 years for males and 4·99 years for females.

The following table was also given as showing the actual offences which were the cause of imprisonment over a period of five years:—

	1903–4.	1904–5.	1905–6.	1906–7.	1907–8.
Convicted at Assizes and Quarter Sessions—					
Offences against the person ..	1,495	1,340	1,364	1,442	1,374
Offences against property ..	6,797	7,150	7,357	7,332	7,512
Other offences ..	348	271	251	192	205
Indictable offences tried summarily ..	21,730	21,784	21,890	20,272	20,886
Other offences tried summarily	159,518	167,396	164,194	149,105	146,625
Total	189,888	197,941	195,056	178,343	176,602

A recognized defect in the system of English criminal law, namely, the absence of any right of appeal, either on a point of fact or a point of law, was removed by the passing of the Criminal Appeal Act (England and Wales) in 1907. Its chief provisions are: (1) There is to be an Appeal Court of nine judges, of whom not less than three together shall hear appeals; (2) Upon the certificate of the Attorney-General there may be, as to any exceptionally important point of law, an appeal to the House of Lords; (3) Appeals may be brought (i.) against a conviction (*a*) on a question of law and (*b*) with the leave of the Court, or the certificate of the trying judge on a question of fact alone or of mixed fact or law; and (ii.) against the sentence, unless it is one fixed by law; (4) In ordinary cases if the appeal is allowed the Court shall quash the conviction and direct judgment and verdict of acquittal to be entered; (5) On appeal against sentence the Court may pass another sentence more or less severe; (6) The Court may assign legal assistance to the person appealing; (7) A person appealing who is not admitted to bail may be treated in a special manner or the Court may admit him to bail. Various other powers are given to the Court in certain contingencies, and the prerogative of mercy is to remain unaffected, except that the Home Secretary may refer a whole case or separate points to the Court.

Although in the main subject to the general prison rules, an appellant is, as far as possible, to be kept apart from other classes of prisoners; and, if released after his appeal, such an allowance on account of his earnings, if any, must be paid to him on his discharge as the Commissioners think reasonable.

Probation

Another important Act, which came into operation on January 1st, 1908, was passed in 1907 giving offenders in the United Kingdom a chance of probation similar to that already in vogue in Massachusetts. The Probation of Offenders Act permits the release on probation of offenders, where the Court thinks, having regard to the character, antecedents, age, health, or mental condition of the person charged, the trivial nature of the offence, or extenuating circumstances, it is inexpedient to inflict more than a nominal punishment. In such cases the Court may dismiss the information or charge, or discharge the offender on entering into recognizances to come up for sentence when called upon, during a time specified, not exceeding three years. A recognizance entered into may, if the Court so order, contain a condition that the offender shall be under the supervision of some person named, and also prohibitions of his association with bad company, or taking intoxicating drink, and general conditions for securing that the offender shall lead an honest and industrious life. Such conditions are to be furnished to him written out in simple terms. The appointment of probation officers is provided for, and children's protection officers, at such remuneration as the Court may direct. An offender failing to observe the conditions of release may be brought either before the Court before which he is bound by recognizances to appear, or a Court of

summary jurisdiction, to be sentenced or remanded to the original Court. Youthful offenders under twelve may be sent to a certified industrial school.

Mr. Edward Carpenter, in his *Prisons, Police, and Punishment*, published in 1905, suggested the following prison and judicial reforms, some of which, as will be seen, have now been given legal effect: (1) The conversion of the prisons into industrial reformatories, with associated labour and conditions favourable to a healthy life; and the abandonments of the evils of the solitary system; (2) The cultivation of farm lands in connection with all such reformatories; and a continuous scheme by which prisoners on the expiration of their sentences could be transferred if willing from the industrial and farm work of the reformatory to similar work in ordinary colonies for the unemployed; (3) Instead of short sentences, to substitute at first warnings or fines, leading finally on repetitions of the offence to a long reformatory sentence; (4) The adoption of the indeterminate sentence, and of the probation system—both as practised in the United States, and to some degree already in connection with our juvenile-adult prison at Borstal; (5) To remove the power of sentencing to corporal punishment entirely from the courts, and to allow it only under conditions to the heads of reformatories; (6) The complete abolition of capital punishment; (7) The entire reform of the treatment of prisoners under remand, or awaiting trial; (8) The establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal.

Scotland

The Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners of Scotland, issued in 1908, gives the number of committals to prison during 1907 as 61,312, an increase of about 1100 over the previous year. The sentences of penal servitude imposed on males, which for the previous ten years had averaged seventy-five, rose suddenly to 122; but, on the other hand, for the first time on record no sentence of penal servitude was pronounced on a female during 1907, and the class of female convicts is stated to be disappearing in Scotland. The average daily numbers in custody were:—ordinary prisoners, males, 2017, females 593; convicts, males 317, females 7. More than 13,000 of those who entered the prisons were there for the first time, and the remainder of the imprisonments, viz. 48,254, were accounted for by 28,424 separate individuals, indicating that many of them had several short sentences during the year. For all crimes and offences the average sentence of imprisonment worked out at 16·5 days. The tendency of the Courts for many years has been in the direction of shortening sentences, and there has been a substantial reduction in the duration of confinement of those incarcerated owing to inability to pay a fine, since under the Fine or Imprisonment Act of 1899 a prisoner may be released at the expiry of half his sentence if he can pay half the fine, and similar proportionate reductions are made when any portion of the fine is paid. In this way the prison population during the year had been lowered in its daily average by 139 inmates.

The number of youthful offenders who were imprisoned in 1907 was 273 males and seven females. In 1877 the corresponding figures were 1051 males and 158 females.

The cost for maintenance of an ordinary prisoner worked out at £20 18*s.* 8*d.* per annum; of a convict, £38 18*s.* 10*d.*; of a criminal lunatic or inebriate, £42 1*s.* 11*d.*

Ireland

In Ireland the number of prisoners committed during 1907, according to the report of the General Prisons Board for 1907–8, was 32,240, and the daily average number in custody 2466, an increase of 375 in the number of committals as compared with 1906, but a decrease of seventy-five in the daily average number, showing that the average term of imprisonment during the year had been somewhat shorter. A table giving the number of prisoners in Irish prisons over a period of ten years shows that the committals in 1907 were 32,240, or a daily average of fifty-six per 100,000 of the population, compared with 38,205, or sixty-four per 100,000, in 1898. The number of prisoners committed to Bridewells during the year 1907 was 478, an increase of forty-four on the number for the previous year. Of these 193 were received under sentence of four days or less, and 285 on remand, 150 of the latter being afterwards committed to local prisons. A tendency in the direction of ceasing to give sentences of one or two days was generally apparent.

A decrease was shown in the number of military prisoners committed, the figures being sixty-eight for 1907, as compared with seventy-eight in 1906. The number of naval prisoners committed fell from seventy-two in 1906 to forty-one in 1907.

Tables giving statistics for 1898 onwards with reference to juvenile offenders showed that the practice of committing children under twelve years of age to prison had been almost given up, only five such committals having taken place in 1907. The number of boys and girls from twelve to sixteen years of age committed during 1907 was, however, somewhat higher than the previous year, though much below the average of the ten years. The figures for 1907 under this head were 161 males and sixteen females, compared with 134 and thirteen in 1906.

The Borstal system was introduced into Ireland at Clonmel Prison in 1906, and has produced similar good results to those shown in England. The number of cases at Clonmel was thirty-two at the end of the year 1907, and they have since increased to thirty-five. As in England, a society has been formed, called the Prisoners' Aid Society, to look after the boys on their release. The great drawback to the system in Ireland, however, is stated to be the shortness of the sentences, which in thirteen out of thirty-three cases sent to Clonmel during the year were for the minimum term of nine months.

In the Prevention of Crime Bill, introduced into Parliament in the summer session of 1908 and still pending, one year is fixed as the minimum term of detention in Borstal institutions. This important measure proposes to deal with two classes who occupy the extremes of the present prison population, namely, the young offender and the habitual criminal. As regards the first class the Bill provides that—where a person is convicted on indictment of an offence for which he is liable to be sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment, and it appears to the Court that the person is not less than sixteen nor more than twenty-one years of age, and that, by reason of his antecedents or mode of life, it is expedient that he should be subject to detention for such term and under such instruction and discipline as appears most conducive to his reformation and the repression of crime, it shall be lawful for the court to pass a sentence of detention under penal discipline in a Borstal institution for a term not less than one year nor more than three years.

PERSIA: The recent popular movement, which culminated in the granting of a Constitution and the establishment of a Persian Parliament, began shortly before the return of the late Shah, Muzaffer-ud-Din, from Europe on the occasion of his last visit. It evolved out of a demand by the Reform Party for the dismissal of the Minister, Ayn-ud-Dawla, who was disliked on account of his unjust and oppressive measures. He was also regarded as responsible for burdening Persia with further debts to the foreigner. When the crisis was at its height the leaders of the popular party sought refuge at the British Legation at Teheran and the British consulates at Tabriz and Rasht, the garden of the Legation for some weeks in July, 1906, harbouring the tents of some ten thousand Persians of all classes, but chiefly Mullás, merchants, tradesmen, and artisans. The bazaars were closed, and the refugees refused to leave the shelter they had obtained until their demands were granted. The Constitution was signed by the late Shah on the first day of the New Year, 1907, exactly a week

before his death; and the assurance of his son and successor, Mohammed Ali, was also obtained that he would respect the new Constitution and not seek to revoke it.

The National Assembly soon proved that it was no mere docile instrument for the endorsing of the Shah's wishes. Among other acts, it refused absolutely to allow any fresh loans from foreign Powers to be contracted, and demanded that existing loans should be repaid as soon as possible so as to free the country from the danger of foreign control. In this line of conduct the population were wholly with the National Assembly, the clearing off of the Public Debt being eagerly anticipated as the principal step in the direction of the regeneration of Persia. Mohammed Ali, however, while swearing to observe the Constitution faithfully, cast about for ways and means of abolishing it. On ascending the throne, his finances were at a low ebb, the pay of the army was badly in arrears, and as the new Parliament was doing its best to establish a control over the national finances, the Sovereign could hardly look for pecuniary assistance in that quarter. In those circumstances, he may have deemed it prudent to adopt a conciliatory policy, and to feign acquiescence in the development of the new ideas which had led to the introduction of parliamentary institutions on a Western model. Towards the middle of 1908, however, his immediate necessities having been relieved so far as the supply of funds was concerned, and thus being able to secure the support of the army, Mohammed Ali was emboldened to strike a blow for the maintenance of his authority, and a temporary measure of success attended the *coup d'état*. Parliament was summoned to deliver up certain persons who were obnoxious to the Court; and on its refusal, the Shah's troops were sent to enforce the royal command. The revolutionary party, being ill-armed and without a concerted plan of resistance, could make little stand against the Imperial troops, and large numbers were killed. Eighteen leaders of the Reform movement were arrested, loaded with chains, and taken before the Shah, who ordered them to be put to death summarily. The House of Parliament was stormed, the building sacked, and many members slain. During the fighting that followed, in the course of which numbers of the Reform leaders barricaded themselves in the public buildings, shell-fire did much destruction to property, even the Imperial Palace being damaged. The Shah's troops were principally Cossacks, not of course Russians as the name might indicate, but a *corps d'élite* raised from a tribe of nomads in Azerbaidan, a province where the Shahs of Persia have always been able to rely on the loyalty of the Ilyats. The Cossack brigade was drilled and disciplined by Russian officers, and was the only practically efficient military force in Persia.

The Coup d'État

The early successes of the royal troops, however, failed to overpower the revolutionary movement, which gradually grew in strength and regained its ascendency, and in July the Shah felt compelled to issue a rescript promising to rule justly, and to establish courts of justice. Matters, however, remained unsettled for some time, and energetic protest was made against the Shah's refusal to convoke Parliament on a promised date. Towards the end of August the revolutionaries at Tabriz presented an ultimatum to the Shah, demanding the selection of a Ministry from the ranks of the revolutionaries, the expulsion of all reactionaries from Teheran, the granting of a full amnesty, the appointment of governors in accordance with the proposals of the political clubs, and the immediate convocation of the Parliament. On September 25th, it was announced that the Shah had issued a decree fixing the date of the convention of the Mejliss (National Assembly) and the Senate for November 14th, 1908.

PENSIONS, OLD-AGE: (See under OLD-AGE PENSIONS.)

PERSONAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded in 1871. Object: To uphold the principle of the perfect equality of all persons before the law in the exercise and enjoyment of their individual liberty within the widest practicable limits. Membership, about 160. Official organ, *The Individualist*, bi-monthly, 2*d*. Hon. Solicitor, Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore, M.A., etc. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. J. H. Levy, 11, Abbeville Road, London, S.W.

PHTHISIS: (See under TUBERCULOSIS.)

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND IMPROVEMENT, NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR: Founded in 1905. There are special committees on medical inspection of school-children, the milk supply, and health-visiting; care of infants; promotion of games and physical exercises for working boys and girls, etc. The League has branches in Cambridge, Bristol, and Islington. Official organ, *Progress*, quarterly, 6*d*. Chairman, The Bishop of Ripon. *Secretary:* Mr. F. James Matheson, 11, Southampton Row, London, W.C.

PLAYING FIELDS SOCIETY, THE LONDON: Founded in 1890. Object: To encourage and develop the playing of outdoor games, by the working men and boys of London, with a view to the physical and moral welfare of the population; and to increase the existing supply of public and private playing fields, by acquiring land for the purpose. The Society has 234¾ acres under its control, including 191 cricket pitches and forty-four tennis courts. Chairman, Hon. Sir E. Chandos Leigh, K.C.B., K.C. *Secretary:* Mr. G. J. Mordaunt, 45, Gloucester Street, London, S.W.

POGROM: This Russian term, so frequently quoted in English, signifies a massacre, as specially directed against the Jews living in that country. It is a derivative of the verb *gromic* (to threaten with destruction).

POLICE AND PUBLIC VIGILANCE SOCIETY: Object: To assist persons wrongfully accused or treated with unnecessary violence by the police. Of the eighteen cases investigated by the recent Royal Commission Upon the Duties of the Metropolitan Police fourteen were prepared by the Society, with the result that it was found that seven constables and one sergeant had been "guilty of misconduct," that one inspector had "acted improperly," and three had "committed errors of judgment." (The other four cases investigated by the Commission were those of Dr. Gerothwohl, Madam D'Angely, Mr. Wells, and Mr. Platt.) *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. James Timewell, 141, Gower Street, London, W.C.

POLICE, CITY: (See under LONDON.)

POLICE, METROPOLITAN: (See under LONDON.)

POOR LAWS: According to a statement made in December, 1907, considerably over one million persons are daily afforded relief by the Poor Law authorities of Great Britain, and for their maintenance no less than £17,000,000, or 8*s*. 1*d*. per head of the entire non-pauper population, is the annual levy in poor rates.

The increase in the number of persons becoming chargeable under the Poor Law is one of the most difficult economic problems extant. It is averred that the steady increase cannot be attributed to trade depression, because, over a lapse of years during which the numbers have been augmented, periods of decided prosperity in trade have occurred.

Another critic (vide the *Scotsman*, December 11th, 1907) argues in a circle, viz. that radical defects in the Poor Law itself inculcate indolence, and the indolence

so nurtured induces a gravitation back to Poor Law relief. In short, the Poor Law system is utterly wrong in principle, it is alleged, insomuch as it is continuously manufacturing the paupers it relieves.

Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., contributed an article on the Poor Law to the *South Wales Daily News*, of March 13th, 1907, in which he raised a "plea for a humanizing system." He dealt historically with the administration of the Poor Law, dwelt on its difficulties and defects, and gave his plan for betterment—

"May I summarize just what I have got in my mind?

Mr. Will Crooks's Remedy

"(1) The suggestion I make is, that all schools at present controlled by the Poor Law Authorities for the maintenance and education of children should be transferred to the Education Authority.

"(2) Districts should be created for the express purpose of dealing with all men, young men, and young women too, who are able-bodied, so that they may be treated in a very different way to what they are now. What happens is that you frequently get an aggregation of these people in one district and a sparse number in another, and instead of anything you do for them lifting them up, it degrades them. I want each district formed to be so organized as to cover a certain area of work which shall be of an instructive character, with kindly, but firm, discipline, so that in a very short time it would be worth any person's time to employ these people. So instead of becoming degenerate, they would become useful. This cannot be done in small communities.

"(3) Vagrants I would deal with as a separate class much under the same plan. There should be something like compulsory detention of both classes. That is to say, I would give them reasonable opportunities, and I would not enforce compulsory detention without some reason. The '99 Act, dealing with the able-bodied, says: 'If he is, in the opinion of the Guardians, discharging himself frequently without sufficient reason, he shall give so long a notice.' If it is found that a man only uses the house as a convenient shelter, the moment it is made a place where proper discipline is to be taught, I feel there must be brought to bear some form of detention on these people. The same should apply to vagrants who make no effort whatever to improve themselves, and I think the county authority should have some place that the police might send such people to, as apart from the genuine person.

"(4) The unemployed are another class of men entirely, whom the Unemployed Workmen's Act was passed to deal with. This is one of the measures the success of which depends so much on the desires of the administrators to do good with. It seems to me that the scope of the Act must be enlarged and that some discriminating power must be given to this Poor Law authority to relieve men and to organize work during periods of temporary slackness. I have seen more men and more little children broken down than there is any real necessity for; even under existing conditions children waiting outside the relief office for bread the father was obtaining. The association of these children with the Poor Law is always an evil. If a county or district authority was allowed in the absence of work to give some kind of relief it would keep these people away from the Poor Law, and altogether would be a reform little dreamed of by people outside the Poor Law.

"There would be left only the aged men and women to be cared for, and with old-age pensions looming in the near future, these old folks would be allowed to remain at home with their friends."

Dr. T. J. Macnamara, at the time Parliamentary Secretary, Local Government Board, speaking on Dec. 12th, 1907, at a Poor Law Conference, said—

Dr. T. J. Macnamara, M.P.

"Poor Law guardians in England and Wales have control of an expenditure of fourteen millions and 820,000 persons, and in London only nearly four millions of public money is expended in the care of 80,000. When the Old-Age Pensions scheme is in full working order, three and a quarter millions of the money now spent in outdoor relief will be saved, but it will not move the ninety per cent. permanent paupers who inhabit poorhouses. Such are old, feeble, and infirm, and if sent outside they would die off like flies in the absence of skilled care and nursing. There exists a great lack of public interest in the work of guardians, an average of only 28·1 per cent. vote therefor at the elections. Inside the workhouse, I found on a tour to twenty-five different Poor Law institutions, in various parts of the country, that paupers were homely and comfortable, but the life was too monotonous. The Poor Law problem is of a special character, and requires special treatment. As to the children, I am quite happy in my mind as to the great care extended to them in the cottage homes, scattered homes, district schools, the boarding-out system, and on emigration. It is noteworthy that only in the rarest cases children return when adults to become chargeable to the Poor Law funds. With regard to the vagrant, whilst the authorities cannot be too severe with the incorrigible loafer, the present casual ward treatment of him is silly, because it does not tend in any way to regenerate him. He should be taken to, and kept permanently on, a labour colony. With regard to the few rare cases of honest men seeking work among the vagrant class, the casual ward treatment is, in my estimation, brutal to the last degree."

The question of the administration of the Poor Law became so acute that a Royal Commission on the subject was formed.

Under the title of the Royal Commission on Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress, the body was appointed in December, 1905, for the purpose of in-

The Royal Commission

quiring into the conduct and administration of the Poor Law (see page 920). It was very soon discovered that the inquiry would occupy a much longer time than originally conjectured, and that the ramifications of the matter engaging their special attention needed to be sectionized in order that investigation should be thoroughly conducted. The complexity of some of the problems with which the Commission had to deal were such that Lord George Hamilton, the chairman, appointed on behalf of the Commission a band of expert investigators whose province it became to collect evidence on their special subjects, which were thus allocated—

> The relation of industrial and sanitary conditions to pauperism, with special reference to the effect of dangerous or unhealthy trades, casual labour, seasonal trades, housing, etc.—Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, private secretary to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer; Miss R. E. Squire, one of H.M. Inspectors of Factories.
>
> The effect of outdoor relief on wages and conditions of employment.—Mr. T. Jones, M.A., Assistant to Professor of Economics at Glasgow University; Miss Constance Williams, secretary to the Women's Educational Council.
>
> Effect of employment or assistance given to the unemployed since 1886 as a means of relieving distress outside the Poor Law.—Mr. Cyril Jackson, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, late Chief Inspector of the Board of Education, now hon. secretary to the Stepney Distress Committee; the Rev. J. C. Pringle, late of Indian Civil Service, curate of St. John's at Hackney, and chairman of the Men's Institute.

In total the Commission sat for considerably over two years, and their report was expected towards the end of 1908. By June, 1906, fifty meetings had been held. The nature of the proceedings of the Commission will not become public property until this report is issued, but an interim communication made by the

secretary of the Royal Commission on December 18th, 1907, outlined the general trend of the inquiry. During the first seven months of 1907, the Commissioners mainly devoted their attention to studying the methods of the Poor Law administration in the provinces and Scotland, receiving a great mass of written and oral evidence from local representative witnesses as to the working of the Poor Law, the method of outdoor medical relief, the relation of charity and of voluntary effort and of self-help societies to the Poor Law. The Commission also visited about one hundred Unions in England, and spent a month on a similar quest in Scotland. All this was in addition to the special inquiries of the expert investigators above referred to. Two statistical inquiries undertaken by the Commission which may be expected to be productive of valuable data have been undertaken; one, with the object of obtaining a census of all persons relieved in every Poor Law area in the United Kingdom on March 31st, 1906, and the other to afford tabulated information as to the nature of the diseases from which sick paupers were suffering. Other useful figures will doubtless be the reports being produced of the total number of persons relieved during the course of twelve months, with the periods of the recurrence of relief. Another section of the Commission's operations has been devoted to ascertaining the extent of poverty in each parish throughout England, Wales, and Scotland, and how far it is relieved by existing agencies. Another channel of inquiry has been to collect information relating to Poor Law systems of most of the European countries, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. For three months the Commission took evidence from witnesses on the subject of distress due to unemployment, and supplemented the same by a large amount of written evidence from persons interested in the subject. This included the views of every Distress Committee in the country on the subject of the Unemployed Workmen Act, and questions circulated among eminent political economists, employers and representatives of labour, social workers, etc., on matters relating to the conditions of labour as affecting unemployment, trade depressions, etc. Up to December, 1907, the Commission had examined about four hundred witnesses, had received evidence from nearly one thousand persons, and expressions of opinion from some fifteen hundred Poor Law bodies in the United Kingdom.

To Abolish the Guardians

Notwithstanding the fact that the report of the Royal Commission had not been issued by September, 1908, articles and statements appeared in the Press shortly after the sittings closed, in which it was forecasted that the recommendations would be crystallized into the dictum—abolish the Poor Law guardians and vest the working in the County and Borough Councils.

A series of three articles appeared in the *Times*, during August, 1908, under the title "The Breaking-up of the Poor Law," from which the following is extracted:—

"Our present methods are deterrent; the Poor Law of 1834 asserted this principle, and ever since it has been in force it has shown that deterrent treatment has not brought about that improvement in the classes from which the large body of paupers are recruited, and has not secured the decrease in pauperism which it was hoped would follow from its operation. Moveover, the administration of the Poor Law for many years past has overlapped the operations of other public authorities.

"It is understood that the Royal Commission, in the consideration of their report, have had two main principles before them: (1) the abandonment or breaking up of the present system altogether in favour of the separate and curative treatment of the various classes of paupers under authorities which are already charged with similar duties; and (2) the abolition of boards of guardians and the establishment in their place of a Poor Law Committee of the county or borough council. It is claimed for the first proposal that it will be far more effective in its administration than the second, which would continue a Poor Law authority under another name, and that it will leave room for any amount of charitable effort in aid of official work. As it is not unlikely to be found, when the report of the Commission is issued, that what is called the breaking-up principle has recommended itself to many, if not to most, of the Commissioners, some features of the policy may be pointed out.

"Shortly stated, it means the transfer of the children, the sick and infirm, and the aged from the control of boards of guardians to the care of committees of the county or county borough councils which are doing similar work; provision for the adult able-bodied by a separate committee of the county or county borough authority, and on national lines; and the disappearance of boards of guardians.

"It has been a serious defect in our existing system that boards of guardians have regarded the Poor Law as the rival of these agencies. With the break-up of the Poor Law and the formation of the judicial Court of Relief there would be an excellent opportunity for the systematic intervention of organized voluntary agencies."

The *Standard* of August 17th, 1908, in a leading article, said—

"The appointment of the Royal Commission was a recognition of the prevailing belief that some change is needed. The present situation is unsatisfactory. There is more wealth in the country; the standard of comfort has risen; but pauperism has not been substantially diminished. The fact may be due to many causes, some of which need not now be discussed. But there is not, we imagine, much doubt that the Poor Law administration is itself partly responsible for perpetuating the evils which it endeavours to alleviate. The weakest point of our Poor Law system is that it does not clearly distinguish between the deterrent and the curative functions of public charitable relief.

Differences and Distinctions

"An adequate reform of the Poor Law will take account of these differences and distinctions, and provide for a thorough and systematic classification of the temporarily and permanently destitute. But public charity, like all other branches of scientific action, will not be effective without careful specialization and the methodical adaptation of means to results. It is also to be hoped that, while supplementing what is defective in our present system, and correcting its faults, the new plan will avoid the peril of reintroducing the mischiefs which the Act of 1834 either extinguished or materially reduced. Vain, indeed, would be any reconstruction which would revive and reinforce the pauperizing influences from which the country was rescued—not too soon."

The *Morning Post* of August 17th, 1908, concluded a leading article on the subject with the words—

"The aim of all treatment should not be to deter a man from applying, but to put him under strict discipline and thoughtful training when he has applied, so as to restore him, not as at present impaired in morale and physique, but educated and moralized, to his place in industry. The watchword of the Poor Law has hitherto been deterrence: in the future it must be education. For, to quote the words of Dr. Schwander, one of the greatest German authorities on the organization of the Poor Law, 'the only sound method of relief is education.'"

Those responsible for the administration of the Poor Law abroad express astonishment at the vast expenditure under the British Poor Law system, and cannot conceive how it is that, whereas we pay two, three, and even four times per head as much as is paid in Hungary, Austria, Denmark, Germany, and other countries, yet the results are worse than in all or any of these countries. As Miss Edith Sellers says in the introduction to her recent book, *Foreign Solutions of Poor Law Problems*—

"No country but England could afford to spend £14,000,000 a year on poor relief . . . yet in foreign Poor Law Departments our expenditure on poor relief is regarded as quite appalling; the officials there speak of it with bated breath and wonder what we can possibly do with our £14,000,000; how we can manage to spend them in fact, and yet have so little to show for our money.

Foreign Methods

"Out of ten countries in which the systems of caring for their poor were investigated, there are only three under which the deserving poor, and especially the aged deserving poor, suffer so keenly as under ours; and not one at all under which the undeserving, the thoroughly worthless, are made quite so comfortable."

Contrasting our methods with those of Germany, where they have a very practical system of dealing, not only with orphan or destitute children, but also with those whose parents are unworthy of the name, Miss Sellers observes—

"What for us is more serious . . . in Germany and Hungary destitute children are infinitely better cared for than in England: a better chance is given them, not only of living and thriving, but of making their way in the world and becoming useful, prosperous citizens. . . . In Berlin it is not only the children who are motherless or fatherless who rank as orphans, but all those whose parents are in prison or who are suffering from chronic disease, and therefore cannot maintain them; or whose parents neglect them, illtreat them, set them a bad example or have deserted them. All these children are under the guardianship of the Orphans' Board; as by German law their parents have forfeited their rights over them, although they remain responsible for their maintenance. The Berliners have many institutions of which they are proud; but of none of them are they so proud, or with such good reason, as of the Orphans' Depôt, the refuge they provide for their destitute children. It is a wonderful place, a perfect model of skilful organization combined with careful management; and the good that is done there is untold. Within its walls more baby lives are saved, more boys and girls are rescued from ruin, more little ruffians are made to see the errors of their ways, and stumbling little 'Marchionesses' are kept from falling, than within those of any other building in the world."

Comparative Statistics

The following table shows for each year from 1898 the number of paupers on July 1st, distinguishing casual and insane paupers, and the indoor and outdoor paupers, exclusive of the two first-mentioned classes.

The figures are ranged in groups to indicate the rise and fall of pauperism in the successive periods.

Years.	Population.	Paupers, except casual and insane paupers.		Casual Paupers.		Insane.	Total number relieved.	Rate per 1000 of estimated population.	
		Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total. (a).	Relieved on night of July 1st. (b).			England and Wales.	London.
1898	31,517,725	180,620	*561,376	9,357	5338	91,570	*842,731	26·7	26·1
1899	31,881,365	177,475	496,913	8,959	5361	94,056	777,263	24·4	25·9
1900	32,249,187	174,528	483,566	7,779	4170	95,428	761,248	23·6	25·5
1901	32,621,263	181,777	490,895	8,407	5445	97,096	778,084	23·9	26·0
1902	32,997,626	189,889	497,852	10,717	6609	99,769	798,092	24·2	26·6
1903	33,378,338	195,561	499,544	8,634	5121	102,699	806,231	24·2	26·9
1904	33,763,434	206,118	515,568	10,843	6748	104,823	836,463	24·8	27·8
1905	34,152,977	214,884	532,778	14,920	8556	107,728	869,777	25·5	29·5
1906	34,547,016	215,713	547,798	13,017	6574	109,726	885,794	25·1	28·5
1907	34,945,600	222,480	523,883	11,408	6997	111,074	868,276	24·8	28·8

* Including 83,670 persons relieved in the unions in Monmouth and South Wales during the coal strike in 1898, compared with 43,712 on the same date in 1897.

Dealing with the last of the period of years shown in the above table, it will be seen that an increase in the proportion of the population, who received Poor Law relief, which occurred between the years 1901 and 1905, was followed by a decrease in 1906, which was maintained in 1907. In spite of a slight increase in the actual number of persons relieved, the rate per thousand of the population on July 1st, 1907, was lower than the rates recorded in 1906 and 1905, and was, with the exception of the five years 1899 to 1903, the lowest in the table.

The statistics of pauperism in Scotland show the averaged total for the six years ending 1906 to be 106,461 in receipt of poor relief, ratio to population 2·3, average amount expended in relief and management of the poor £1,351,351. For Ireland during the same period the averages show 102,549 in receipt of poor relief, ratio to estimated population 2·33, average amount expended in relief and management of the poor £1,217,651.

The return published on July 21st, 1908, gives statistics of Poor Relief for the six months ending Michaelmas, 1907, which with the figures already available for the previous six months enables the following table to be compiled, showing the total expenditure (other than out of loans) of Boards of Guardians connected with the relief of the poor during the twelve months ended at Michaelmas, 1907:—

Item.	Expenditure in unions and parishes.		Total for 12 months.
	6 months to March 25, 1907.	6 months to Sept. 29, 1907.	
Maintenance of indoor paupers—	£	£	£
(*a*) In establishments provided by Poor Law Authorities ("In-maintenance") ..	1,691,381	1,550 807	3,242,188
(*b*) In establishments not provided by Poor Law Authorities (other than asylums, etc., for lunatics)	110,454	114,854	225,308
Out-relief	1,602,474	1,623,454	3,225,928
Maintenance of lunatics in county and borough asylums, registered hospitals, etc.	1,186,865	1,166,184	2,353,049
Salaries, etc., and superannuation allowances of union officers and servants	1,255,958	1,286,407	2,542,365
Loan charges (principal repaid and interest)	602,551	635,095	1,237,646
Other expenditure connected with relief..	832,695	864,710	1,697,405
	7,282,378	7,241,511	14,523,889
Deduct— Estimated value of transfers between certain accounts (farm, etc., and "In-maintenance").	159,570	141,716	301,286
Total expenditure (excluding expenditure defrayed out of loans)	7,122,808	7,099,795	14,222,603

Thirty-five per cent. Increase

Thus during the half-year ended Michaelmas, 1907, the amount expended on the maintenance of indoor paupers and out-relief in England and Wales was higher than during the previous nine half-years (each to Michaelmas). During the whole period, while the estimated population increased nearly eleven per cent., the expenditure on the maintenance of indoor paupers increased nearly thirty-five per cent. Comparing the figures for London with the rest of England and Wales, it was found that the cost of maintenance of indoor paupers in London per head of population was in 1907 more than three times the cost per head in the aggregate of the rest of England and Wales, while the cost of out-relief, on a similar calculation, was about thirty-eight per cent. lower in London than elsewhere. Similarly the number of indoor paupers relieved in London on July 1st, 1907, represented 15·7 per thousand of the population,

as contrasted with a rate of only 5·9 per thousand in the rest of the country. In relation to population, the rate per head of expenditure on maintenance of indoor paupers in London increased from 2*s.* 0¼*d.* in 1898 to 2*s.* 5¼*d.* in 1903 and 1905, falling to 2*s.* 3½*d.* in 1906, but rising to 2*s.* 4*d.* in 1907, while in the rest of England and Wales the rate, which in 1898 was 7*d.*, rose to 8¾*d.* in each of the half-years ended Michaelmas, 1905 and 1907.

A useful table is issued weekly by the Local Government Board giving the number of persons in receipt of poor relief in London on Saturday of each week. That for Saturday, August 29th, 1908, issued September 4th, 1908, shows that the total was 118,580—75,212 indoor, and 43,368 outdoor paupers—being an increase of 3703 on the corresponding date of 1907.

In the following table is shown the number of indoor and outdoor paupers in London on this particular Saturday and on the corresponding Saturdays in the preceding three years, with the total rate per thousand of the population :—

	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.	Per 1000.
1905	72,243	44,686	116,929	25·0
1906	71,978	40,176	112,154	23·8
1907	73,157	41,720	114,877	24·1
1908	75,212	43,368	118,580	24·7

It will thus be seen that though the number of indoor paupers is larger than in 1905, the persons in receipt of outdoor relief are fewer in 1908, while the total rate per thousand of the population is also lower than it was four years ago. Although the number of paupers per ten thousand of the population fluctuates, the ratio shows that on the whole there is a decrease. Thus in 1861 the ratio was 364, in 1871, 393, in 1893, 254, in 1901, 240, and in 1907, 257.

Statistics relating to pauperism in Scotland were issued in the form of a parliamentary return on August 21st, 1908.

In Scotland

The number of sane poor relieved by the Parish Councils during the year ended May, 1907, was 147,660, being equal to 330 per ten thousand of the population census 1901. Of that number 90,073, or 201 per ten thousand of the population, were paupers or heads of families, and 57,587 were dependents, or the wives and children of paupers. The paupers included 33,970 males, 47,793 females, and 8301 children under fourteen. The dependents numbered 850 males, 8506 females, and 48,231 children under fourteen. The ratio these numbers bore to each ten thousand of the population was 201 paupers and 129 dependents, or 330 in all. Lunatics were not included, and any person chargeable several times during the year was reckoned as one case only.

The tables dealing with the nature of the relief indicate the extent to which the Scottish system of poor relief may be said to be an outdoor system. Institutional relief was given to 37,368 persons, or eighty-three per ten thousand of the population; outdoor relief to 106,883, or 239 per ten thousand of the population; and relief, partly institutional and partly outdoor, to 3409, or eight per ten thousand of the population. Considerably more than one-half of the male adults were relieved in institutions (chiefly poorhouses), while of the female adults about one-fifth only were relieved in institutions, and of the children about one-tenth.

Of the total number of poor (147,660) relieved during the year, 10,096, or 6·8 per cent., were chargeable for one week; 35,426, or 24·0 per cent., for over a week, but less than three months; 14,889, or 10·1 per cent., for three months, but less than six months; 19,102, or 12·9 for six months, but less than a year; and 68,147, or 46·2 per cent., were chargeable for the whole year. Of the total number relieved 76,564 were relieved in county areas, while the number relieved in the large town parishes was 71,096.

The ratio of paupers under sixty-five years of age to the total population was much higher in large towns than in counties, while as regards those sixty-five years of age and upwards, the proportion was higher in counties than in the large towns. Of the total poor in counties, 34·4 per cent. were between fourteen and sixty-five years of age, and 26·7 per cent. were over sixty-five years of age; in the large towns 45·7 per cent. were between the ages of fourteen and sixty-five, and only 16·8 per cent. were over sixty-five.

The half-yearly statement of pauperism in England and Wales, issued by the Local Government Board in August, 1908, showed that while for the greater part of the year preceding January 1st, 1908, there was a satisfactory decrease generally, except in London, towards the end of 1907 the percentage of persons requiring relief was considerably on the increase. On the basis of population, however, there was a fractional decrease in pauperism throughout the country as a whole during the six months, but an increase in London. The following are the figures :—

	London.	Provinces.	Total.
Paupers	122,015	677,624	799,639
Insane	25,472	87,218	112,690
Casuals	1,726	15,357	17,083

After deducting 257 persons in London and 484 in the provinces, who are counted twice in the preceding figures by reason of being reckoned for various reasons both as indoor and outdoor paupers, the total numbers in receipt of relief on January 1st, 1908, were as follows, compared with January 1st, 1907 :—

London .. .. 148,956, or 2·5 per cent. more
Provinces .. .. 779,715, or 0·5 ,, ,,

Taking the whole country there were 928,671 paupers, an increase of 7833, or 0·9 per cent.

On the basis of estimated population taken in the middle of 1907 the paupers relieved in England and Wales amounted to one in every thirty-eight persons, or 26·6 per thousand, as against 26·7. In London it was higher, being one in every thirty-two persons, or 31·3 per thousand, showing a comparative increase of 0·5.

Ratio of Increase

The report further stated that throughout the country the out-relief lists showed but a small variation, the increase in the aggregate numbers being attributed to indoor relief, this development being general. The rise in the numbers of pauper insane was normal.

In London the numbers (exclusive of casuals and paupers) exhibited an aggregate increase of 5·7 per cent., distributed as follows, the ratio being per thousand inhabitants :—

	No.	Ratio.	Inc. or dec.
West	15,653	18·4	− 0·1
North	26,494	24·3	+ 0·6
Central	9,205	48·7	− 2·8
East	23,495	32·3	+ 0·4
South	46,911	24·7	+ 1·2

A diagram given in the report emphasized the decline in the country generally already mentioned. In the period 1872–77 the ratio was 35·4 per thousand, which came down to 26·6 in 1893–1901, and to 26·4 in 1902–8. In London, however, the rate in 1908 (31·3 per thousand), though lower than in 1905 and 1906, was in excess of any other year since 1875.

According to the report of the Local Government Board for Ireland for the year ending March, 1908, pauperism was slightly on the decrease in that country during that period. The cost of in-maintenance, however, showed an increase, attributed to the enhanced price of provisions.

Notwithstanding the partial failure of the potato crop in some of the western unions, the total average of persons relieved, both indoor and outdoor, each day in 1907–8, was 101,181, against 101,183 in the preceding year. The figures for both years were taken to represent one in forty-three of the population, or twenty-three per thousand inhabitants, those relieved indoors being about ten and those outdoor thirteen per thousand.

The expenditure on indoor and outdoor relief came to £1,048,465 (against £1,041,620 in the preceding year). In addition, the boards expended various sums under the Medical Charities and other Acts, bringing up the total to £1,331,259 (as against £1,322,270). Their receipts from revenue came to £1,332,268 (against £1,289,567).

A historical survey of the Poor Law problem in its world-aspect and in the United Kingdom prior to the present Commission will be found on pages 915 (POOR-HOUSE), 917 (POOR LAWS, ENGLISH), 873 (PAUPERISM AND POOR RELIEF), and 1255 (VAGRANCY).

PORT OF LONDON: (See under LONDON.)

POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES: (See under WOMAN WORKER, THE.)

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS: (See under THRIFT.)

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN, THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE: Statistics relative to this Society will be found on page 949. Readers referring to the subject will also be interested to note that his Majesty, King Edward VII., when Prince of Wales, paid the following tribute to the N.S.P.C.C. :—

"It addresses itself to objects which have been long sought after—namely, the improvement of the lot of unhappy and miserable children. The State and the community have for some time past been interested in these aims, the former by sending such children to industrial schools and reformatories, and the latter by removing them to homes for the destitute and to hospitals, and by country holiday schemes. This Society would free the little sufferers by emancipating their homes. Its plan, however, is not to remove children from their parents, but to endeavour to reform the latter.

"This, the first Society dealing with the miseries of children, formally recognizes that the evil parent is the cause of these miseries, and that to reform him or her, or both, is to cure the evil. The Society believes that underlying the nature of the worst father and the worst mother there exists a natural parental feeling. Its methods are designed to reach and revive that feeling. It has directed its attention to more than 100,000 miserable homes in the United Kingdom with results which have more than justified its belief in the wisdom of its policy, and which lead it to look forward with great hope to the future.

"Three hundred and fifty thousand children mostly in pain and misery, either of body or mind, have been helped towards peace and happiness. They have been properly fed, comfortably clothed, and reasonably treated, not in new homes, but in their old ones, not by the hands of strangers, but by those of their own fathers and mothers. You see by this that the Society has struck out for itself a new line, and has made a great social discovery. It has gained the desired benefits for the children by freeing their parents from their vicious habits, and by raising and ennobling them. It has neither fed children who were hungry, nor given clothes to half-naked children. It has simply set in motion in the mind and character of their parents new and fresh motives, and by no other means than this does the Society work to attain its end.

"The Society appealed to Parliament to reform the law, and then said it would endeavour to remedy the evils against which civilization and humanity cried out. The appeal met with a favourable response, and the Society claims that its promise has been fulfilled. In this Society a wholly new power has been brought into play, for until the Act of 1889 was passed, and the organization for the enforcement of the Act was perfected, the parents could not be compelled to do their duty to their children."

PREVENTION OF PREMATURE BURIAL, THE SOCIETY FOR THE: Founded in 1896. Object: The scientific investigation of trance; the diffusion of knowledge regarding the causes and consequence of suspended animation, and the promotion of effective legislation for the compulsory verification of death in all cases before the supposed corpse is treated as dead. Official organ, *The Burial Reformer*, quarterly, 6*d*. President, Mr. William Tebb, F.R.G.S. *Secretary*: Mr. N. W. Denton Ingham, 19, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.

PRISONS: (See under PENOLOGY.)

PROFIT-SHARING AND CO-PARTNERSHIP: Particularly among Gas Companies is the system of profit-sharing growing. In addition to the companies referred to on page 964, the companies at Leamington, Rugby, Walker and Wallsend, and Wrexham have adopted the system, and others (Tottenham, etc.) have it in course of arrangement.

At the time of the death, in October, 1908, of Sir George Livesey, Chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, London, where profit-sharing in gas was instituted, the employees had £320,000 invested in the company. The system at the South Metropolitan Gas Company is not profit-sharing pure and simple, but embodying investment. Sir George Livesey always maintained, as he stated before the Institution of Gas Engineers, on June 16th, 1908, that "simple profit-sharing—that is, the payment of an annual bonus in cash—will not be a permanent benefit either to the men or their employer. The effect soon passes off, and simple profit-sharing in most cases is sooner or later given up. It does not promote thrift, but the reverse, and to be a success it must be made the means of enabling the workers to become owners of property as shareholders, and therefore partners. It is the shareholding that creates and sustains the interest in the business, which increases as the investments increase."

The advantages of the system were shown at the meeting by a table of the South Metropolitan Company, compared with other companies not having the system. The difference in favour of the South Metropolitan Company from 1891 to 1898 inclusive, averages one penny per thousand feet sold against 0·18 of a penny in 1888. In the eight years, £820,000 was paid for carbonizing labour, which is £260,000 less than it cost the other companies to make the same quantity of gas, or very nearly twenty-five per cent. lower.

The whole of the difference, of course, could not be owing to the co-partnership, but better machinery and methods and economic conditions could not account for more than a percentage of this result.

In Batley, Yorkshire, Mr. T. C. Taylor, M.P.,

introduced profit-sharing into his mills almost as soon as they came into his possession on the death of his father in 1892; first among the heads of departments, and then to the whole of the employés. The bonus is arranged in proportion to the wages paid out, and it varies from ten per cent. (1904–5–6) to 7½ per cent. (1901, 1902, 1903, 1907). This is more than under the South Metropolitan Gas Company's system mentioned above.

On October 7th, 1908, Sir Christopher Furness, chairman of the famous Tyneside shipbuilding firm, made a unique offer to the Trade Unions interested in the shipbuilding trades. Sir Christopher offered to 135 delegates to hand over the works at Hartlepool and West Hartlepool to representatives of Trade Unions at a fair valuation and on preferential payment terms, with the added advantage of full expert assistance and advice from himself and the present departmental chiefs. Failing acceptance he offered a profit-sharing or co-partnership scheme ensuring a four per cent. interest to all employés participating—whether the business showed a profit or not. This would be achieved by workers taking up shares in the companies, to be gradually paid for by a five per cent. wage-reduction until the share-value was met, and such shares so taken would be guaranteed the interest above mentioned.

Over one hundred delegates were appointed to consider the matter and recommended, on October 23rd, 1908, that the workmen should accept Sir Christopher's co-partnership scheme, on a year's trial. The Trade Unions had until November 28th to decide which of the alternative proposals to accept.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION COUNCIL, LONDON: Founded in 1894. Object: To promote and defend in London the principles of National education, efficient, progressive, free, unsectarian, and under popular control. Membership, about ten thousand. The Council's work includes help at local elections for educational bodies. President, Lord Stanley of Alderley. *Secretary:* Miss Constance Williams, Caxton House, Westminster, London, S.W.

PROHIBITION CONFEDERATION, THE WORLD'S: Temporary organization effected in January, 1908. Object: To better unite the forces working in various countries for the suppression of the drink traffic through legislative means. *Founder and Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Edward Page Gaston, F.R.G.S., 133, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.

PROHIBITION PARTY, THE NATIONAL: Founded in 1899. Object: To advocate the prohibition of the liquor traffic by non-production. Official organ, *The Prohibitionist*, monthly, ½*d.* Chairman, Mr. W. H. Goldsmith. *Secretary:* Mr. T. Portway, Alliance Hall, Albury Street, Deptford, London, S.E.

PROHIBITION PARTY, THE SCOTTISH: Founded in 1901. Official organ, *The Scottish Prohibitionist*, monthly, 1*d.* Chairman, Mr. R. Stewart. *Secretary:* Mr. Councillor E. Scrymgeour, 2, Errol Terrace, Dundee.

PROMOTION OF PUBLIC MORALITY, LONDON COUNCIL FOR THE: Founded in 1900. Membership, about one hundred. President, The Bishop of London. *Secretary:* Mr. E. Fox Butlin, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W.C.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SOCIETY, THE: Founded in 1884. Object: To improve electoral methods by the adoption of a system of proportional or real representation. The Society favours the Clark-Hare or Hare-Spence system of the "single transferable vote" now in operation in Tasmania. Official organ, *Representation*, monthly, 1*d.* President, Lord Avebury. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. John H. Humphreys, 107, Algernon Road, Lewisham, London, S.E.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH, THE SOCIETY FOR: Founded, 1882. Membership, twelve hundred. President, Mrs. H. Sidgwick. *Secretary:* Mr. R. A. H. Bickford-Smith, 20, Hanover Square, London, W.

PUBLIC GARDENS ASSOCIATION, METROPOLITAN: Founded in 1882. Object: To preserve, acquire, and lay out open spaces of all kinds in the Metropolis and its suburbs for public recreation. Also for tree-planting in streets, provision of seats, encouragement of outside window-gardens, etc. Membership, about 850. President, The Earl of Meath, K.P. *Secretary:* Mr. Basil Holmes, C.C., 83, Lancaster Gate, London, W.

PUBLIC HEALTH, THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF: Founded in 1886. Objects: (1) To provide a central institution in London for the training of medical practitioners for the diploma in public health. (2) To provide the means whereby municipal and other authorities and medical practitioners can obtain reliable bacteriological and chemical analyses. (3) To aid the practical and theoretical investigation and study of all branches of preventive medicine, etc. Membership, fifteen hundred. The Institute has founded bacteriological, chemical, and parasitological laboratories. Official organ, *The Journal of the Royal Institute of Public Health*, monthly, 2*s.* President, Lord Strathcona. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. James Cantlie, M.A., M.B., 37, Russell Square, London, W.C.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES: (See under LIBRARIES.)

PURE LITERATURE SOCIETY: Founded in 1854. Object: To promote the circulation of pure and healthy literature. President, Lord Kinnaird. *Secretary:* Mr. Richard Turner, 11, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, Strand, London, W.C.

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RAGGED SCHOOL MOVEMENT, THE: At Portsmouth, about 1810, Mr. John Pounds gathered together some ragged urchins in the effort to help them. Others in English towns followed his example, and in 1844 some teachers established the Ragged School Union in London, with the Earl of Shaftesbury as president. In barn, shed, or railway arch, Christian workers, mostly working people, gathered the unkempt, wild, and ignorant children, and taught them the rudiments of knowledge. Ragged Day Schools were established increasingly without school fees, and in 1906 the last of these Day Schools was finally merged in the regular education authority.

Around the Day Schools, however, has gradually grown up a network of religious and social agencies: Sunday Schools, evening classes, temperance work, clubs and guilds, etc., so that in 1908 societies affiliated to the Ragged School Union numbered 138, thirty of whose properties are vested in the Ragged School Union Council as trustees. The majority have independent committees, some owning capacious suites of buildings, and all raising their own funds, aided by grants from the

central body. In these there is an aggregate attendance of 44,000 scholars, with seven crêches, sixty-nine Industrial Classes, 133 Institutes, thirty-seven Boys' Brigades, 219 Bible Classes, 106 Mothers' Meetings, 126 Bands of Hope, forty-two Penny Banks, and twenty-eight Clothing Clubs. Few teachers are salaried, and there are 4700 voluntary workers.

The Society was almost a pioneer of the system of Fresh Air Day-Trips for slum children and of Holiday Homes. It now owns beautiful buildings at Bognor, Bournemouth, Margate, Southend, Addiscombe, and supplies Princess Christian's Home near Windsor. To these mainly cripples are sent, of whom in 1908 fifteen hundred spent two or more weeks. A fortnight in the country was provided also for 6200 boys and girls, and a day's outing for nearly 200,000. Several independent societies for the supply of boots and clothing have been merged in the Shaftesbury Society, and in 1908, 77,000 garments and 28,000 pairs of boots were distributed on a gift-loan system. A valuable enterprise is the Cripples' Mission, which enrols in London 7400 disabled children under sixteen; gathers them in weekly Cripples' Parlours for instruction and amusement; supplies surgical appliances, spinal carriages, and other necessities; and tries to teach trades to some of the stronger.

The Society circulates annually many thousands of books and periodicals. It has in the last forty years presented 37,000 prizes for faithful service to young men and women who have remained in the same situation one, three, or five years. The total expenditure of the Society for the year ended March 31st, 1908, was £37,700. Official organ, *The Shaftesbury Magazine*, monthly, 1*d*. *Director*, Sir John Kirk, 32, John Street, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.

RAILWAY PROBLEMS: As a result of the great controversy in 1907 between the directors of the chief British railways and their employés, representatives of the companies and the unions agreed on November 6th, 1907, to a scheme of Conciliation and Arbitration Boards proposed by the Board of Trade. The intervention of the Rt. Hon. Lloyd-George, then President of the Board of Trade, at a moment when a long and disastrous strike seemed all but inevitable, led to a series of interviews with both parties, terminating in the acceptance of the principle of conciliation and arbitration. The general outlines of the scheme are: Boards for each company; grouping of employés in sections and districts; Sectional Boards to deal with groups of allied grades, each Sectional Board sending representatives to a Central Conciliation Board with power to settle questions remitted to it on the motion of either side; in the event of the Conciliation Boards being unable to arrive at an agreement, or either the company or the men failing to carry out its decision, reference to be made to an Arbitrator, appointed by agreement of parties, or, failing that, by the Speaker and the Master of the Rolls; the scheme as evolved to last for at least six years, after that be terminable only by twelve months' notice from either side.

Conciliation and Arbitration

In September and October of 1908, however, a strained situation again prevailed in connection with the making of reductions of wages and increases of work on the part of some of the railway companies, to which the men's representatives raised strong objection, pointing out that if they were prevented from striking for an increase of wages, they might still strike to prevent a reduction.

Owing to joint-working arrangements (see below), and other causes, there were unusually large dismissals in September and October, 1908, and considerable feeling was aroused among the men. According to one estimate, during the past ten months (to October, 1908), fifteen thousand railwaymen of all grades have been discharged, and twenty-three thousand placed on short time, and this staff-reduction is expected to continue until probably forty per cent. of the men have been dismissed.

While the 1907 crisis above referred to was in progress, Lord Brassey advanced a strong plea for the nationalization of the railways. Addressing the members of the Association of Chambers of Commerce at the annual meeting in Liverpool in September, 1907, he said—

Nationalization

"In English railway management competition is carried to excess. An immense capital is wasted on duplicate lines, and traders and railway workers complain. The latter say that their wages are too low and their hours too long, while the former assert that rates and charges are excessive. We are, perhaps, on the eve of a great change of policy. We see what is taking place in Continental Europe. The requirements of the public are fully considered. The results to the exchequer have been satisfactory. If we were taking a new departure to-day there can hardly be a question as to what Parliament would do. The capital value of railways may be taken roughly at twice the amount of the National Debt. To deal with interests so vast would be an operation which would heavily tax our financial resources. We might perhaps begin with State ownership in Ireland. The financial operation would be on a limited scale. The savings from unity of management would certainly allow of considerable reductions in rates and tolls. As to administration, there is no reason to apprehend failure. It is not the least of the advantages to be looked for from the change which I have ventured to advocate, that it would give to the State a field in which soldiers having completed their term of service with the Colours might find employment."

Lord Brassey's suggestion that "we might perhaps begin with State ownership in Ireland," is afforded considerable elaboration in a Fabian Tract on the subject. Setting out with the argument that Irish railway rates and fares are the highest in the world, the advantages of and the objections raised to the nationalization of railways are fully discussed, comparison being instituted with not only the English and Scottish lines, but also various Continental countries. The question of purchase is dealt with as follows:—

"The terms under which the State can compulsorily acquire the railways from the present companies are fixed by Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1844. This provides that the price payable shall be twenty-five years' purchase of 'the annual divisible profits, estimated on the average of the three next preceding years.'

"Let us see what sort of a bargain this will mean for the Irish railways. The average annual divisible profit for the three years ending 1898 amounted to £1,521,717. Twenty-five years' purchase of this will give £38,042,925 as the price of acquisition by the State. This is just £1,300,000 less than the paid-up capital value of all the Irish railways. The Government would be easily able to get their State Railway Stocks taken up at 2½ per cent. But against this, a big saving in working expenses, consequent upon unity of management, would be effected. A late manager of one of the English railways has estimated this saving at twenty per cent. This will give us an annual saving of £414,000. Thus—

Present profits	£1,521,000
Saving by unity of management ..	414,000
	£1,935,000
Less annual interest of 2½ per cent. on Government railway stock of £38,042,925	951,000
Leaving a net annual profit of	£984,000
With this sum, goods rates and passenger fares could be reduced by twenty per cent.	706,000
Still leaving	£278,000

to form the nucleus of a sinking fund, and to improve the conditions of the Irish railway servants. Of course, the reduction in goods rates and fares would soon more than recoup itself in increased traffic. It should be clearly borne in mind that there will be no need to raise a single halfpenny of the purchase-money by taxation. The process will be one of simple conversion. Upon a given day a State scrip will be substituted for the existing stock certificate. If shareholders desire to have cash they will simply sell the Government scrip as they sell consols to-day."

"Some of the Advantages of a State Railway System" are set forth by Mr. A. Emil Davies in his *Nationalization of Railways* (1908). These include

Another View

cheaper fares, lower goods rates, uniformity of charges, etc., co-operation between the Post Office and the railways, and better railway stations. He points out that fares and rates on the railways of the United Kingdom are very much higher than on the State-owned railways of the Continent, and that with the existing wasteful administration these charges must be high if they are to yield even a meagre return to the shareholders. There is even greater necessity, he maintains, for cheaper goods rates, ours being far and away the highest in the world, and bearing most hardly upon trade and industry. And as the companies would sooner or later be compelled to raise wages, the steady rise of these rates would continue, since the railway companies would do their best to recoup themselves at the cost of the traders. He lays particular stress upon the want of uniformity in charges on the various British lines as strongly supporting the plea for a State system, when rates would be graduated according to distance. Again, in countries where the State owns the railways, the two great allied services work hand in hand, greatly to the public convenience. Lastly, he compares the railway stations of this country with those of Continental countries, much to the disadvantage of the former. With nationalization of the railways, a vast amount of rebuilding would have to take place, which, as it would make for greater efficiency and economy in working, would be money well spent.

Fabian Tract (No. 98), above referred to, says—

"The question as to whether the cost of administration is greater under State or private management is one of vital importance. The proper basis of comparison for this purpose is, of course, the cost of administering, not a State line in one country with a private line in another, but the State and companies' lines respectively, side by side, in the same country. And this comparison has been most effectively made by Mr. J. S. Jeans. He gives this comparative statement, showing the percentage of total working expenses expended on administration on the State and private lines respectively of different European countries :—

Countries.	State lines.	Companies' lines.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Germany	9·40	13·10
Austria-Hungary ..	6·50	8·47
Belgium	5·05	10·13
Denmark	6·89	5·77
France	16·16	9·58
Italy	6·49	8·76
Norway	7·30	7·00
Holland	5·30	10·35
Roumania	4·40	10·80
Russia	9.27	13·70

"The State railways of Belgium have proved a great success in every respect—in cheapness of rates, in efficiency of service, and as an investment of public monies. While up to 1894 the State lines cost £32,000,000 to construct, they earned a net profit of £60,000,000, or just double their cost price."

There have been at intervals plans for the amalgamation of lines. The South-Eastern and the Chatham and Dover Railways have now been working as one for some years. In December, 1907, an agreement was arrived at between the Great Northern Railway and the Great Central Railway to pool interests and work under a joint Committee, but other railway companies dissenting, sanction was not given. Not to be denied, however, the directors of the Great Central and Great Northern Railways now propose to include in the combination the Great Eastern Railway. These three companies, representing a capital of over £160,000,000, have decided to seek Parliamentary powers with a view of entering into a working agreement based upon arrangements similar to those proposed, in the first instance, by the two first-named concerns. It is intended to introduce a Bill early in 1909. The London and North-Western and Midland have also entered into "an arrangement of a comprehensive character, to endure for a long period of years, which will, it is hoped by the promoters, be the means of enabling considerable economies in working expenses to be effected." The capital of these two companies amounts to over £320,000,000.

Amalgamation

This agreement has already been put into operation, and the officials of both companies say that the public, so far from losing by the agreement, will gain considerably. In addition certain companies have agreed as to the running of competitive trains, especially to Scotland, and a reduction of service has resulted.

In the report of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants as submitted to the Annual General Meeting, October 5th to 9th, 1908, the recent attempts at amalgamation and the pooling propositions are discussed. Mr. Richard Bell, J.P., M.P., the General Secretary, writes thus: "It is quite patent that railway companies are at last beginning to realize the disastrous nature of 'cut-throat' competition. Co-operation is just as essential for railway companies as it is for any other form of enterprise. Even now, however, there is bound to be a certain amount of competition, but should this eventually result in the formation of a huge railway trust, then it would undoubtedly be a question for State interference."

Before the British Association in September, 1908, at Dublin, Mr. W. M. Acworth, a well-known authority and writer on the subject, delivered an address on the State and Railways.

"One could not look round the world," said Mr. Acworth, "and fail to recognize that the connection between the railways and the State was everywhere becoming more intimate year by year. It seemed to him that both in England and in America we must expect to see in the near future a considerable development of Executive Government control over railways. We must assume, in view of recent combinations, that competition, which had done good work for the public in its day, was practically ceasing to have any real operation in regulating English railways."

The London *Daily Chronicle*, on the other hand, believes that "Competition of this character can cease without jeopardy to any public or trading interest. It is time the railway companies adopted a more rational policy. We are not apprehensive of the creation in this country of a great railway trust."

That the prospects of amalgamation are not very distant, is maintained by some writers to be proved by the remarkable reduction in trains which took place on the principal lines in October of 1908. Thus the London and North-Western Railway took off 137 trains, the London and South-Western Railway 112 trains, the Great Central Railway 58 trains, the Great Northern Railway 90 trains, the South-Eastern and Chatham Railway 230 trains, and

Reductions

the Great Eastern Railway 112 trains; and other well-known lines, such as the Great Western Railway, Midland Railway, London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, North-Eastern Railway, etc., have also in arrangement appreciable service reductions.

The railway companies, however, maintain that no undue interpretation can be read into this reduction of trains. Thus a prominent official of the South-Eastern and Chatham Railway, interviewed on October 5th, 1908, stated that in their case a number of relief trains put on in summer time to cope with extra traffic running a few minutes after the scheduled trains were shown in public time-tables in the 1908 summer season for the first time, and consequently in stopping these as well as the ordinary season trains, the disparity appears much more than in previous years, when the relief trains—though in service—did not appear in the public time-tables.

In view, therefore, of the outlook, the following table will be of interest as representing the position of railways in the United Kingdom :—

RAILWAY TRAFFIC RETURNS.

Particulars.	1907.*
Miles open	23,101
No. of locomotives	22,267 †
,, passenger vehicles	51,846 †
,, other passenger train vehicles	19,739 †
,, goods, mineral, and live stock waggons	731,639 †
,, other vehicles not included in above	20,215 †
,, passenger train miles	262,340,000
,, goods ,, ,,	164,350,000
,, mixed ,, ,,	1,641,000
,, miles run, total	428,331,000
,, tons, goods and mineral traffic	515,971,000
,, passenger journeys, exclusive of season ticket holders	1,259,401,000
	£
Amount of capital	1,394,178,000
Total gross receipts	121,538,000
Working expenditure	76,664,000
Cost of locomotive power	21,550,000
Maintenance of way, works, etc.	11,265,000
Rates and taxes	4,863,000

WAGES TABLE, SUMMARIZED IN LARGE GROUPS, OF RAILWAY SERVANTS ENGAGED IN WORKING LINES.

Groups.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		United Kingdom.	
	Numbers.	Percentage.	Numbers.	Percentage.	Numbers.	Percentage.	Numbers.	Percentage.
20s. and under	81,330	36·7	12,960	45·2	6640	74·6	100,930	38·8
21s. to 30s. ..	113,750	51·3	13,410	46·7	1650	18·5	128,810	49·8
31s. and over	26,610	12	2,320	8·1	610	6·9	29,540	11·4
	221,690	100	28,690	100	8900	100	259,280	100

* The figures shown for 1907 are given from the Preliminary Summary, and are subject to revision in the Annual Returns of the Board of Trade, which had not been issued at the time of going to press.

† 1906 figures, later data being unobtainable at time of going to press.

WEEKLY EARNINGS OF RAILWAY SERVANTS (including building and repair shops and all workers). Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Board of Trade on changes in wages and hours.

Year.	England and Wales (15 Companies).		Scotland (5 Companies).	
	Number employed.	Average wages per head.	Number employed.	Average wages per head.
		s. d.		s. d.
1907 ..	412,804	26 4¾	46,416	23 5½

Year.	Ireland (7 Companies).		United Kingdom (27 Companies).	
	Number employed.	Average wages per head.	Number employed.	Average wages per head.
		s. d.		s. d.
1907 ..	19,470	19 8¼	478,690	25 10

Owing to the evidence given at the inquiry into the disaster in the winter of 1907 to the Shrewsbury express the numbers of railway men working over twelve hours per day is valuable.

According to a Board of Trade return issued in September, 1908, 112,198 railway servants worked 2,663,359 days in April, 1908, the number of days on which the men were on duty for periods exceeding twelve hours by one hour and upwards amounting to 0·99 per cent. of the total days worked.

	1908.	
Passenger guards and brakesmen worked	2083	Hours in total over 12 hours a day.
Passenger enginemen	2231	
Goods guards and brakesmen	2029	
Goods enginemen	6984	
Signalmen	1034	
Examiners	393	

It should be explained that these figures, showing the periods of duty, are exclusive of time, if any, spent in travelling home after relief. They show a distinct improvement on the 1907 figures.

The total number of accidents to railway servants is still very great.

Year.	Killed.	Injured.	Total casualties.
1906	483	16,256	16,739
1907	509	21,514	22,023
Increase ..	26	5,258	5,284

During 1907 one casualty occurred among every fifty-seven railway servants exposed to danger, as compared with one in every seventy-one, the average of the ten years ending 1906.

The general casualty list of the railways, according to the Board of Trade return of railway accidents in the United Kingdom for 1907, shows that in the running of trains and the movement of railway vehicles 1117 persons were killed and 8811 were injured. As compared with 1906 there was a decrease of fifty-two killed but an increase of 1599 injured.

Another return for the first quarter of 1908 shows that 252 persons were killed and 2218 injured in the course of public traffic.

It was stated at the Mid-city Hall, Glasgow, on October 5th, 1908, that the membership of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was nearly 99,000, and the total funds £400,000, and the possibility of an amalgamation among all the societies representing railway servants was put forward in the report.

A new "masters" organization, the Railway Shareholders' Association, was formed in January, 1908. This body held its first half-yearly conference in London on July 8th.

RATIONALIST PRESS ASSOCIATION, LTD., THE: Founded in 1899. Object: To stimulate freedom of thought and inquiry in reference to ethics, theology, philosophy, and kindred subjects, and to promote a secular system of education. Semi-official organ, *The Literary Guide*, monthly, 2*d*. Chairman, Mr. Edward Clodd. *Secretary:* Mr. Charles E. Hooper, 5, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

REFORMATORY AND REFUGE UNION: Founded in 1856. (Incorporated.) Object: To reclaim and elevate the neglected and criminal classes, by educating them in the fear of God and in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. There are twelve hundred affiliated institutions, affording accommodation for about 78,000 inmates. A large staff of officers, male and female, registered also as "Probation Officers," seek to save children from destitution and neglect, to rescue girls from moral danger, and to befriend those who have left the schools and other institutions. Since the Union was established 49,383 children have passed through the hands of these officers; 45,594 women and girls have come under the influence of the female missionaries, and 352 persons have been befriended on their discharge from inebriate reformatories or retreats. Official organ, *Seeking and Saving*, monthly, 2*d*. President, Lord Aberdare. *Secretary:* Mr. Arthur J. S. Maddison, 117, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

"RIGHT TO WORK" BILL: (See under UNEMPLOYMENT.)

ROADS IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1886. As the result of pressure brought to bear upon the Government and the departments concerned, a Departmental Committee was appointed by the Local Government Board to inquire into Highway Authorities and Administrations in England and Wales. Recommendations were also made on the subject by the Royal Commission on London Traffic and the Royal Commission on Motor Cars. A Highways Bill has been prepared to give effect to the principal of these recommendations. The dust problem has received the special attention of the Association, the tarring of the roads having so far proved the most efficient palliative for laying dust. It was foreseen that the cost of tarring must be reduced considerably before it could be adopted, the Association therefore organized a competition, at the request of the Royal Automobile Club, and the Motor Union of Great Britain and Ireland, to determine the best means for mechanical tarring; and another competition to determine the best form of tar or preparation of tar suitable for road purposes. Resulting from a Conference of Road Engineers and Road Users, organized by the R.I.A. in July, 1907, a committee was formed to approach the Government with a view to securing the allocation of one million pounds from the exchequer as grants-in-aid to various local highway authorities to enable them to meet the increasing expenditure in the construction, maintenance, and improvement of their roads. President, The Right Hon. Earl Cadogan, K.G. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Rees Jeffreys, 1, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, London, W.

ROMILLY SOCIETY: Founded in 1898. Object: For the amendment of the Criminal Law and its administration. President, Lord James of Hereford. *Secretary:* Mr. Coleman Phillipson, M.A., LL.D., 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.

ROWTON HOUSES: The philanthropic enterprise known as Rowton Houses, Ltd., was initiated by Lord Rowton early in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the first building erected being the Vauxhall Rowton House, which was opened on December 31st, 1892. It contained 470 cubicles, subsequently increased to 484. Within a short period from the opening of the house it was practically filled, the experiment turning out a complete success. Lord Rowton perceived the necessity of some provision being made better than the common lodging-house, alike on the grounds of comfort, sanitation, and sociological betterment, for men who were unable to occupy rooms of their own, namely, a cheap hotel, where the poorer class of working man could live and enjoy every possible convenience, with separate bedroom accommodation for each man and comfortable rooms for eating and recreation. The Vauxhall house, which cost in land and building £30,000, was accordingly erected on these lines, and its success soon led to similar provision being made in the direction of hotels for working men in various parts of the Metropolis. The number of Rowton Houses is now six, containing beds for 5182 men. The general charge for a cubicle is 3*s*. 6*d*. per week, or sevenpence a night. Residents have free use of the following rooms: Dining-room, where food can be purchased at exceptionally low prices, convenient fires and cooking requisites being provided free for those who wish to prepare their own food; smoking-room, with newspapers, chess, draughts, etc.; reading and writing rooms, with plentiful supply of books, magazines, etc. Hot and cold baths are also provided at a charge, including soap and towels, of one penny. Further, there are barber's, shoemaker's and tailor's shops, laundry, parcels room, and a plentiful supply of lockers. All bedrooms must be vacated before nine o'clock in the morning. Rowton Houses, Ltd., has a share capital of £450,000, with six houses, situated in various parts of London, *i.e.* Vauxhall, King's Cross, Newington Butts, Hammersmith, Whitechapel, and at Camden Town. The fourteenth annual report, for the year ended December 31st, 1907, showed that the gross receipts for that period amounted to £60,998 16*s*. 5*d*., an increase of £2,342 17*s*. over the corresponding figures for 1906; the total outgoings being £47,379 9*s*. 8*d*., or £2426 16*s*. 3*d*. larger than in 1906; and the net profit for the year, £13,619 6*s*. 9*d*., a decrease of £83 19*s*. 3d.

Registered offices: 7, Little College Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

On similar lines are the municipal lodging-houses inaugurated by the London County Council, such as Bruce House, Drury Lane, and Carrington House, Deptford.

RURAL DEPOPULATION: (See under SMALL HOLDINGS.)

RURAL HOUSING: (See under HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING.)

RURAL HOUSING AND SANITATION ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded in 1902. Object: To improve the condition of housing and sanitation in country working-class homes throughout England, to prevent the rural population from being driven into towns by the inadequacy and unwholesomeness of their habitations. The Association has branches in Cambridgeshire, North-west Sussex, and East Sussex. President, The Marquis of Salisbury, C.B. *Secretary:* Miss Annette Churton, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

RUSKIN COLLEGE: Founded at Oxford in 1899. Object: To make available a school of citizenship and public administration for working men. The College has been well filled since its foundation, and during the last eight years 397 students have been in residence, the greater number for a year. That these students are really working men can be seen from the following list for 1908: Miners 28, engineers 6, locomotive firemen 2, compositor 1, brakesman 1, signalman 1, bricklayer 1, weavers 3, carpenters and joiners 2, coach builder 1, passenger guard 1, steel smelter 1, pattern-makers 2, sheet metal worker 1, brass moulder 1, boiler-maker 1, cotton operative 1. The various Trades Unions, etc., have made individual financial and other grants to the College at various times up to the amount of £300 at a time.

For £52, board, lodging, and tuition is provided for each student for the college year, and each student has to do a share of the house-work. There are no servants except a cook, and an assistant. The hope of the institution is that each man, by raising himself, may help to raise, by influence and precept, the whole class to which he belongs. This hope has been amply fulfilled. Not a single working-man student who has passed through the College has failed to return to his trade. Students throughout the country to the number of 7500 are enrolled in the Correspondence School. The Council embraces University men and representatives of Trades Unions in about equal number. *Secretary:* Mr. Bertram Wilson, Ruskin College, Oxford.

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SCHOOL CHILDREN, FEEDING OF: As will be seen from page 488, France, and in lesser degree other countries on the Continent, have long had in operation plans for the feeding of school children. In England this matter has lately received greater attention. A committee appointed by the Government held inquiry and reported in July of 1906. This resulted in the Act of 1906, whereby Education Authorities may, if they think fit, provide free meals for children attending their elementary schools. They are not compelled to do so. A point to be noticed in the Act is that parents are compelled to pay if it is found that they are able to do so. Under the consent of the Board of Education, Authorities may make a charge on the rates for the feeding of school children up to a sum not exceeding one halfpenny in the pound. For some years previously the provision of breakfasts and dinners for necessitous children was carried out by the teachers, or by local committees who were supplied with funds by certain voluntary associations, principally the London Schools Dinner Association (*q.v.*).

In July of 1907 the Education Committee of the London County Council appointed Children's Care Committees for every school in London where there were underfed children. No less than four hundred of these committees were in operation by January, 1908. The usefulness of this scheme may be gauged by the following summary of one week's return (January 10th, 1908):—

Number of schools reported as having necessitous children	390
Number of children therein	36,474
Number of schools where children were fed	362
Number of children fed	30,319
Average number of meals per child	2·9
Average number of days on which meals were provided	3·7
Number of schools reporting insufficient funds for the next four weeks	135
Number of schools at which the meals provided averaged less than three per child	152

Its growth is seen by the following aggregates for the week ending February 21st, 1908, as compared with the same week of the previous year:—

	Children fed.	Schools where provided.
1908	43,931	443
1907	30,635	302

Voluntary Effort

Although the Act of 1906 (Provision of Meals Act) gives freedom, as seen above, to local education authorities making a levy on the rates, the London County Council, on July 30th, 1907, decided that voluntary contributions should be relied on. The *Times* of July 8th, 1908, gives a succinct history of subsequent action and expectation in the matter: "In the autumn of 1907 the Chairman of the Council issued an appeal; and when in December it became evident that the response to this appeal would not provide sufficient funds, a further appeal was made in the Press by Lord Rothschild, Lord Rosebery, Lord Avebury, and the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour. The total sums collected were, approximately—by existing voluntary associations £8000, and in response to the special appeal £12,000, to which a sum of £1000, representing various local collections, must be added, making a total of £21,000. Of this £12,000 raised by the special appeal, about £10,000 has been expended. The distress in London during the winter of 1907 was great, and the number of children fed in some weeks exceeded fifty thousand. It was not anticipated at the beginning of the winter that meals to any considerable number would be needed during the summer; but as matters have turned out, for the week ended June 26th, 1908, 214 schools have reported the feeding of 7667 children. The Council's Education Committee reported in June, 1908, that with better organization and fuller investigation, coupled with the Council's power to recover the cost of food supplied, the numbers on the feeding list may reasonably be expected to be appreciably diminished during the coming winter, when compared with the number fed per week last winter. Against this, however, must be placed the provision of a greater number of meals per child during the autumn months and the possibility of greater distress through depression in trade. It is estimated, therefore, that from £20,000 to £25,000 should be available to meet the requirements of the coming year (1908-9)."

The view taken by Socialists of the question is expressed in the report of the Fabian Society Committee issued in January, 1905: "Our own solution is that all children, destitute or not, should be fed, and fed without charge, at the expense of the State or municipality. We propose that the regular school course should include at least one meal a day. Thus only can we make sure that all the children who need feeding will be fed. Thus only can we free the policy of feeding from the taint of pauperism. Thus only can the problem of improper feeding be dealt with at all."

The adoption of the Provision of Meals Act by the Bradford Education Committee was given special prominence in the issue of the *New Age* for October 3rd, 1908, which in an article on the subject detailed fully the committee's action. Particular reference was made to the establishment at Thackley, to which the municipal tramcars convey the children from the city's centre. Here breakfast, dinner, and tea are provided, with plenty of play and rest as required. This open-air school accommodates forty

children, among whom the beneficial results of the committee's policy soon became apparent in physical and mental improvement.

SCOTTISH LAND VALUES BILL: (See under LAND VALUES.)

SHAFTESBURY SOCIETY: (See RAGGED SCHOOL MOVEMENT.)

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING SOCIETY: Founded in September, 1908. Object: To bring about the gradual reform of English spelling. President, Professor W. W. Skeat, Litt.D., etc., Cambridge. *Secretary:* Mr. William Archer, 44, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.

The Society co-operates with the Simplified Spelling Board, founded in the United States in 1906, of which the President is Professor Thomas R. Lounsbury, LL.D. *Secretary:* Mr. Charles P. G. Scott, Litt.D., 1, Madison Avenue, New York City.

SMALL HOLDINGS: The question of small holdings, previous to 1906, was not one to engage general public attention, but, to quote Mr. Rider Haggard (1907), "the public have come to realize how necessary it is that the land should be in more hands than it is at present."

Mr. H. Rider Haggard

Rather earlier, Mr. Rider Haggard dealt at length as below, with the land depopulation question, arguing before the Royal Institute that the cure lay in small holdings:—

"My subject is the difficult and debated question of small holdings; their relation to national health and well-being; and their working in practice.

"Speaking broadly, although of course its physical conditions are the same, the England of the past must have been a very different country from that with which we are acquainted to-day. Then, the land was the main strength of Britain, now commerce is its strength. Then, we were land-dwellers and the towns were small; now the great bulk of us are city-dwellers, most of whom know nothing of the land, and, as it does not concern their purses or their plenty, are absolutely indifferent to its welfare.

"The yeomen, too, who once formed the very backbone of the nation, have gone. The class of agricultural labourers is in much the same case. Thus, as is pointed out in the final report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture published in 1897, the population of Great Britain between the years 1871 and 1891 increased by nearly seven millions, whereas the agricultural labourers of Great Britain during the same period decreased by about 242,000. I have not at hand the figures for the decade between 1891 and 1901, but if I may trust to the results of my own knowledge and observation, I believe that decrease to have been progressive. I read in fact, that in England and Wales their number has further dwindled by about 160,000. Also I think that I am right in saying that the 1901 census shows a shrinkage of the population in no less than 401 of the rural districts of England and Wales. When it is remembered that in 1891 about seventy-seven per cent. of their inhabitants were already living in cities or their suburbs, as against twenty-three per cent. living in the country, it will be admitted that this fresh depletion of the villages is a very significant fact. A lessening of the number of agricultural labourers and shepherds from 1,253,786 in 1851 to 620,000 in 1901 can scarcely be ignored.

"To come to more modern instances of a population that has vanished, I will quote two examples which I was fortunate enough to be able to discover. The first of these was demonstrated by a map that I saw of the parish of Feckenham in Worcestershire, which was executed by the order of Queen Elizabeth at the date of the Disforestation in 1591—or to be accurate, I saw a copy of this map made by one John Dobarte in 1744. According to this chart, in the days of Elizabeth three thousand out of about seven thousand acres which compose the parish, were held by no fewer than sixty-three different owners. To-day nearly the entire parish—namely, six thousand acres of it—is held by six owners. It is a curious case of the passing away of the land from the people into the hands of a single class.

"In the parish of Western Colvile in Cambridgeshire I came across an even more remarkable example. Here I was shown a large detailed map executed in 1612 which had been found by the owner of the land hidden away in a cottage. This map tells us in unmistakable fashion that in 1612 about two thousand acres of the area of Western Colvile were held by some three hundred different owners—say an average of six acres to an owner. Now the said two thousand acres, over which I drove, is, I think, owned by one person and occupied by three, and the tiny strips into which it was divided are merged into vast, lonely fields.

"Now, owing to many causes they have for the most part vanished. Nor has the land and the industry of its cultivation prospered of late years. According to an estimate arrived at by the Royal Commission on Agriculture some few years ago, the value of that land in the United Kingdom decreased between the years 1875 and 1895 by some £834,000,000, or fifty per cent., although since then it may again have risen a little. Then the character of the husbandry throughout England, or at least in most of the twenty-seven counties in which I pursued my investigations, has, I believe, in the main deteriorated. Tenant farmers in the main are not what they were thirty years ago. Their capital is not so large, their energy and enterprise are often less; notwithstanding the great fall in rents, their prosperity on the whole has dwindled. But few of them make more than a living. Still, the tenant of land has not been so hard hit as the owner of the land, who is oppressed by tithe, taxes and death duties, all of which we must meet out of an enormously lessened income. In some counties his acres are now frequently let for not more than a fair interest on the capital value of the improvements effected on them by himself or his predecessors, that is to say, the land itself is thrown in for nothing. And all this, be it remembered, has come about in a country full of the finest markets in the world, that clamours for produce and imports it from abroad to the value of millions upon millions of pounds annually; a country, moreover, where irrigation is not needed, and of which the soil, if fairly treated, remains of unimpaired fertility. What is the reason of this strange state of affairs to which there seems to be no obvious and sufficient answer? Is it national senility? I think that we must look further afield.

Large Estates

"For instance, has not our system of large estates something to do with the matter, our rooted and almost ineradicable notion that the holding of land is mainly a right of the rich to be used by them for the purposes of pleasure and not of profit?

"Would not matters be improved if more individuals held less land and worked it themselves to earn a living out of it, thus getting rid of one of the three profits that it has to bear?

"The question is large, yet it may—at any rate to some extent—be dealt with by contrast. When I was engaged upon my researches, I visited Jersey and Guernsey, places with some agricultural advantages, though these are by no means so pronounced as is perhaps generally imagined.

"In the Channel Islands the land system is totally different from our own. Thus, real property, on the death of the head of a family, must be divided among all the children in certain proportions, the eldest son by virtue of his prior birth having only an extra right to the principal house and some twenty perches of land. Consequently there are a multitude of small freeholders, the average holding in Guernsey amounting to about one acre only, and in Jersey to fifteen or twenty, many there being under ten and few over fifty. If we are to believe half of what is preached to us as to the disadvantages of such holdings, this state of affairs should mean misery to all concerned.

"And yet what are the facts, unless they have changed since 1901? In Guernsey, land to be used for agricultural purposes fetches as much as £500 an acre, and lets at from £4 to £9 the acre. In Jersey I saw a little farm of about twenty-three acres which had been sold not long before, also for agricultural purposes, for £5760. Compare this state of affairs with that which prevailed at that date in Wiltshire, where land sells often enough for £6 the acre, and lets at from 5s. to 15s. the acre. Yet, in the Channel Islands, the people are, as a whole, extraordinarily prosperous, and often accumulate fortunes.

"Now does not all this suggest that there is perhaps something to be said for the tenure of the land by the people instead of by a very limited class, and that it is better to cultivate one acre thoroughly, making it produce as much as it possibly can, than to treat ten or twenty in the fashion that is common enough in England?

"With regard to the peril of corn shortage, if, by wars, our foreign supplies were stopped, I think it was that shrewd observer, Prince Kropotkin, who demonstrated that if the soil of this country were only cultivated as it is on an average cultivated in Belgium, we could produce as much as our people need to eat, and have some surplus over. Prince Kropotkin is right, at any rate, to a large degree, and that if our acres were cultivated as they might be cultivated by the aid of sufficient energy, capital, intelligence and labour, the produce from them of all foodstuffs could be well-nigh doubled.

"There are two great national needs. The need of increasing the numbers of our rural population, and the need of increasing the productive powers of our land—which needs, in my opinion, are more or less dependent for their satisfaction upon each other.

"How can the rural population be increased? How even can the exodus from the countryside be stayed?

"The chief reason for the exodus townwards is, in my opinion, a lack of prospects if they elect to stay at home.

"The prospect that they require, I take it, is that of being able to lift themselves up in life, of being able to farm land on their own account, upon however small a scale, and of ending their days living on their own means.

"At present, in most cases, this is an impossibility for the agricultural labourer, but I hold that it should not be so, and that it need not be so.

"Where small holdings exist the exodus from the land is comparatively little; labour is more plentiful; there are more children; the production from the land is larger; and an altogether better and more hopeful tone prevails than is the case elsewhere.

"If these things are true—and I believe them to be true—it follows that it is well for England to multiply small holdings, and that it ought to be the object of all sound statesmanship to multiply them accordingly."

Various Acts have passed dealing directly or indirectly with the Small Holdings questions, notably the Allotments Act, 1887, the Allotments Act, 1890, the Small Holdings Act, 1892, the Local Government Act, 1894, the Land Transfer Act, 1897, the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907, and the Small Holdings and Allotments Act passed in August, 1908 (in operation from January, 1909). This last Act in essence adopts the intentions of the earlier enactments, which are thereby repealed.

Earl Carrington, the President of the Board of Agriculture, is largely responsible for the progress of the small holdings movement. On his estate near Spalding in Lincolnshire, twenty years ago, he formed allotment clubs among the labourers, who paid for their land by weekly subscriptions. On the passing of the Small Holdings Act in 1892, a County Council experiment with eighty-eight acres purchased from Lord Carrington, and let out into one- to three-acre plots was so successful that later an association was formed to whom 217 acres of land on the Carrington estate were let. This acreage steadily increased, till at the end of 1906 the association had control of 650 acres at a rent of £1018. It holds the land on a twenty-one years' lease, has over two hundred tenants, lets the grassland at 36*s.* to 45*s.* per acre, the arable at about 35*s.* per acre, and any land falling vacant has fifty applicants for taking it up.

Earl Carrington

A national demonstration took place in London on April 20th, 1907, in favour of land and housing reform, at which the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill outlined the then prospective legislation on small holdings. He considered that the acquisition of compulsory powers for obtaining land would in itself be a very potent lever for bringing suitable land into the market at a fair market price. On the same occasion, the late Rt. Hon. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in the course of a lengthy speech, said: "With regard to small holdings, the subject has been sometimes so handled as rather to suggest that it is an exotic growth, to be cultivated by philanthropists and amiable faddists. That is a complete misconception, as every one will know who has observed the conditions under which agriculture has been carried on over the greater part of the continent of Europe. In England upwards of half of the actual number of farmers are small holders at present—that is to say, they are in occupation of holdings of between five and fifty acres. But there are not enough of them. There is a whole mass of official testimony to show that a strong demand for this type of holding exists in many parts of the country, and if only this demand could be satisfied, the young men and the best men in the villages, instead of setting their faces in despair towards the town, would be glad to remain at home. We hear of this unsatisfied land hunger very largely in the East of England, we hear of it in the Midlands, we hear of it in the southern counties. Lord Carrington, in his administrative capacity as Minister of Agriculture, has been laying the foundation for small holdings on Crown lands, and he looks forward in a year or two to seeing hundreds of families settled and thriving under his wing. But in a matter of this sort we cannot leave anything to chance. It is essential that compulsory powers as simple, swift, and extensive as can be contrived, should be vested in the local authority, so that machinery can be set up for securing what is desired."

The Rt. Hon. Earl Carrington, at the same gathering, said that for thirty-nine years he had preached from two texts: (*a*) A good tenant should be protected from a bad landlord, and *vice versa;* and (*b*) Small holdings for agricultural labourers and others should be secured compulsorily, if necessary, by local authorities, and, if these failed in their duty, by a central authority. As regards tenants and farmers, they had passed the Land Tenure Bill. They were now face to face with the agricultural labourer, the most pathetic figure in their social system. They should be told, of course, that they threatened the rights of property. But for fifteen years the country had gone on trusting the voluntary action of the county councils, and at the end of it all they saw the agricultural population still declining, and the labourer without the possibility of a career, and too often without the chance of getting even a decent home. The present state of affairs was even less favourable in many respects than in the eighteenth century before the commons were enclosed and the yeomen destroyed. In the Small Holdings Bill, he contended, a way had been found to deal with what was at present a grave national danger.

The Act

The Act which came into force on January 1st, 1908—"Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907"—may be epitomized as follows:—

Allotments to be of any quantity of land up to five acres.

Small holdings to be of any quantity of land up to fifty acres.

Parish councils, if required, to provide for allotments of one acre, but they have the power to provide five acres with the consent and approval of the county council.

The county council to provide small holdings up to fifty acres, and to see that allotments are provided.

The parish council and the county council failing to satisfy the reasonable demand of parishioners, the said parishioners should appeal to the two commissioners appointed by Government, who have power to deal with this matter.

The county council, in supplying the demand for small holdings, can either buy land by agreement or hire land by agreement; buy land by compulsion or lease land by compulsion.

Parish councils, for the supply of allotments of one acre, have exactly the same power as the county council for obtaining land.

Parish councils are bound to supply allotments of one acre, always provided the applicants are considered to be fit and proper persons.

Money may be borrowed for the purchase of land, either by the parish council or county council, at 3½ per cent., repayable in eighty years; for instance, a loan of £100 is repayable in eighty years at 15*s.* 3*d.* per annum.

£100,000 placed by the Government at the disposal of the Board of Agriculture between January and March, 1908, with the promise of more to follow, to cover the working expenses in carrying out this scheme.

In cases of compulsory hiring, the rent to be paid, and other matters to be settled not by an arbitrator but by a valuer. The elaborate procedure of the Lands Clauses Acts is thus got rid of, and there is no ten per cent. or other allowance for compulsion.

Compulsory Powers

Voluntary bodies will probably take an important part in future in the provision of small holdings and allotments, following the experience of other countries. Special provision is made in the Act for their formation, encouragement, and support.

County Councils may promote the formation or extension of societies on a co-operative basis, to provide or work small holdings or allotments, and they may assist them by giving guarantees or making grants or advances to them.

The Board of Agriculture has still wider powers, for it may make grants out of the Small Holdings Account to any society for the promotion of co-operation in connection with the cultivation of small holdings or allotments.

Less than a month after the passing of the Act, which came into operation on January 1st, 1908, a noteworthy

speech was made by Earl Carrington, who maintained that the Small Holdings and Allotments Act offered to the labourer a ladder by which he could raise himself from his humble position of wage-earner to that of tenant. Instead of there being no demand for land, as had been foretold, he had received applications from forty-five counties. He had not totalled the amount required, but from eight counties alone the total applied for was 41,000 acres, which had been applied for by 2713 applicants. In addition he had received applications from the Crown lands for twelve thousand acres more. This represented eighty-three square miles applied for by eight counties and the Crown lands as well. That meant that a strip of land in England had been applied for, one mile wide, which would reach from the statue of King Charles I. at Charing Cross to Salisbury Cathedral in Wiltshire. That was the demand for the three weeks during which the Act had been in force. He did not say that all the applicants would be eligible. But he would like to say that among them there were 307 men who had asked for, practically speaking, ten thousand acres of land. They stated that they owned £25,700 capital, and in addition they had 1719 head of stock. Surely that justified the Act.

In the Counties

All over England the Act revealed a prevalent "land hunger." The experiences of the following county councils during the first three months after the operation of the measure may be cited as examples :—

Bucks.—6594 acres applied for by 330 applicants. 1637 arable and 4957 pasture asked for. County Council Small Holdings Committee (co-optive) of twenty-four members.

Devon.—5329 acres applied for by 310 applicants. Difficulty to get land.

Gloucester.—331 applications; the majority of the applicants personally satisfactory.

Essex.—5341 acres applied for by 313 applicants. Sub-committee (co-optive) of thirty-six appointed, with full powers. Decided to hire rather than purchase land.

Isle of Wight.—1026 acres applied for by fifty-five applicants. Several offers of suitable land received.

Kent.—9800 acres applied for. Seven valuers appointed.

Lincolnshire (Kesteven).—1596 acres applied for by 104 applicants. Decided not to erect buildings on less than twenty-five acres holdings.

Lincolnshire (Holland).—490 applications received. The acreage of the approved applicants amount to 5040 acres. Swineshead Parish Council received permission to borrow £1070 to purchase eighteen acres.

Monmouth.—Numbers of applications received. Newport Corporation report applications for over five hundred acres (chiefly required for grazing purposes) from dairymen.

Norfolk.—18,329 acres applied for by 1166 applicants. Ringland Parish Council decided to obtain compulsory powers to purchase thirty-one acres.

Oxford.—Ten thousand acres applied for by 518 applicants.

Somerset.—23,007 acres applied for by 1738 applicants. County has been divided into six districts, and a small holdings sub-committee appointed for each district.

Yorkshire (North Riding).—Committee of forty members appointed. Application received from Kirkby Overblow Parish Council for compulsory powers to acquire land.

Worcester.—8087 acres applied for. Two societies have applied for land.

Cardiff.—1040 acres applied for by seventy-six applicants for small holdings. 72½ acres for allotments applied for by 854 applicants.

An interim report was issued in August, 1908, by the Board of Agriculture, detailing progress for the six months ended June 30th, 1908, and showing that over nineteen thousand persons applied for over 300,000 acres. So far as the information received by the Board goes, says the report, it is evident that a large proportion of the applicants are thoroughly suitable men, and that the amount of capital they possess is greatly in excess of what was generally anticipated.

A few typical instances are selected—

County.	Applicants.	Cash.
		£
Dorset	205	14,000
Herts	140	11,500
Herefordshire ..	130	9,000
Cheshire	180	26,895

In the case of Dorset, the applicants possess stock and implements besides cash.

Exaggerated Obstacles

The particulars supplied by the applicants show that only in a very small percentage of cases is there any desire to purchase small holdings, and they show also that the question of equipment, which has been commonly supposed would prove the great impediment to the creation of small holdings at a reasonable rent, has been very much exaggerated. In the great majority of cases the applicants do not ask for houses or buildings. The extent to which the original number of applications has been reduced after investigation varies in different parts of the country. In the Isle of Wight practically the whole of the applicants are regarded as being likely to prove suitable tenants. In Cambridgeshire the applications of 865 persons for 8203 acres were investigated, and the sub-committees have approved 673 applications for 5080 acres.

At June 30th, 1908, the report continues, rather over two thousand acres of land have already been acquired under the Act, and negotiations are in progress in many other counties. Cheshire County Council are negotiating for a thirty-five years' lease of 255 acres of Crown land and for land in other parts of the county. Cornwall County Council have purchased 146 acres near Bridgerule. The Holland County Council (Lincs.) have agreed to buy a farm of 285 acres at Deeping St. Nicholas, and the acquisition on lease for twenty-one years by the Wilts County Council of 452 acres at Mere from the Duchy of Cornwall for letting to a co-operative association, is under consideration. Bedfordshire County Council are negotiating for the letting of a farm of three hundred acres to a co-operative society at Biggleswade. By September, 1908, 21,000 applications for land had been received.

An example of the value of a small plot of land to the town dweller is afforded at Plumstead, South-East London. Under the provisions of the Small Holdings Act, 1892, the London County Council acquired land and let it in plots of over an acre to tenants who were compelled to subdivide and sublet these plots to the actual cultivators. In 1896 the Council acquired on lease thirteen acres of land at £2 10s. per acre. At the lowest lettings, these allotments produce £4 an acre, so it will be seen that it is a remarkably good investment for the London County Council.

As indicated at the opening of the present article, the new Act, which operates from January 1st, 1909, is a consolidation of previous measures into one Act for greater facility in practical working.

The Board of Agriculture, in August, 1908, with the sanction of the Treasury, granted £1200 for three years to the Agricultural Organization Society for the promotion of co-operation in connection with the cultivation of small

holdings, provided a similar sum is raised by subscriptions. If the subscriptions exceed that sum the grant will be proportionately increased up to a maximum of £1600.

On September 6th, 1908, the British Association, in the course of their session at Dublin, devoted a special session, under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, to the discussion of the small holdings question. On the invitation of Earl Carrington, President of the Board of Agriculture, 178 representatives of the county councils of England and Wales attended a conference held at Westminster Hall, London, on October 7th, to discuss the difficulties of working the Act, and the best methods of expediting progress. In a speech at the luncheon which took place later at the Hotel Cecil, Earl Carrington said the councils had proved conclusively the demand for land, and that the demand was not for ownership of land—less than two per cent. of the applicants wishing to buy—but for security of tenure, without an increase of rents on the tenants' improvements. Up to that date ninety-three schemes had been received and sixty-nine of them approved. Twelve thousand acres of land had already been acquired (not counting the considerable amount of land let by landlords direct to small holders), and half of it would be available for occupation on Michaelmas next, four thousand on the succeeding Michaelmas, and the remainder by the following Lady Day and Candlemas.

SMALL HOLDING SOCIETY, THE CENTRAL: Founded in 1903. Object: To excite public interest in the question of small holdings; to promote and assist the formation of small holdings societies on co-operative lines, etc. President, The Earl of Stamford. *Secretary:* Mr. Hubert Beaumont, 6, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE: Founded as the Democratic Federation in 1881, it changed its name to Social-Democratic Federation in 1884, and in 1907 took the present form. Its objects and earlier history will be found on page 1125, under SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION. The Party has twelve thousand members, with sixty branches in the Metropolitan area, and two hundred in the provinces. During the fiscal year of 1907-1908 fifty-seven new branches were organized. *Secretary:* Mr. H. W. Lee, 21a, Maiden Lane, Charing Cross, London, W.C.

SOCIALISM BY GOODWILL: In *New Worlds for Old* (Constable), Mr. H. G. Wells writes as follows:—"The world is now a better place for a common man than ever it was before, the spectacle wider and richer and deeper, and more charged with hope and promise. . . . Think of the quite unprecedented numbers of well-ordered homes and cared-for, wholesome, questioning children! And it is not only that we have this increasing sea of mediocre well-being in which the realities of the future are engendering, but in the matter of sheer achievement I believe in my own time. It has been the cry of the irresponsive man since criticism began, that his own generation produced nothing; it is a cry that I hate and deny. When the dross has been cleared away and comparison becomes possible, I am convinced it will be admitted that in the aggregate, in philosophy and significant literature, in architecture, painting and scientific research, in engineering and industrial invention, in statecraft, humanity, and valiant deeds, the last thirty years of man's endeavours will bear comparison with any other period of thirty years whatever in his history.

"And this is the result of effort; things get better because men mean them to get better and try to bring betterment about; this progress goes on because man, in spite of evil temper, blundering and vanity, in spite of indolence and base desire, does also respond to Good Will and display Good Will.

"The present advancement of Socialism must lie now along three several lines: First, and most important, is the primary intellectual process, the elaboration, criticism, discussion, enrichment and enlargement of the project of Socialism. This includes all sorts of sociological and economic research, the critical literature of Socialism, and every possible way—the drama, poetry, painting, music—of expressing and refining its spirit, its attitudes and conceptions. It includes, too, all sorts of experiments in living and association. In the widest sense it includes all science, literature and invention.

"Secondly, comes the propaganda; the publication, distribution, repetition, discussion and explanation of this growing body of ideas, until this conception of a real civilized State as being in the making, becomes the common intellectual property of all intelligent people in the world; until the laws and social injustices that now seem, to the ordinary man, as much parts of life as the east wind and influenza, will seem irrational, unnatural and absurd. This educational task is at the present time the main work that the mass of Socialists have before them. . . . It is a work that every one can help forward in some measure, by talk and discussion, by the distribution of literature, by writing and speaking in public, by subscribing to propagandist organizations.

Education

"And Thirdly, there is the actual changing of practical things in the direction of the coming Socialized State, the actual socialization, bit by bit and more and more completely, of the land, of the means of production, of education and child welfare, of insurance and the food supply, the realization, in fact, of that great design which the intellectual process of Socialism is continually making more beautiful, attractive and worthy. Now this third group of activities is necessarily various and divergent, and at every point the conscious and confessed Socialist will find himself co-operating with partial or unintentional Socialists, with statesmen and officials, with opportunist philanthropists, with trade unionists, with religious bodies and religious teachers, with educationists, with scientific and medical specialists, with every sort of public-spirited person. He should never lose an opportunity of explaining to such people how necessarily they are Socialists, but he should never hesitate to work with them because they refuse the label. For in the house of Socialism as in the house of God, there are many mansions."

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE: Founded in 1904. Object: The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community. The number of members in October, 1908, was four hundred. Official organ, *The Socialist Standard*, monthly, 1*d*. Head Offices, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C. (See SOCIALISM, etc., pages 1128 to 1151.)

SOCIALIST SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION: Founded in 1896. Object: To teach children the elementary principles of Socialism joined to the ethics of useful living, with a view to training and fitness for sharing in the work of the adult socialist movement later. The teaching is non-religious, excepting in so far as the philosophy of Socialism can be considered as a religion. There are 104 schools throughout the country, of which about sixty are included in the London district. A large number of Socialist Ten-Commandment cards have been published, and special work among young men and women is being carried on as a development of the work. Official organ, *The Young Socialist*, monthly, 1*d*. *Secretary:* Mr. Alfred Russell, 366, New City Road, Glasgow.

SOCIAL PURITY ALLIANCE: Founded in 1873. Object: To bring before young men the necessity of leading pure lives, and of practically recognizing the principle that the law of purity is equally binding upon all, men and women alike, and thereby counteracting the causes of social vice. The Alliance numbers nearly four thousand members, the Singapore branch having forty members. Official organ, *The Pioneer*, 1*d*. Chairman, Mr. W. T. Malleson. *Secretary:* Mr. E. Hammond, 18, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

SOCIAL SERVICE, WESLEYAN METHODIST UNION FOR: Founded in 1905 for the collection and study of social facts, the pursuit of social service, and the discussion of social problems and theories from the Christian standpoint, with the view to educate public opinion and secure improvement in the conditions of life. The membership totals about two thousand. Official organ, *Quarterly Magazine*. President, Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, M.A. *Secretary:* Rev. W. F. Lofthouse, M.A., Handsworth College, Birmingham.

SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, THE: Founded in 1903. Object: To promote investigation, and to advance education in the social sciences in their various aspects and applications, and to afford a common ground on which workers from all fields and schools concerned with social phenomena may meet. The foreign correspondents of the Society include many eminent Continental and American sociologists. Membership, about four hundred. Official organ, *Sociological Review*, quarterly, 2*s*. 6*d*. President, Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B. *Secretary:* J. W. Slaughter, Ph.D., 24, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.

SOMERSET, LADY HENRY'S COLONY: (See under TEMPERANCE PROBLEMS.)

SOUTH AFRICA: The grant of self-government to the Transvaal marks an important epoch in the history of South African affairs. The new constitution, which was provided for by Letters Patent issued on December 6th, 1906, consists of a Legislative Council of fifteen members who are elected by the Governor, and a Legislative Assembly of sixty-nine members chosen by the registered voters of the Transvaal. The Legislature is elected for a term of five years, but may be prorogued or dismissed by the Governor. The executive is vested in the Ministers, whose number does not exceed six, and who are appointed by the Governor. Municipalities have already been created in all the most important towns.

Consequent upon the termination of the war, eight million pounds was given by the Imperial Government as a grant in aid of expenses to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, three millions of this being for free grants to burghers of the late republics to assist their restoration to their homes, two millions for grants to persons in respect of war losses, and three millions for loans to be advanced by the Colonial Governments to supplement losses, etc., under the two first-mentioned grants. The amount thus advanced by the Imperial Government to be repaid out of the first loan raised by the new Colonies. As regards the public debt of the Transvaal, by the South African Loan and War Contribution Act, 1903, the Imperial Government guaranteed interest at three per cent. and the sinking fund payments on a loan of £35,000,000, to be repaid within fifty years from April 1st, 1904.

The Asiatic Problem

The restriction of Asiatic immigration has for some time been a burning question in the Transvaal, and the early years of the new Government have been marked by considerable agitation in connection with the question of the registration of Asiatics, following upon the introduction of the Asiatic Law Amendment and Immigration Restriction Acts, the former of which passed its third reading on September 12th, 1906. The Government had decided that all Indians over sixteen living in the colony must register themselves, and be able to produce a registration certificate on demand or render themselves liable to arrest and deportation. The Indians, although not objecting specially to registration, took up a strong attitude on the further condition imposed as to the taking of finger-prints as a means of identification, and an agitation followed in 1907, which led to notable concessions on the part of the Legislature. The general sentiment was thus summarized by a correspondent of the *Times*: "The Asiatics resent the whole spirit of an Act which singles out their people for special treatment, while the educated men among them dislike being placed in a common category with coolie hawkers and others belonging to the lower classes of their compatriots." In the terms of the concession, the chief objections felt by the Asiatics to compulsory registration were entirely met. Further, Indians who had previously been registered, and, not having returned since the war, were by the Immigration Restriction Act prohibited from ever re-entering the country, had this restriction removed. Religious susceptibilities, which might have been offended by some of the questions as to parentage, etc., required by the regulations were to be respected by the registration officials, and in the case of educated Asiatics the finger-prints' system was dispensed with. Moreover, all sentences passed on those who had incurred penalties for refusing to be registered were remitted. These matters were fully dealt with in a blue-book issued in January, 1908, containing correspondence on the subject which had passed between the Transvaal and Imperial Governments. The compromise arrived at was followed by the immediate voluntary registration of practically the whole Asiatic community, which Lord Selborne, in his speech on the opening of the Transvaal Parliament at Pretoria on June 15th, 1908, estimated as numbering 9072 persons.

In a special article contributed to the London *Daily Express* of February 11th, 1907, Mr. W. T. R. Preston (Commissioner of Trade for the Dominion of Canada) argues that there lies greater wealth for the people of South Africa in its undeveloped agricultural possibilities than in all amalgamated mining interests. It is estimated, he says, that not one-twentieth of the arable land of Cape Colony is being cultivated. This is due (1) to the obsolete methods employed, incident, perhaps, largely to the isolated lives of the settlers; (2) to the lack of labour, for the native labour is either not to be had, or, where it is available, is of little value; (3) to the settler being satisfied at being able to harvest sufficient to keep the family larder filled.

Conditions in 1908

Sir Somerset French, who took up the duties of Agent-General of Cape Colony in February, 1908, on his arrival in London summarized the economic conditions obtaining in the colony as follows: "Business, perhaps, will be on a lower plane, but certainly on a wider and surer basis. The general situation is fairly satisfactory. Exports continue to exceed imports, and strenuous efforts are being made both by the Government and the people to develop the natural productions of the colony. Endeavours are being made to open up new markets and to develop those already existing, and the expansion of our local industries may, to a certain extent, affect our imports. The staple industries of wool, mohair, and ostrich feathers are flourishing. All the colonies are exporting mealies, and it is hoped that a substantial market in colonial-grown oats may be established in this country in the near future. In fact, almost every product of South Africa, mineral and agricultural, is being exported in increasing quantities. The farming industry is at present most prosperous, a result of a series of good seasons. In many districts mortgages are being paid off,

and on the whole the agricultural industry may be said to be in a better position than it has been for many years past. It is true that depression continues to exist in the large towns which benefited very largely from the abnormal and temporary prosperity of the war period. No doubt the process of readjustment is taking place, and, perhaps, for the moment deterioration is beyond control, but business is now on a thoroughly sound basis, and the foundation is being laid for future prosperity. So far as my own department—the Post Office—is concerned, the Savings Bank is fairly holding its own, and the postal receipts are satisfactory."

The *Times* of January 24th, 1908, contained an article by its Johannesburg correspondent on mining progress in South Africa, in the course of which he says: "The Transvaal Government have made, and are making, strenuous efforts to fill the places of outgoing Chinese with natives of South Africa, and up to the present they have made good their forecasts. Whether this can be continued is open to doubt. South Africa is passing through a severe depression. With the exception of the one great industry of mining there is little call for labour. Public works and private enterprises alike have cut down their demands, with the result that there is little or no competition for the black labour offering; but let a measure of prosperity return, and in all probability the mines will experience the same dearth as before. The question of crops also largely affects the native labour supply. For several years past only poor harvests have been gathered. Drought and the ravages of locusts leave the tiller of the soil with poor rewards, and the native population have had to supplement the food obtained from their lands and gardens by the aid of money gained by work. This year rains have been abundant over the whole of South Africa, the destruction of locusts by the different Governments has been on a much larger scale and has also been more effective, maize and Kaffir corn crops are good all over the country, and there will, therefore, after the harvest three or four months hence, be less pressure for natives to seek work. Steps, however, are being taken to provide against a shortage of labour, and there is every reason to believe that they will be successful. It has always been recognized on the Witwatersrand that if a small machine drill could be constructed which could be handled and operated by one man in a narrow stope, the labour problem would lose its terror."

Coloured *v.* White Labour

A Special Commissioner of the *Daily Mail*, writing from Johannesburg, under date March 16th, 1908, deals with remedies suggested towards a solution of the labour difficulties on the Rand, as contained in the majority report of the Transvaal Mining Commission, which he describes as one of the most important documents ever printed in that country. The Commission (he says) boldly tackles the problem which is the gravest of all South Africa's problems—the future of the white race in the sub-continent. The curse of South Africa in the past, and its gravest danger in the future, is the policy of relying upon coloured labour. Two and a half centuries ago the Dutch Council at the Cape decided that slave labour was preferable to white labour. It was resolved that the basis of South Africa should be coloured labour. That policy has never changed to this day. When the great exploitation of mineral wealth increased the demand for labour, there was no attempt to supplement the insufficient native supply by white men. Only coloured labour was sought for, and the dense population of Portuguese East Africa was tapped to run the mines of the High Veldt.

The report of the Mining Industry Commission recommends the adoption of the white labour policy. But it does not urge that the natives of British South Africa should be prohibited by law from competing with the white labourer. It does not place a premium upon the white man; With the exception of a recommendation that one white man should be employed upon every machine drill in the mines, all that it asks for is fair and open competition, both for the white worker and the native of British South Africa. To-day the Kaffirs of the British colonies find themselves crowded out of the labour market by the thousands of natives brought in from Mozambique. To-day the white man finds that the Kaffir is forced by law to stick to his work through the pass system—that the Kaffir has a sort of State guarantee that he will stick to his work for the contracted period.

The Commission asks for the restoration of ordinary working competition. It demands that the premium placed upon the employment of coloured men should not be maintained by the State. It declares that the Transvaal ought not to be flooded with indentured labour from other lands while the white population is diminishing and thousands of people are suffering acute privation. It proposes to stop gradually the importation of Portuguese natives and to get rid of the native pass law. The effect of these measures would be that the labour supply of British South Africa would have to be drawn from British South Africa, and that the native would be a free labourer like the white man.

These steps would admittedly produce a scarcity of native labourers, and thus the white man would be in more demand. It is impossible to enter now into the elaborate calculations made by the Commission in order to demonstrate that the mines of the Rand can be worked by white labour as cheaply as they are to-day by Kaffirs and Chinese.

But the broad question of doing something to increase the employment of white men in South Africa is of vital importance to the future of these colonies. Coloured labourers will not fill the vacant houses or restore the prosperity of the shops, or revive the moribund Stock Exchange, which if things do not improve may have to be closed.

STAGE SOCIETY, THE INCORPORATED: Founded in 1899. Object: To promote and encourage dramatic art, and to serve as an experimental State theatre. Membership, over fourteen hundred. President, Dr. C. E. Wheeler. *Secretary:* Mr. A. E. Drinkwater, 9, Arundel Street, Strand, London, W.C.

STANSFELD TRUST, THE: Founded in 1896. Object: To promote the equality of men and women before the law of the land. A Scrutineer is appointed to examine and report upon Parliamentary Bills so that nothing affecting the legal status of women shall pass into law unobserved. In addition to these Public and Private Bills, the Scrutineer reports on all Bills relating to children and education, and adds information concerning the progress of Bills through both Houses. *Hon. Secretary:* Miss E. C. Harvey, 16, Mays Hill Road, Shortlands, Kent.

STATE REGULATION OF VICE, INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR ABOLITION OF: A British Committee was founded in 1875. Object: The abolition of prostitution as a legalized or officially tolerated institution, regarding such control as an official sanction to immorality, a grave hygienic mistake, a great injustice to women and a moral and legal wrong, involving the subversion of individual liberty and of the principles of constitutional government. The British Committee specially endeavours to apply the principles of the Federation in the United Kingdom, in India, and the British Colonies. Official organ, *The Shield*, monthly, 1*d*. Chairman, Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P. *Hon. Secretary:* Professor Stuart, LL.D., M.P., 17, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

SUICIDE: There is a steady growth in the number of suicides. In the United Kingdom during 1907, 3400 persons took their own lives. One of the most recent efforts inaugurated by the Salvation Army is the Anti-Suicide Bureau, which completed the first eighteen months of its work in July, 1908. The object is to keep "open house" for would-be suicides, and, fantastical as at first the scheme seemed, about fifteen hundred persons have sought the advice of the Bureau instead of committing the final act. The actual figures are available for the twelve months' work to January, 1908, which show that 1125 men and ninety women have been dealt with. These figures apply to the London Bureau only, but there are branches in the provinces, in New York, Chicago, Melbourne, and other great cities. With regard to the men, the causes to which they attributed their distressing condition are as follows: (1) Financial embarrassment or hopeless poverty, 609 = 54 per cent.; (2) Drink, drugs, and disease, 121 = 11 per cent.; (3) Melancholia, proceeding from loneliness and other causes, 105 = 9 per cent.; (4) Crimes such as embezzlement, forgery, and the like, 54 = 5 per cent.; (5) General causes, such as accidents, sickness, and other misfortunes, 236 = 21 per cent. Total: 1125 = 100 per cent.

A recent article by Professor Westermarck, published in January, 1908, in the *Sociological Review*, promulgates the professor's belief that suicide will come to be more and more regarded as a permissible way of taking leave of life.

SUNDAY CLOSING ASSOCIATION, CENTRAL: Founded in 1867. Object: To secure public-house closing on Sundays and also at an earlier hour on week-days. Official organ, *The Sunday Closing Reporter*, quarterly, 1*d*. President, Sir Robert W. Perks, Bart., M.P. *Secretary:* Mr. J. Woodford Causer, 9, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT: (See under INDIAN.)

SWARAJ MOVEMENT: (See under INDIAN.)

SWEATING: The conditions under which comparatively unskilled workers labour, more particularly in regard to hours and wages, constitute one of the most complex of present-day problems, forming the main issue of the movement for the prevention of sweating, as it is among this class of worker that the sweating system is most prevalent. An exhaustive epitome of the general history of sweating in various parts of the world will be found on page 1178, and some earlier data with regard to the position in the United Kingdom is included. Questions of hours of work and remuneration are dealt with under the heading of the Woman Worker (unskilled labour section). It is therefore proposed in the present article to deal more particularly with the efforts of social reformers and legislators to grapple with the problem.

Lord Milner made a notable speech on the topic at Oxford on December 6th, 1907, as follows:—

"This matter is one of great national importance, because the sweated workers are numbered by hundreds of thousands, and because their poverty and the resulting evils affect many beside themselves, and exercise a depressing influence on large classes of the community. What do we mean by sweating? I will give you a definition laid down by the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry: 'Unduly low rates of wages, excessive hours of work, and insanitary condition of the workplaces.'

"My view is, that the sweating system impoverishes and weakens the whole community, because it saps the stamina and diminishes the productive power of thousands of workers, and these in their turn drag others down with them. It means an industry essentially rotten and unsound. Because an industry which does not provide those engaged in it with sufficient to keep them in health, is essentially unsound. Used-up capital must be replaced, and of all forms of capital the most fundamental and indispensable is the human energy necessarily consumed in the work of production. A sweated industry does not provide for the replacing of that kind of capital. It squanders its human material. It consumes more energy in the work it exacts than the remuneration it gives is capable of replacing. The workers in sweated industries are not able to live on their wages. As it is, they live miserably, grow old too soon, and bring up sickly children. But they would not live at all, were it not for the fact that their inadequate wages are supplemented, directly, in many cases, by out-relief, and indirectly by numerous forms of charity; the community has to make good the inefficiency that sweating produces. If a true account could be kept, it would be found that anything which the community gains by the cheapness of articles produced under the sweating system is more than outweighed by the indirect loss involved in the inevitable subsidizing as indicated of a sweated industry. That would be found to be the result, even if no account were taken of the greatest loss of all, the loss arising from the inefficiency of the sweated workers and of their children, for sweating is calculated to perpetuate inefficiency and degeneration.

"The question is: Can anything be done? Of the three related evils, it is evident that the first applies equally to sweated workers in factories and at home, but the two others are to some extent guarded against, in factories, by existing legislation.

Fixing a Limit

"An increase of wages, then, is the primary condition of any real improvement in the lives of the sweated workers. So the point is this. Can we do anything by law to screw up the remuneration of the worst-paid workers to the minimum necessary for tolerable human existence? I know that many people think it impossible, but my answer is that the fixing of a limit below which wages shall not fall is already not the exception but the rule in this country. Take the case of the State, the greatest of all employers. The State does not allow the rates of pay, even of its humblest employés, to be decided by the scramble for employment. The State cannot afford, nor can any great municipality afford, to pay wages on which it is obviously impossible to live. In the case of the staple industries, rates of remuneration are fixed, in innumerable instances, by agreement between the whole body of employers in a particular trade and district on the one hand, and the whole body of employés on the other. But in sweated industries this is not the case. Sweated industries are the unorganized industries, with no possibility of organization among the workers. Here the individual worker, without resources and without backing, is left, in the struggle of unregulated competition, to take whatever he can get. Hence the extraordinary inequality of payment for the same kind of work and the generally low average of payment, which are the distinguishing features of all sweated industries.

"I shall probably have your concurrence therefore when I say that the proposal that the State should intervene to secure, not an all-round minimum wage, but the same wages for the same work, and nothing less than the standard rate of his particular work for every worker, is not a proposition that the State should do something new, or exceptional, or impracticable. It is a proposal that the State should do for the weakest and most helpless trades what the strongly organized trades already do for themselves. I cannot see that there is anything unreasonable, much less revolutionary or subversive, in that suggestion.

"The rates of remuneration arrived at would be based

on the consideration of what the employers could afford to pay and yet retain such a reasonable rate of profit as would lead to their remaining in the industry. Such a regulation of wages would be as great a protection to the best employers against the cut-throat competition of unscrupulous rivals as it would be to the workers against being compelled to sell their labour for less than its value.

"I have only one word more to say. I come back to the supreme interest of the community in the efficiency and welfare of all its members, to say nothing of the removal of the stain upon its honour and conscience which continued tolerance of this evil involves. I feel no doubt that, whether by the adoption of such a measure as we have been considering, or by some other enactment, steps will before long be taken for the removal of this national disgrace."

The Select Committee

For the purpose of considering and reporting on the question of sweating in trades in which there was home work, and to discuss the possibilities of establishing a Board for fixing wages-minima in various trades, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was formed in 1907, and issued a report on July 28th, 1908. Sir Thos. Whittaker was the chairman, and their conclusions may be summarized as follows :—

(1) That there should be legislation with regard to the rates of payment made to home workers who are employed in the production or preparation of articles for sale by other persons.

(2) That such legislation should at first be tentative and experimental, and be limited in its scope to home workers engaged in the tailoring, shirtmaking, underclothing, and babylinen trades, and in the finishing processes of machine-made lace. The Home Secretary should be empowered after inquiry made to establish wages boards for any other trades.

(3) That wages boards should be established in selected trades to fix minimum time and piece rates of payment for home workers in those trades.

(4) That it should be an offence to pay or offer lower rates of payment to home workers in those trades than the minimum rates which had been fixed for that district by the wages board.

(5) That the delivery and collection of work done at home should be done by persons in the direct employ and pay of the employer. Where that was not done, the amount which a worker could earn in a specified time should be calculated on a basis which included the time spent in fetching and returning the work as time occupied in doing the work.

(6) That all home workers who are employed by other persons in producing or preparing articles for sale should be required to register their name, address, and class of work at, and receive a certificate of such registration from, the offices of the local authority, and that the keeping of accurate outworkers' lists by employers should be strictly enforced.

(7) That it should be an offence for any person to employ any home worker to produce or prepare any articles for sale by another person unless the worker produce a certificate of registration.

(8) That the provisions of Section 9 of the Public Health Act, 1875, with regard to factories and workshops which are not kept clean or are ill-ventilated or overcrowded should be extended to rooms in which home work is done, and power should be given to sanitary and factory inspectors to inspect them and secure the enforcement of the law.

(9) That the full protection of the Truck Act should be secured to home workers.

The Committee stated frankly that "sweating" as referring to work paid for at a rate which yields to the worker an income quite insufficient to obtain anything like proper food and living conditions, no doubt prevailed to such a degree as to call urgently for the interference of Parliament. The report continued—

"The problem which is presented by the fact that a very large number of people are unable to, or, at any rate, do not, earn more than a mere pittance, and consequently live under conditions which are conducive to anything but social, material, and moral well-being, is admittedly a many-sided and very difficult one. More or less similar conditions prevail, not only in all the great countries on the Continent of Europe, but also in the United States of America, and even in Australasia. All these countries have either already attempted to deal with the question in some way or other, by legislation, or are considering the best way in which they can do so."

Among the reasons given by the Committee, why the earnings generally are so meagre, were :—Much of it is sewing, which requires no previous training, and as it can be done at home at piece rates the supply of workers is large and elastic. Then there are the competition with machinery, the interference of the middleman, and the fierce rivalry among the employers in most of the sweated trades. Most of the home workers are women, and represent a helpless, unorganized class, which is powerless to resist a reduction in rates.

It was obviously the view of the Committee, after taking all the evidence into consideration, that the case of the oppressed home worker had been fully made out.

Discussing the report in detail, Miss Gertrude M. Tuckwell wrote in the *Commonwealth* for September, 1908—

"The report, as passed, cannot be looked upon as satisfactory, but is infinitely better than the draft report proposed. Not only were the main lines of the proposals extended and made clear, but many of the smaller changes effected by the Committee represent substantial gains over the draft report. All things considered, the report is singularly favourable."

In October, 1906, the then newly formed Anti-Sweating League (*q.v.*), called a National Conference of Labour Representatives. This conference took place in the Guildhall, London, and was formally opened by the Lord Mayor. At the end of deliberations extending over three days, the representatives of two million workers approved the policy of the League, and gave a unanimous vote to a resolution affirming the principle of a minimum wage.

Sweated Industries Bill

The effect was thus to give to the minimum wage proposal the large support necessary to transform it into practical politics, and thereupon a Bill was formulated under the title of the "Sweated Industries Bill." The proposal was introduced in Parliament by Mr. Toulmin, and passed its second reading on February 21st, 1908, when it was referred to the select committee on home work above referred to, who, in view of their report, did not consider its clauses, but reported the Bill without amendment to the House for consideration during the autumn session.

The speeches in the House of Commons on the occasion included one by the Rt. Hon. Herbert Gladstone, the Home Secretary, who referred to conditions in Germany as evidenced by a memorandum from which he quoted, and which was published in Germany on the Exhibition of Home Industries opened in Berlin in 1906. "The average hour's wage in the home industries represented at the exhibition worked out at about ten pfennigs, or about one penny, in the case of work which required no special skill. That would yield a pitiful wage of about six shillings a week. For making a lady's mantle the workers received two shillings, while the middleman earned seven shillings, and the selling price was five pounds. He approved of sending the Bill to the Select Committee. If the Bill was read a second time it would be referred to the Select Committee. In the opinion of the Government a case was made out for an inquiry as to the methods that should be devised to deal effectually with the evil of sweating in unorganized trades. He therefore accepted the proposal. The House would not be surprised to hear that this position was not to be considered as committing the Government itself to the principle of a compulsory minimum wage. The House would naturally accept that decision, because the Government set up this committee of inquiry last year. A Commissioner was sent out specially to Australia to report on the working there, and it was but natural and proper in these circumstances that, until the two reports were submitted to the House, the Government should reserve their judgment. He hoped that great profit would accrue from the report

of the Committee. The lot of these poor people was so hard, so full of wretchedness and misery, that, though evoking the sympathy of all, it might be extremely hard to provide a workable remedy. But that lot might justify experiments in legislation, which, if they failed, would do no harm, provided that they were carefully and prudently designed, but which, if they succeeded, might be profitably extended on a wider basis."

The Sweated Industries Bill, referred to, proposes that—

1. Wages boards shall be established throughout the United Kingdom for the trades specified: tailoring; dressmaking; the making, altering, trimming, finishing, and repairing of shirts, and shall act for such areas as the Secretary of State may determine.

The Secretary of State may, if he thinks fit, on application being made and an inquiry being held as hereinafter provided, direct that a wages board shall be established for any other trade in any district.

A wages board shall have power to make regulations fixing the minimum rate of wages to be paid to persons employed in their district in or about their trade.

2. Application for the establishment of a wages board for any trade in any district may be made to the Secretary of State by any trade union or trades council which represents persons employed in the trade in the district, or by any six persons who are either employers of labour or employed in the trade in the district.

On application being made as provided in this section, the Secretary of State shall cause an inquiry to be held into the desirability of appointing a wages board in accordance with the application, and the provisions of sections forty-five and forty-six of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, shall apply to the inquiry with the necessary modifications.

3. One half of the number of members of a wages board other than the chairman shall be representatives of employers and one half representatives of persons employed in the trade in the district.

The chairman shall be chosen by the other members, or in default shall be nominated by the Secretary of State.

4. The term of office of a wages board shall be five years, or such shorter time not being less than two years as the Secretary of State may in any case at any time determine.

5. The minimum rate of wages fixed by a wages board may be calculated either by time or by piece-work, or so as to give an employer the option of paying either by time or by piece-work, except that in case of work given out from a factory or workshop or other place to be done elsewhere it shall be calculated by piece-work only.

The minimum rate of wages may be fixed for any kind or kinds of work in a trade, and may be different for different kinds of work, and for different parts of the district, as the board think fit.

The minimum rate of wages may be fixed for any class or classes of persons employed in a trade, and may be different for different classes of persons employed, as the board think fit.

6. Regulations made by a wages board fixing a minimum rate or rates of wages for a trade in their district shall state the date from which the minimum rate or rates of wages shall be established, and the minimum rate or rates of wages shall be established for that trade in that district as from that date, and shall continue established until they are cancelled by the wages board or their successors.

7. A document purporting to be a copy of regulations under this Act, and to be signed by an inspector appointed under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, shall be evidence (but not to the exclusion of other proof) of the regulations and of the minimum rate or rates of wages fixed by them, and of the fact of the due establishment of the minimum rate or rates under this Act.

8. Where a minimum rate of wages is established in any district for any class of persons employed in any kind of work in any trade, any person carrying on business in the district who pays or offers wages, or on whose behalf wages are paid or offered, at a lower rate than the minimum, to any person of that class employed by him in that kind of work in that trade, shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

If wages are paid or offered by time where the minimum rate established is calculated by piece-work, or if wages are paid or offered by piece-work where the minimum rate established is calculated by time, the wages shall be deemed to be paid or offered at a lower rate than the minimum.

Any person guilty of an offence against this Act shall be liable on summary conviction in case of a first conviction to a fine of not less than one pound or more than five pounds for each offence, and in case of a second or subsequent conviction within two years from the last conviction to a fine of not less than two pounds and not more than twenty pounds for each offence.

When a person has been paid wages at a rate less than the minimum rate fixed under this Act, and applying to him, he shall be entitled to recover the deficiency.

9. It shall be the duty of inspectors appointed under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, to enforce the provisions of this Act within their districts.

Effects of Boards

The effects of the creation of boards—states the Anti-Sweating League in its last annual report—would be direct and indirect. The direct effects would be shown in increases of wage of uncertain but often probably of considerable extent. The indirect effects of the boards would be equally important. In particular trades, and in particular districts, manufacture is leaving the workshop for the garret and the slum. The boards will have power to arrest so serious a tendency by putting upon the employer of outworkers in the shape of a higher piece rate the equivalent of the hundred burdens he now escapes.

Even if the boards did not differentiate against outwork, the mere enforcement of minimum wages would suffice to prevent its undue increase. The boards would tend also by their determinations to fix a general minimum standard of payment for women. Thus, the term sweating would be given sharper meaning, and fair wages clauses in the contracts of public bodies would begin to apply to women as well as to men.

Probably the most important effects of the creation of boards would spring from the power given to the Home Secretary to establish them in additional trades. In this provision the employer of the worst kind would find a continual restraint, since his failure to deal equitably with his workers might bring down upon him a Governmental inquiry, to be followed possibly by the creation of a board empowered to fix the standard of wages to which he would be compelled to conform.

At the great Co-operative Festival and Congress held at the Crystal Palace, London, in August, 1908, a resolution was adopted in favour of wages boards as a palliative to sweating, its terms being—

"That this conference views with the greatest concern the wide prevalence of sweating methods in the various industries of this country, and calls upon the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress to do all in its power to secure the passing of any Bill now before Parliament (or that may be introduced) which has for its object the establishment of wages boards; and to urge the Government to legislate on the subject in the forthcoming autumn session."

According to Mr. Ernest Aves, the Wages Boards of Australia are not likely to be usefully imitated in Great Britain. Thus he, having investigated the subject at first hand, submits a conclusion wholly different from that of others who have lacked opportunities of local study.

An epitomized report appears under WAGES BOARDS.

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TARIFF REFORM: The year 1908 saw the opening of the second half-decade of the tariff reform agitation, its most important feature being the issue of the report of the Tariff Commission upon the history and the existing position of Colonial preference and Imperial reciprocity. The question of the taxation of foreign manufactured goods had marked no distinctive advance, but its advocates claimed continued and growing evidence that the exigencies of Exchequer requirements would ere long lead to the inevitable resort to an industrial tariff as regards foreign trade relations.

The resolutions passed unanimously by the Colonial Conference of 1902 were reaffirmed at the second Conference held in London in 1907, all the Colonial Prime Ministers taking part, but the British Government dissented. In addition, further resolutions were passed regarding the commercial relations of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and recommending that his Majesty's

Government should take into consideration the possibility of granting preferential considerations to all portions of the Empire on the dutiable articles in the British Tariff. The Conference discussions and resolutions indicated a willingness on the part of the Colonies to extend the preferences already granted to British trade, if in return some commercial advantage over the foreigner was given them in the markets of the Mother Country.

The Report of the Tariff Commission, referred to above, was issued on July 22nd, 1908. A brief survey of the facts and figures contained in the memorandum was given in a "Summary Statement" included in the report. Its main points were :—

The anticipations of Canadian statesmen in 1846 that the abolition of the English preferences would divert Canadian trade into United States channels were realized under the 1854–1866 reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States, when the annual average interchange of commodities between the two countries rose from 11¼ to 84 million dollars.

During the period of this treaty and after its termination at the instance of the United States in 1866, Canadian statesmen again and again pressed upon British Governments the desirability of the readoption of preference adapted to modern conditions and arranged on a reciprocal basis as between the United Kingdom and the Colonies and as between colony and colony. Canada having adopted her protective tariff, Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues while in London in 1879 made a definite proposal for "a reciprocity treaty with England," which, however, went no further.

At each of the five Colonial Conferences, beginning with that of 1887, colonial proposals for preferential trade within the Empire had been submitted to British Ministers without result. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have embodied the principle of preference in their tariffs.

Colonial Reciprocity

As regards the reciprocity asked for by the Colonies at the Conferences of 1902 and 1907, it was admitted by British Ministers that great and increasing benefit had accrued to the industries of the United Kingdom from the colonial preferences in force, but they refused to accede to the preferential resolutions of the Conference in so far as these implied that it was "necessary or expedient to alter the fiscal system of the United Kingdom."

Colonial Ministers had indicated the general lines upon which they would be prepared to move towards inter-Imperial reciprocity. Their tariffs must be so designed as to bring in the revenue needed for administration, and they must have regard for colonial interests, as British Ministers must have regard for the economic interests of the United Kingdom. But beyond these primary objects colonial Governments were prepared in their tariff policy to go the fullest lengths to encourage importation from the United Kingdom rather than from foreign countries. The character of the trade of the Colonies and the structure of their tariffs provided a large margin for the extension of preference.

Meanwhile negotiations had taken place between Canada and foreign countries, and a treaty of commerce between Canada and France was concluded in the autumn of 1907, but awaited ratification, and was, therefore, not in force. That treaty, by bringing into operation certain rates of duty of the Canadian intermediate tariff and by special concessions, reduced the British preference on competitive goods.

Discussing that part of the report which refers to the capacity of food production within the Empire, the *Times* of July 23rd remarked :—

"There is a useful table showing the increasing dependence of this country upon other parts of the Empire for its staple food supplies. That change of base is forced upon us by market conditions and by the increasing consumption at home of countries upon which we used mainly to rely. But there is plenty of room for stimulation of food production within the Empire, coupled with equal stimulation of industry at home. In another section the Commission gives the operation of such preferences as the Colonies have voluntarily offered to us, and shows that in the decade before preference began we were losing trade, while after preference had begun to operate the loss was replaced by a great expansion of our exports. But, as is graphically shown, we have a great deal of leeway to make up, since foreign countries, thanks to our short-sighted policy, do much more business than ourselves with Colonies that would far rather trade with us if they could. They cannot, however, wait indefinitely upon this country. They are now great States fully conscious of their importance, and they cannot afford to reject the advantageous offers which other nations more farseeing than ourselves press upon them."

The new Canadian tariff introduced in November, 1906, indicated the Colonial views on the reciprocity question. In this Canada adopted—

(1) A general tariff, to operate against all foreign countries with whom she has no arrangement for reducing such tariff;

(2) A preferential tariff, the rates of duty in which are, roughly speaking, one-third less than those of the general tariff, to operate within the Empire ; and

(3) Between the general and preferential tariffs, an intermediate tariff, the rates of duty in which are less than those of the general tariff by roughly one-tenth, to be used for the purposes of negotiation with foreign countries. Australia, also, in 1907, introduced a new and strongly Protectionist tariff, which gave the United Kingdom a 5 per cent. preference over foreign competition in regard to a number of articles. South Africa and New Zealand give a preference of 25 and 10 per cent. respectively.

Indication of the growing tendency towards protective legislation is also claimed by supporters of this line of action, in the Patents Act passed in 1907. In introducing the Bill in the House of Commons, on March 19th, the Rt. Hon. Lloyd-George said : "I am not afraid of foreign competition so long as British trade is free to fight it, free from impossible conditions abroad, from equally stupid tariff systems at home. Many British industries have been completely wiped out by privileges conceded by our own institutions to foreigners."

Germany

On the other hand opponents of a protective policy point to the economic conditions prevailing in countries where such a system obtains, as a strong argument against its adoption. Figures are instanced in this connection on the increased cost of living in Germany, as shown in statistics compiled by the Prussian Civil Service Club at Breslau, consequent upon a proposal to raise the salaries of German civil servants. The tables set forth the increase per cent. in the general cost of living between the years 1896 and 1908 as follows :—

MEN'S CLOTHING, ETC.

	Per cent.
A. Hats	10 to 15
B. Underwear—	
Linen	33⅓
Cotton	20 to 25
Woollen	16⅔
C. Clothes—	
Suits	20
Overcoats	25
Woollen goods generally	60·3
Wages paid for making above clothes	50 to 66⅔
D. Boots	10 to 15
E. Other articles—	
Neckties	10 to 20
Kid gloves	28
Umbrellas	25
Hair-cutting charges	50
Shaving charges	50

Women's Clothing, etc.

	Per cent.
A. Hats	30
B. Underwear—	
Linen	33⅓
Cotton	20 to 25
Woollen	28
C. Clothes—	
Woollen goods generally	60·3
Wages paid for making clothes	50
Finished dresses	50
D. Boots	10 to 16
E. Other articles—	
Umbrellas	25
Kid gloves	28

Children's Clothing, etc.

A. Hats	10 to 25
B. Underwear—	
Linen	33⅓
Cotton	20 to 25
Woollen	28
C. Clothes—	
Dresses	20 to 50
Overcoats	30 to 35
Woollen goods generally	60·3
Wages paid for making clothes	50 to 66⅔
D. Boots	10 to 15
E. Other articles—	
Neckties	10 to 20
Umbrellas	25
Gloves	28
Hair-cutting charges	50
School fees	20 to 20·4
Books	5 to 10

Provisions.

Butter	13 to 36
Eggs	28
Potatoes	22
Flour	10
Fruit	14
Beans	43
Peas	27
Lentils	85
Rice	16
Groats	11
Semolina	4
Millet	45
Biscuits	17
Lager beer, in bottles	10
Herrings	20
Pepper	53
Onions	20
Meat (average increase)	19

Fuel.

Coals—	
Summer prices	15·3
Winter	22·2
Briquettes—	
Summer prices	12·3
Winter	17·7
Wood	21·4

Household Goods.

Iron kitchen utensils	15 to 20
Wooden kitchen utensils	
Bedsteads	
Mattresses	
Cupboards	
Tables	
Chairs	
Small articles	

Servants.

	Per cent.
Servants	25
Charwomen	33⅓

Washing.

Payment to washerwomen	33⅓ to 60
Soap	60

Washerwomen are employed in almost all families in Germany, the washing not usually being done at laundries. The average increase in the washing bill is put at 40 to 60 per cent. A considerable increase is also noted in doctors' fees, medicines, taxes, burial expenses and church fees.

German Records

In opposition to this, however, is set the report of Mr. Consul-General Schwabach, of Berlin, on the trade of Germany for the year 1906, in which he says: "The improvement of German trade and industry which, after the sudden but comparatively short depression at the beginning of the century, began at first but slowly, and then advanced with ever-increasing force, attained during the year under review what may be termed the high-water mark in the economic development of the German nation. The quantities of goods placed on the market at home and abroad by German factories have, almost without exception, assumed record figures. . . . Work-people of all classes were in strong demand and received employment without regard to nationality. As the dearth of workmen became accentuated in the course of the year working hours were lengthened, night shifts put on and overtime became the rule almost everywhere. The enormous deposits in the savings banks, which in Germany have steadily developed into collecting centres of national wealth, constitute an accurate gauge of the prevailing national prosperity."

Dr. Macnamara, M.P., in a letter to a constituent, dated September 4th, 1908, on the subject of the proposition to impose a small duty on foodstuffs, points out that these small taxes "have a remarkable knack of growing bigger and bigger as time proceeds," and he appends the tables given below as instancing this—

I.—Austria-Hungary.

			Per cwt. s.	d.
Duty on Flour	1882		1	6¼
Ditto	1887		3	9¾
Ditto	1906		6	4¾
Meat: Fresh and Prepared (Treaty with Italy)	1878		3	0½
	1887		6	1
Fresh	1906		12	8½
Prepared	1906		19	0¼
Tinned	1882		40	7
Ditto (Treaty with Germany)	1891		35	6
Ditto	1906		50	10

II.—France.

			Per cwt. s.	d.
Duty on Flour	1862		0	5¾
Ditto	1885		2	5¼
Ditto	1887		3	3
Ditto at the rate of extraction of 70 per cent. and over	1894		4	5¾
Ditto from 70 to 60 per cent.	1894		5	5¼
Ditto 60 per cent. and under	1894		6	6
Fresh Meat	1863		free	
Ditto	1881		1	2¾
Ditto Mutton	1903		14	3
Ditto Pork	1903		10	2
Ditto Beef and other kinds	1903		14	3

		Per head. s.	d.
Oxen	1863 ..	2	10½
Ditto	1881 ..	12	0
Ditto	1885 ..	20	0
Ditto	1887 ..	30	5

[Since 1892 the duty has been laid per cwt. live weight.]

III.—GERMANY.

		Per cwt. s.	d.
Duty on Flour	1879 ..	1	0¼
Ditto	1881 ..	1	6¼
Ditto	1885 ..	3	9¾
Ditto	1888 ..	5	4
Ditto	1892 ..	3	8½
Ditto	1906 ..	5	1¼
Duty on Bacon	1879 ..	6	1
Ditto	1885 ..	10	1½
Ditto	1906 ..	18	0
Duty on Meats (excluding pork, bacon, and tinned meats) ..	1879 ..	6	1
Ditto	1885 ..	10	1½
Meats: Fresh even. chilled ..	1906 ..	13	6
Frozen	1906 ..	17	6
Simply prepared	1906 ..	17	6
Prepared for the table ..	1906 ..	37	6

Against this, again, is placed the comparatively larger increase in wages as shown in the report of the Essen Chamber of Commerce on wages in Germany (Krupp's Factory), which gives the following tables:—

AVERAGE DAILY WAGES.

BEFORE PROTECTION.	s.	d.	AFTER PROTECTION.	s.	d.
1871	3	0½	1882	3	7
1875	3	10¾	1886	3	8½
1879	3	0¼	1894	4	0¾
			1895	4	1¼
			1900	4	9¼

The report, after giving particulars regarding food prices, concludes that "wages under Protection rose considerably more than the price of food." (See page 1190; also PROTECTION, FREE TRADE.)

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES: (See under LAND VALUES.)

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, ENGLISH LEAGUE FOR THE: Founded in 1883. The League has seven district and local branches in England. Official organ, *Land Values*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Mr. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P. *General Secretary:* Mr. Frederick Verinder, 376, Strand, London, W.C.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES, SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR THE: Founded in 1890 with the object of achieving the removal of all taxation on industry and the earnings of industry, and the substitution of a single tax on the value of land, whether used, partially used, or held idle. Number of subscribers, fourteen hundred. Official organ, *Land Values*, monthly, 1*d*. President, ex-Bailie Fairlie, J.P. *Secretary:* Mr. James Busby, 13, Dundas Street, Glasgow.

TEACHING PROFESSION, THE: (See under WOMAN WORKER, THE.)

TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION, BRITISH MEDICAL: Founded in 1876. Membership, about six hundred. Official organ, *The Medical Temperance Review*, quarterly, 6*d*. President, Prof. G. Sims Woodhead, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Ed. *Hon. Secretary:* W. McAdam Eccles, M.S., M.B., F.R.C.S., 124, Harley Street, London, W.

TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BRITISH WOMEN'S: Founded in 1876. Membership, 126,703. Official organ, *The White Ribbon*, monthly, 1*d*. President, The Countess of Carlisle. *Secretary:* Miss Gertrude Hunt, 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION, ROYAL ARMY: Founded in 1893. Object: Promotion of temperance in the Army at home and abroad. Members, 23,900 at home and in the colonies; 28,880 in India. Official organ, *On the March*, monthly, 1*d*. President, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught. Chairman, Earl Roberts, V.C. *Secretary:* Mr. Clare White, 47, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

TEMPERANCE BUREAU, INTERNATIONAL: Founded at the International Anti-Alcoholic Congress at Stockholm in 1907. Object: To serve as a connecting link between temperance societies the world over, and to collect and disseminate information on the various phases of the temperance reform. There are forty-one affiliated societies. President, R. Hercod, Litt.D. *Secretary:* Dr. Preisig, 24, Ave. Ed. Dapples, Lausanne, Switzerland.

TEMPERANCE COUNCIL, NATIONAL UNITED: Founded in 1896. The special work includes the retention of expert officers, learned in licensing laws; and opposition to the grant of new licences and other facilities, and the extinction of existing licences. Official organ, *United Temperance Gazette*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Mr. Arnold F. Hills, M.A., D.L. *Secretary:* Mr. Charles Pinhorn, 28, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.

TEMPERANCE FEDERATION, NATIONAL: Founded in 1884. President, Mr. A. Cameron Corbett, M.P. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. Joseph Malins, J.P., C.C., 168, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

The Federation includes the following organizations:—

Anglo-Indian Temperance Association.—*Secretary:* Frederick Grubb, 36, Iveley Road, Clapham, S.W.

Baptist Total Abstinence Association.—*Secretary:* Rev. E. S. Hull, 119, Camberwell Grove, London, S.E.

Bible Christian Methodist Temperance Association.—*Secretary:* Rev. A. Hancock, 8, Mount Gold Road, Plymouth.

British Anti-Narcotic League.—*Secretary:* J. B. Davis, 25, Market Street, Manchester.

British Temperance League.—*Secretary:* Charles Smith, 29, Union Street, Sheffield.

Central Sunday Closing Association.—*Secretary:* J. Woodford Causer, 9, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

Congregational Temperance Committee.—*Secretary:* Rev. W. Mottram, 279, Friern Road, East Dulwich, S.E.

Friends' Temperance Union.—*Secretary:* J. W. Harvey Theobald, 15, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Grand Lodge of England, I.O.G. Templars.—*Secretary:* Edward Oliver, 168, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

Grand Lodge of Ireland, I.O.G. Templars.—*Secretary:* J. Haveron, City Chambers, Royal Avenue, Belfast.

Grand Lodge of Scotland, I.O.G. Templars.—*Secretary:* T. Honeyman, 204, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

Grand Lodge of Wales (English) I.O.G. Templars.—*Secretary:* A. H. N. Reddaway, 86, Richards Terrace, Cardiff.

Grand Lodge of Wales (Welsh) I.O.G. Templars.—*Secretary:* O. N. Jones, Gwyddonfa, Pwllheli.

Independent Order of Rechabites.—*Secretary:* Richardson Campbell, 26, Bury New Road, Manchester.

Irish Association for the Prevention of Intemperance.—*Secretary:* W. R. Wigham, 4 and 5, Eustace Street, Dublin.

Irish Temperance League.—*Secretary:* W. Wilkinson, 20, Lombard Street, Belfast.

Midland Temperance League.—*Secretary:* R. Mildren, Y.M.C.A. Buildings, Dale End, Birmingham.

National British Women's Temperance Association.—*Secretary:* Miss Gertrude Hunt, 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

National Division Sons of Temperance.—*Secretary:* Walter Davies, Abbey Cottage, North Road, Clayton, Manchester.

National Unitarian Temperance Association.—*Secretary:* W. R. Marshall, 31, Birkhall Road, Catford, S.W.

National United Temperance Council.—*Secretary:* Charles Pinhorn, 28, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.

New Church Temperance Society.—*Secretary:* Thomas J. Barlow, 59, Ridley Road, Forest Gate, E.

North of England Temperance League.—*Secretary:* H. Patterson, Temperance Institute, Rutherford Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

North Wales Temperance Association.—*Secretary:* Rev. H. R. Davies, Hirrall, Bangor.

Primitive Methodist Temperance Society.—*Secretary:* Rev. T. H. Hunt, 14, Wentworth Place, Bolton.

Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association.—*Secretary:* W. J. Allison, 108, Douglas Street, Glasgow.

Scottish Temperance League.—*Secretary:* James Gillies, 108, Hope Street, Glasgow.

Southern Counties (and Dorset) Temperance Association.—*Secretary:* Edwin T. Jenkins, 33, Victoria Road, Poole.

South Wales and Monmouthshire Temperance Association.—*Secretary:* Rev. Morris Morgan, 73, King Edward's Road, Swansea.

United Methodist Temperance League.—*Secretary:* Rev. John Thornley, 21, Filey Street, Sheffield.

Wesleyan Reform Temperance League.—*Secretary:* Rev. W. S. Goodwin, 74, Ryan Street, West Bowling, Bradford.

Western Temperance League.—*Secretary:* A. J. Barker, "Tintagel," Windsor Road, St. Andrew's Road, Bristol.

Women's Total Abstinence Union.—*Secretary:* Miss S. L. Boyd, 4, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.

Workhouse Drink Reform League.—*Secretary:* W. C. Amery, 9, Temple Street, Birmingham.

TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, BRITISH: Founded in 1835. There are over one thousand members, with 245 county district and town societies affiliated. Official organ, *British Temperance Advocate*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P. *Secretary:* Mr. Charles Smith, F.S.S., 29, Union Street, Sheffield.

TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, IRISH: Founded in 1858. (Incorporated, 1900.) Temperance cafés and restaurants are operated, both for monied people and the working classes; also Farmers' Rests for the accommodation of farmers, their horses and vehicles. Official organ, *Everybody's Monthly*, 1*d*. President, Sir Algernon Coote, Bart., H.M.L. *Secretary:* Mr. W. Wilkinson, 16, Lombard Street, Belfast.

TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, NATIONAL: Founded in 1856. Official organ, *The National Temperance Quarterly*. The League does important special work among medical men, educationalists, labour organizations, etc., towards a better application of the principles of scientific temperance and other phases of the reform. There is a Research Scholarship effective. President, The Dean of Hereford. *Secretary:* Mr. John Turner Rae, 34, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, NORTH OF ENGLAND: Founded in 1858. Federated to the League are over one thousand societies, with an estimated membership above 100,000. Connected with the League is the Temperance Institute at Newcastle-on-Tyne, established as a meeting-place for trade and friendly societies, and other organizations of working men. The Institute held thirty-seven meetings during the first year, while for the year ending July 31st, 1908, the number had reached 1006, with an estimated attendance of fully 100,000 persons. Official organ, *The Temperance Witness*, quarterly, 1*d*. *Institute Secretary:* Mr. Walter Hayler, Temperance Institute, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

TEMPERANCE LEAGUE, SCOTTISH: Founded in 1844. The membership is eleven thousand, with 350 affiliated local temperance societies. Official organ, *The Temperance Leader*, weekly, 1*d*. President, Mr. Alex. P. Forrester Paton, J.P. *Secretary:* Mr. James Gillies, 108, Hope Street, Glasgow.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION BOARD, THE SCOTTISH: Founded in 1901. Object: To unite all sections of the country in an endeavour to obtain further legislation on the lines of Lord Peel's Report, and to secure the effective administration of the licensing laws. Hon. President, Lord Peel. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. G. F. Barbour, 10, Albyn Place, Edinburgh.

GLASGOW: *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. R. L. Bremner, 208, West George Street.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION LEAGUE, THE: Founded in 1905. Among the special work done during 1908 was an extensive poster campaign in support of the Government Licensing Bill. President, Lord Peel. *Secretary:* Mr. A. F. Harvey, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

TEMPERANCE PROBLEMS: By Lady Henry Somerset's work at Duxhurst, Surrey, there is being conducted a campaign, started fourteen years ago, for reclaiming inebriate women. The women on the colony come voluntarily for one year, and during the whole period are under no restraint, it being a matter of honour that they stay their period. Every patient enters the hospital first, sometimes for weeks, and her case is carefully diagnosed. Very often drinking habits are due to excessive fatigue, nervous debility, strain, or derangements, to bad digestion, diseased organs. The physical cause is traced wherever possible.

The colony is made up of several cottage homes. In one there are two large work-rooms, one filled with hand-looms of the Swedish pattern where beautiful linen, canvas, and towels are woven. Curtains, table-cloths and other stuffs are woven with tasteful designs and decorations. Outdoor work, fresh air, fresh employment, are all summoned to the aid of the inmates. Indeed, a large part of the success of the colony is due to the variety of occupation offered. The work includes a dairy, a large farm of 180 acres, poultry runs, bee-keeping, two long hothouses, in which melons, tomatoes, cucumbers, and so forth are raised.

Lady Henry Somerset, who personally superintends the work, believes that the cottage system is less expensive in the long run than the barrack system of massing together numbers of individuals whose habits it is sought to change, to whom self-respect must be restored, and a new basis created for character and conduct. To have patients in the mass, and not break them into small, manageable groups, she deems a fatal error. The institution spirit, in her opinion, is usually

fatal to success, the problem being largely psychological. A woman is not passed as cured until she has been two years away from Duxhurst in her own home. But even counting by this rather high standard, there are fifty-eight, sometimes sixty, per cent. of cures.

Another institution for the treatment of inebriety is the Norwood Sanatorium for Inebriates, where a scientific method, including dosage with red cinchona bark, gentian, strychnine, and atropine is in vogue. Of a typical list of 149 cases, sixty-four relapsed, seven were more temperate than formerly, and seventy-eight remained total abstainers. A sex division of the 149 cases showed: of the 111 males, 46, or 41·4 per cent., relapsed: 7, or 6·3 per cent., were improved; 58, or 52·2 per cent., remained abstainers. Of the 38 females, 18, or 47·4 per cent., relapsed; 20, or 52·6 per cent., remained abstainers.

Drug Treatment

One of the most recent movements is the True Temperance Association, formed in mid-August, 1908, and working on entirely different lines from those usually employed by total abstinence and temperance workers. They claim that to be really effective temperance reform must be inclusive, not exclusive, that it should enrol every temperate man and woman, and not merely the total abstainer. The highway to temperance, in their opinion, lies in the reform of the public-house.

The Rev. Dr. Paton, of Nottingham, is a strong believer in the creation of counter-attractions to the public-house. In the course of a lengthy interview he argued—

Counter Attractions

"There is one immense, dominant factor in this problem which has to be specially considered. Our vast industrial population everywhere are tired with the day's work, and they need some refreshment, some recreation for jaded bodies and minds, after the heavy work of the day. All of them also have social instincts and tastes, and desire in the leisure evening to have social intercourse and fellowship, to discuss the politics of the day, to have a game and chat with their neighbours or friends. Here, then, is a great, vital, human need on the part of a great mass of our working people both in town and country. It is a true, natural, instinctive need which somehow or other must be and will be met and satisfied. Now the publican caters for, provides for, this need; and so long as he does so alone, we may preach Temperance as long as we please, still the publican will laugh at our effort. This question is one specially concerning the leisure evening life of the people. Places must be opened quite near at hand in every district. The public-house is near at hand, and so must be the place that is to be its substitute. To offer effective counter-attractions, there must be many of them, and therefore they must not be costly.

"School Board buildings, when they are not used for evening classes, could well be utilized. There are in every town numbers of such buildings which are lying idle and dark at night. They have been erected by the people's money at very great cost, and ought to be used for the people's good, especially for objects like those of the Social Institutes that exist in various places to provide for the social and recreative needs of the people. Many of these school buildings have large halls which are without seats, which are well decorated and heated and beautifully lighted. Such halls could be immediately converted, by a little bright drapery and one or two bits of bright carpet, into splendid drawing-rooms for the people.

"On the question of counter-attraction, the fact that in the City of London tea-shops have become immensely popular has re-acted against the public-houses. During the year ending mid-August, 1908, taking only the shops of four middle-class tea-shop companies in the City of London, 65,000,000 customers were served, and in working-class refreshment rooms of other big concerns over 50,000,000. The adverse effect of this 115,000,000 users of tea-shops on the business of the City public-houses is undoubted. Indeed, as a licence-holder said: "Even allowing for the ladies who are served, and who did not use licensed premises, it is safe to assume that three-fourths of the people catered for would, in the ordinary course, have taken refreshment in the licensed houses if there had not been the counter-attraction."

Tea *v.* Beer

See also THE CENTRAL PUBLIC HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION, etc.

TEMPERANCE SOCIETY, CHURCH OF ENGLAND: Founded in 1862. (Incorporated.) Object: Union and co-operation, on perfectly equal terms, between those who use and those who abstain from intoxicating drinks, by (1) The promotion of habits of temperance, (2) The reformation of the intemperate, (3) The removal of the causes which lead to intemperance. Membership, 624,929. Special work is done in the following departments: Police Court and Prison Gate Mission, Homes for Inebriate Men, Homes for Inebriate Women, Shelter Homes, Racecourse and Van Mission, and the Semi-Teetotal Pledge. Official organs, *The Temperance Chronicle*, weekly, 1*d.*; *The Illustrated Temperance Monthly and Hand and Heart*, weekly, 1*d.*; *The Young Crusader*, monthly, ½*d.* Presidents, The Archbishops of Canterbury and York. *Secretary:* Mr. Gerald A. Thompson, 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster, London, S.W.

TEMPERANCE SOCIETY, ROYAL NAVAL: Founded in H.M.S. *Reindeer*, 1863, to inculcate total abstinence principles in the Royal Navy. Number of members, etc., 27,000. Official organ, *At Home and Abroad*, monthly, 1*d.* President, Admiral G. F. King-Hall, C.V.O. *Hon. Superintendent:* Miss Agnes E. Weston, LL.D., Royal Sailors' Rest, Portsmouth.

TEMPERANCE UNION, WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN: Founded in 1891. The members total nearly half a million. The work embraces effort amongst women in every part of the world. Official organ, *World's W. C. T. U. Bulletin*, monthly, 1*d.* President, The Countess of Carlisle. *Hon. Secretaries:* Miss Agnes E. Slack, Greenhill House, Ripley, Derby, England; Miss Gordon, Rest Cottage, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.

TENANTS' HOUSING COUNCIL, CO-PARTNERSHIP: (Established under the auspices of the Labour Co-partnership Association.) Object: To aid in the solution of the housing problem by encouraging and promoting the establishment of Tenants' Co-partnership Societies; to give legal and other advice, and to centralize information as to plans, materials, cost of house construction, etc. Societies are now developing estates at Hampstead, Letchworth, Ealing, Harborne, Sevenoaks, Manchester, Oldham, Wolverhampton, and Leicester. The property of the various societies at the end of 1908 was about £350,000. In June, 1907, a federation of tenants' societies was formed under the title of Co-partnership Tenants, Ltd., with Mr. Henry Vivian, M.P., as chairman, and now (1908) includes eight of the largest and most active of these societies. *Hon. Secretary:* Miss Sybella Gurney, 6, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

THAMES STEAMBOATS: (See under LONDON.)

THRIFT: In the contemplation of the enormous total of the annual national expenditure on strong drink and the vast sums which change hands in betting transactions, the fact is apt to be overlooked that thriftiness is one of the character-traits of the working classes of the United

Kingdom. It is an attribute that strongly commends itself to King Edward VII., who at the opening of the new building of the Hearts of Oak Friendly Society in London, May 28th, 1906, declared that :—

"The encouragement of habits of thrift and foresight and a spirit of independence and self-help—qualities which conduce in the highest degree to the welfare of a nation—is an object which must always have my deepest sympathy."

Sir Oliver Lodge has gone analytically into the question of thrift, its causes and powers, in his pamphlet on Wealth and Expenditure, published by the Fabian Society: "The objects of thrift, or personal saving, are twofold: (1) To provide for sickness, for old age, and for those who are dependent upon us, and whom we should otherwise leave helpless when we go. This is clearly the chief and especially forcible motive for saving: it is the mainspring and original motive-power. But there is also another not at all unworthy motive, though it is one less generally recognized or admitted, and to this I wish incidentally to direct attention.

"The second great motive for thrift and wise accumulation is to increase our own power and influence and effective *momentum* in the world. The man of wealth is recognized as a force in the world, sometimes indeed a force for evil, sometimes for good, but undeniably and always a power. People often complain of this and abuse the instinct which recognizes wealth as being a power. But it is inevitable. It does not indeed follow that great wealth need be concentrated in a few hands, or that one single individual shall have the disposal of it; but, whether in many hands or in few, wealth is bound to be a power; it is no use abusing what is inevitable, we must study and learn how to utilize the forces of nature. Wealth is one of those forces. Why is it so powerful? Because it enables its owner to carry out his plans, to execute his purposes, to achieve his ends. He has not to go cap in hand to somebody and ask permission; he can do the thing himself."

Coming from abstract reasoning to the practical argument of actual experience, an instructive lecture on Thrift, delivered in November, 1907, by Mr. J. D. Stuart Sim, Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for Great Britain and Ireland, was printed in 1908, and then revised to contain the latest statistics. It is of much value as giving in detail concrete examples of the thriftiness of the British workmen, and it is therefore given somewhat fully—

"Broadly speaking, the whole of the functions of my office are exercised with the view of encouraging, so far as it is at present possible for the State to encourage, the desirable habit of thrift among the working classes of this country, in their respective degrees.

"It is common experience that a person who is thrifty in one direction is not likely to stop there, but, so far as his means permit, to avail himself of those other opportunities by which the self-denial of his earlier years brings increased comfort to his family, and a position of modest independence in his old age.

"A popular form of thrift-investment is the Friendly Society. The number of registered Friendly Societies, and branches of what are known as the Affiliated Orders—the Oddfellows, Foresters, etc., at the close of 1905 amounted to twenty-seven thousand different bodies, with an aggregate membership of nearly six millions, and accumulated funds amounting to forty-two millions sterling. Six years previously, while the number of societies and branches was practically the same, their membership was 5¼ millions, with funds amounting to nearly thirty-three millions of pounds sterling. During the period mentioned the membership of societies has increased by thirteen per cent., while their funds have increased by twenty-eight per cent., a gratifying testimony to the efforts of the members to improve the financial position, and consequently the stability of their societies.

Friendly Societies

"In addition to the above, Collecting Societies take an important position as regards membership; the forty-five Registered Societies having an aggregate membership of 7¾ millions—or a number far exceeding that of the whole of the first-mentioned classes. Their funds, however, average only about £1 per member, against £7 per member in the ordinary Friendly Societies and Branches. Collecting Societies, as a rule, provide for the payment of sums at death only; while the management expenses, consequent upon the system of collecting the members' contributions at their own houses, are necessarily high, being over forty per cent. of the income, against ten per cent. in the other classes referred to.

"Besides the above, several other classes of societies are admitted to registration under the Friendly Societies Act, *e.g.* Benevolent Societies, Medical Societies, Specially Authorized Societies (societies for any purpose which the Treasury Lords may authorize), Cattle Insurance Societies, Societies for the relief of members in case of Shipwreck, or loss or damage to Fishing Boats and Nets, Working Men's Clubs, and Shop Clubs. Altogether these societies number nearly twenty-nine thousand, their members 14¼ millions, and their funds over fifty-two millions sterling.

"The average contribution paid by members of Friendly Societies and branches combined amounted to £1 1*s.* 9*d.* per annum. Of each £1 received, 14*s.* 2*d.* is expended in benefits, 2*s.* 1*d.* in management, and 3*s.* 9*d.* set aside to meet the contingencies of the future. The member of the branch of an Order contributes £1 6*s.* 2*d.* per annum, and of each £1 of total income receives 13*s.* 10*d.* in benefits, while 2*s.* 3*d.* is expended in management, and 3*s.* 11*d.* saved.

"In ordinary societies composed of men, excluding Burial and Dividing Societies, the average contribution is £1 5*s.* per annum, while in similar societies composed of women the average contribution is only 13*s.* 1*d.* per annum. In the former societies, of each £1 of income, 15*s.* 2*d.* is expended in benefits, 1*s.* 7*d.* in management, while 3*s.* 3*d.* is added to the accumulative funds. In the latter societies the proportions are 14*s.* 10*d.*, 2*s.*, and 3*s.* 2*d.* respectively. Having regard to the comparative smallness of the average contribution in female societies, while the liability of the members to come upon the funds is greater than in male societies, the rate of benefits payable is necessarily lower than in societies composed of men.

"As a training school in thrift, Juvenile Societies occupy an important position, and much greater attention has, during recent years, been given to the encouragement of juvenile membership, the Act of 1896 permitting the admission of members of one year of age.

"The contributions of members of registered Friendly Societies and branches amount to upwards of six millions sterling per annum, while the interest on their invested funds amounts to nearly two millions. Four millions annually are applied to relief in sickness, £860,000 in sums at death, £430,000 in old age pay and other benefits of an individual nature. £370,000 is expended in various other payments to the advantage of the members; £850,000 in management expenses, an average of 2*s.* 10*d.* per member, while the remaining balance of 1¼ millions sterling is set aside to meet future claims.

"The most popular form of security among Friendly Societies is still that of land, buildings, and mortgages; nearly sixty per cent. of their funds being so invested. The various forms of investment and the amount invested may be stated thus:—

"In land, buildings, and mortgages upwards of twenty-five millions; in Government securities, including Savings Banks, nearly 6¾ millions; in local securities 5¾ millions; in railway stock 1¼ millions; the remaining balance being made up of cash in hand of nearly one million, and of other investments.

"The amount invested in land, buildings, and mortgages (including ground rents) by the societies may be stated as well over one hundred millions sterling, and shows how the savings of the working classes may be affected by hasty or rash legislation on these subjects.

"I next deal with Industrial and Provident Societies, more popularly known as Co-operative Societies. By far the largest and most important of the three sections into which the group is divided —(*a*) Industries and trades, (*b*) Businesses, and (*c*) Land Societies—is the first named. Out of a total of 2779 societies making returns last year, 2264, or eighty-one per cent., carry on industries and trades. The volume of business conducted by these societies amounted to one hundred millions, this sum representing the sales of goods during the year 1906, at a cost for salaries, wages, establishment, and other expenses of eight millions. Of this latter amount three millions were expended in productive expenses and five millions in distributive expenses. The number of members in 2264 societies exceeded 2¾ millions. The balance of profit on the year's transactions amounted to £10,000,000, or ten per cent. on the value of goods sold. The members have nearly thirty-one millions invested in share capital, or an average of £13 per member; while deposits and loan capital amount to fifteen millions, and the balances of profit and reserve carried forward to 4¾ millions.

"The value of land, buildings, and fixtures used by the societies exceeds fourteen millions, while the value of goods in stock represents eleven millions sterling. These, with the balances of cash in hand, show a trading capital of over twenty-eight millions. In addition, they have investments upon various securities amounting to 22½ millions.

"In addition to these societies there are 378 societies, comprising Financial Societies, Working Men's Clubs, and societies for various purposes, having a total membership of 98,000 and assets exceeding £970,000 (1906 statistics).

"The third section is that of Land Societies. Although numerically few, their operations in purchasing and developing estates for building purposes, to be acquired by the members, are of some importance. 137 societies with 17,700 members received during the year £597,000. They purchased during the same period land valued at £33,000, and advanced on mortgage security to the extent of £167,000. Their management expenses were £15,700, whilst the net balance of profit amounted to £21,000. The share capital of £642,000, represents an average

Land and Building Societies

of upwards of £36 per member, while the Loan Capital amounted to £713,000. The land held by the societies is valued at £478,000, while advances upon mortgage show a balance due of £753,000.

"The next subject is that of Building Societies. As defined by Section 13 of the Act of 1874, their purpose is to raise 'by the subscriptions of the members a stock or fund for making advances to members out of the funds of the society upon security of freehold, copyhold, or leasehold estate, by way of mortgage.' That these societies upon the whole fulfil their object may be gathered from the Abstract of Annual Returns to the end of the year 1906, when out of a total amount of assets of incorporated societies of £55,894,000, £52,323,000, or nearly ninety-four per cent., was due on mortgage securities. During the year the 1952 societies comprising this group received twenty millions sterling, and during the same period 1454 societies advanced upon mortgage security 8¾ millions. Assuming the average amount of each mortgage to be £300, it will be seen that 29,000 persons availed themselves, in one year only, of facilities given of becoming, probably in a large proportion of cases, the owners of their dwelling-houses. The average amount of share capital standing to the credit of the members is about £68 each. In addition to this, their holding in the societies, as depositors, is very considerable.

"Another department of working-class thrift is the Trade Union. To Trade Unions the advantages of registration were extended by the Act of 1871. At the close of the year 1876, 159 Trade Unions upon the register furnished returns showing a membership of 309,000, and funds amounting to £467,616. At the close of 1906—taking ten year intervals—the number of unions had increased to 645, their members had increased to nearly 1¾ millions, while their income exceeded 2½ millions per annum; the balance of funds standing at £5,864,000."

After thus dealing in detail with the various channels which working men use to put their savings to profit, Mr. Stuart Sim summed up the cumulative results of national thrift by giving numerous tables, the totalled returns for which show (1) that 34,652 Registered Provident Societies had a membership of 19,546,586 with funds £184,149,732; and (2) that the 49,949 Banks (Railway, Trustee, and Post Office) held £426,605,383, the savings of 31,700,963 depositors. Thus the tangible proof that the working-classes as a whole possessed in no small degree the virtue of thrift was the fact that they had accumulated savings to the enormous total of £610,755,115.

A White paper issued October 1st, 1908, gives the latest returns available as to the Trustee Savings Banks in the British Isles, showing that at the year ending with November, 1907, there were 222 banks open, in which 1,780,214 accounts were running, having an aggregate total owing depositors of £52,153,594, of which £51,963,231 was invested. The actual number of deposits for twelve months was 3,629,778, and the withdrawals 2,005,625. The average amount to the credit of each depositor came to £29 5*s.* 11*d.*

TOLSTOYAN SETTLEMENT: A Tolstoyan settlement was founded as an asylum for Russian refugees in 1901 at Christchurch, Hants, by an old friend of the author, M. Tchertkoff, who was exiled from Russia in 1897. Countess Olga Tolstoy, a daughter-in-law of the great writer, has taken up her abode at Christchurch, and the colony, which fluctuates in numbers, generally averages about fifty members. All the food required, which is entirely of a vegetarian character, is grown on the surrounding land, and as various industries have been started the community is practically self-supporting. Many of the members of the settlement are engaged in propagandist work, lecturing, and taking other share in the activities of the Free Age Press, a feature of which is that none of its publications are copyrighted, this practice being followed so that its methods may be in sympathy with Tolstoy's desire regarding his own writings. (See also page 1222.)

TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION, WOMEN'S: Founded in 1893. Object: To form a union or federation of women's temperance societies, and to promote the formation of others. Federated with the Union are societies for specializing on Nurses, Deaconesses, Teachers, Laundresses, Girls, and Babies. Official organ, *Wings*, monthly, 1*d.* President, Mrs. Servante. *Secretary:* Miss S. L. Boyd, 4, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.

TRADE DISPUTES: (See under TRADE UNIONISM.)

TRADE RETURNS: Amplifying the statistics given elsewhere on various countries, the trade returns, to June 30th, 1908, show that Great Britain is still in front of any other country, and well ahead of her own record in 1906. Germany shows a fairly steady position, but the fluctuation in the trading of the United States is indicative of the periods of stress through which America had been passing.

In the tables, in which no exact comparison can be made, it is shown that the imports of British India were £39,878,000 in the first five months of 1908, an increase of £6,000,000, while the exports diminished by about £15,000,000, to £42,842,000. Canada's imports in the similar period fell away by some £7,000,000, while her exports rose by £1,250,000. The imports of South Africa declined from £14,311,000 in the first five months of 1906 to £10,881,000 in 1908, but the exports rose from £16,731,000 to £18,343,000, the latter figure being £1,250,000 lower than 1907. Taking imports first, we get the following results for the first six months of the last three years:—

	1906. £	1907. £	1908. £
U.K. ..	256,131,000	276,807,000	259,010,000
Germany	198,287,000	213,603,000	204,554,000
U.S. ..	132,783,000	156,516,000	108,844,000
France	113,949,000	127,388,000	121,944,000

The percentages of increase and decrease of the four countries in the trade of the first six months of 1908 compared with 1907 and 1906 are as follows:—

	Compared with 1907.	Compared with 1906.
United Kingdom	− 6·4	+ 1·1
Germany	− 4.2	+ 3·1
United States	− 30·4	− 18·0
France	− 4·2	+ 7·0

It will be seen that the United States not only shows a marked decline compared with 1907, but also compared with 1906.

The exports for the same periods are as follows:—

	1906. £	1907. £	1908. £
U.K. ..	180,594,000	206,317,000	189,993,000
Germany	140,478,000	162,581,000	160,805,000
U.S. ..	175,957,000	192,833,000	180,153,000
France	100,957,000	111,325,000	104,327,000

Decreasing Trade

With regard to the figures for the United Kingdom as compared with previous records, the summarized returns for July, 1908, show decreases—

	For month ending July 31. 1908.	1907.	Decrease.
	£	£	£
Imports	46,773,035	52,207,774	5,434,739
Exports	33,705,725	40,452,331	6,746,606
Re-exports, foreign and Colonial merchandise	6,310,928	7,388,291	1,077,363
Total	86,789,688	100,048,396	13,258,708

TOTAL 1908 TRADE TO AND INCLUDING JULY.

	1908.	1907.	Decrease.
	£	£	£
Imports	345,190,878	380,592,344	35,401,466
Exports	223,681,784	246,769,800	23,088,016
Re-exports, foreign and Colonial merchandise	45,607,259	58,937,547	13,330,288
Total	614,479,921	686,299,691	71,819,770

The Board of Trade returns for August, 1908, show a continuation of the decline. Imports fell by £6,544,396 to £42,746,051, while exports of British goods fell by £7,012,368 to £30,342,676. The loss of one working day in August, 1908, only slightly modifies these figures. The loss in exports for the eight months, January to August, now amounts to £30,000,000, made up thus—

LOSS IN EXPORTS IN 1908.

January	£700,000
February	100,000
March	1,900,000
April	3,700,000
May	5,800,000
June	4,100,000
July	6,700,000
August	7,000,000
Total fall in eight months,	£30,000,000

Analyzing the imports by great classes we get—

IMPORTS IN AUGUST AND IN THE EIGHT MONTHS ENDED AUGUST.

(Values inclusive of freight and insurance.)
(In millions of £.)

	August.			Eight months ended August.		
	1906.	1907.	1908.	1906.	1907.	1908.
Food, drink, and tobacco	21·4	21·8	18·4	157·3	159·6	156·8
Raw materials ..	14·0	14·7	12·9	133·7	163·4	133·5
Manufactures	13·3	12·6	11 4	105·3	105·3	96·0
Miscellaneous	0·2	0·2	0·2	1·7	1·6	1·5
Total imports ..	48·9	49·3	42·8	398·0	429·8	387·8

The serious fall in the imports of materials will be noticed. In August it amounted to £1,800,000; in the eight months it amounted to £29,900,000. That is evidence of a great loss of employment, whether for home or export.

On the export side of the account we get—

EXPORTS IN AUGUST AND IN THE EIGHT MONTHS ENDED AUGUST.

(Values do not include freight and insurance.)
(In millions of £.)

	August.			Eight months ended August.		
	1906.	1907.	1908.	1906.	1907.	1908.
Food, drink, and tobacco	2·6	2·3	2·1	12·6	13·8	13·3
Raw materials ..	3·8	4·9	4·3	28·3	35·4	34 7
Manufactures	27·3	29·5	23·4	203·1	230·9	202 2
Miscellaneous	0·5	0·6	0·5	3·6	4·1	3·7
Exports of goods previously imported ..	6 9	7·4	6·8	57·4	66·3	52·4
Total exports ..	40·4	44·8	37·1	304·9	350·4	306·4

Here the fall is chiefly accounted for under the heading of manufactures, and it is spread over practically all branches of industry.

Iron	Fell £1,037,000
Other metals	,, 240,000
Machinery	,, 238,000
Cottons	,, 1,853,000
Woollens	,, 851,000
Chemicals	,, 175,000
Apparel	,, 140,000

In the eight months the fall in manufactured exports fell by £28,696,000.

Taking imports and exports together, an extraordinary fall in purchasing power both at home and abroad is evident.

A more comprehensive comparison, taken back to the previous trade boom of 1900, gives us the following figures :—

AUGUST TRADE, 1900-1908.
(In millions of £.)

	Imports.	Exports.
1900	42·1	24·9
1901	40·9	24·2
1902	40·4	24·3
1903	42·8	25·7
1904	42·4	26·4
1905	46·9	29·5
1906	48·9	33·5
1907	49·3	37·4
1908	42·7	30·3

Imports in August, 1908, were thus very much on a level with those of 1900, whilst exports, it will be seen, are very much better than in 1900–1905.

The Board of Trade returns for September, 1908, however, indicated in various directions improvement in the trade of the United Kingdom. For the first time during 1908 the imports showed an increase on the month, and although a further fall was shown in exports the comparative decline in September was the lowest since March.

Appended are particulars of the over-seas trade of the month, compared with the corresponding months of 1906 and 1907. In the latter case it will be seen that there were increases in both imports and British exports :—

		− or + 1907.	− or + 1906.
Imports	£48,028,207 ..	+ £2,692,756 ..	+ £2,968,372
British exports ..	31,621,206 ..	− 3,535,114 ..	+ 1,096·053
Re-exports ..	5,287,814 ..	− 654,498 ..	− 232,949
Turnover ..	£84,937,227 ..	− £1,496,856 ..	+ £3,831,476

The volume of trade was about five millions more than in August, while the net decline, as compared with the corresponding month of 1907, had not been so low during the year. The bulk of the increase in the imports was in food, drink, etc., amounting to £2,139,002. Raw materials imported increased by £38,715, mainly owing to an increase of £385,337 in raw wool, while cotton fell off by £234,108. In manufactured articles the total increase was £516,184, the chief increases being in miscellaneous metals £284,413, leather goods £175,122, and in iron and steel £152,944. There was a drop of £140,773 in miscellaneous textiles, and another of £102,592 in machinery.

In British exports the total decrease in manufactured articles was £2,775,511, notwithstanding an increase in new ships of £1,077,217. The most serious decline was again in cotton goods, £1,043,076; the next in iron and steel, £771,070; followed by wool, £712,175. The raw material exports showed a total falling off amounting to £478,681, of which coal was accountable for £252,268. Food, drink, etc., exports were £289,216 lower.

The following table gives the totals for the nine months of the year, and comparisons with the two preceding years :—

	— or + 1907.	— or + 1906.
Imports	£435,798,328 ..	— £39,334,545 .. — £7,217,427
British exports ..	285,663,002 ..	— 33,618,162 .. + 7,608,757
Re-exports ..	57,714,780 ..	— 14,532,280 .. — 5,208,330
Turnover ..	£779,176,110 ..	— £87,484,987 .. — £4,817,000

The table shows that the average monthly decline, as against the year 1907, was over nine and a half millions, whilst that of September was under one and a half millions.

British trade was the topic of an address by Lord Brassey at the Annual Conference of the Associated British Chambers of Commerce at Cardiff on September 15th. Directing attention to the wider question of the relative efficiency of British and foreign industry, he said there was to-day contraction in every important centre of commerce, but our experience was universal. Our exports had fallen, not because our prices were excessive, nor because the quality of our goods was inferior, but because our best customers had not the means to buy. As manufacturers for export we had a long lead in 1907. Exports of manufactures from the United States had been computed at £1 14*s.* per head of population; Germany, £2 10*s.*; the United Kingdom, £5 10*s.*, in neutral markets. Germany, our keenest competitor in manufactures, had not yet come near us in the race.

TRADE AND LABOUR COUNCILS, THE YORKSHIRE FEDERATION OF: Founded in 1893. Including seventeen trades councils, with an aggregate membership of 80,000. A petition on old-age pensions was presented to Parliament in February, 1908, representing 799,750 workers. *Hon. Secretary :* Mr. W. H. Leach, 34, Rydall Terrace, Leeds.

TRADE UNIONIST TARIFF REFORM ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1904. Object: To strengthen the cause of Trade Unionism, to improve the condition of the workers in this country, and by employing the Tariff to protect them against unfair and unjust foreign competition. President, Mr. F. Hastings Medhurst. *General Secretary :* Mr. Ald. G. K. Naylor, L.C.C., 57, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS: (See under Trade Unionism.)

TRADE UNION CONGRESS, IRISH: Founded in 1894. Membership, 76,000, represented by a parliamentary committee of nine, elected at each Annual Congress to carry out the work remitted to them, with the full support of the Irish Parliamentary party. Chairman, Mr. Councillor M. Egan, J.P. *Hon. Secretary :* Mr. E. L. Richardson, J.P., Trades Hall, Dublin.

TRADE UNIONISM: At the Annual Trade Union Congress in September, 1908, 213 Societies, an aggregate membership of 1,776,000, were represented by 518 delegates. The total strength of Trade Unionism is shown by the return issued at the end of 1907 by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, which gives details of 980 Employers' Associations, 1153 Trade Unions, 237 Trades Councils, ninety-three Federations of Trade Unions, six Federations of Trades Councils, three Parliamentary Committees appointed by Trades Union Congresses, 209 Conciliation and Arbitration Boards, and three Free Labour Associations. Of these, according to returns issued in 1908, by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, 645 are registered, the membership being 1,750,000 and the income over two and a half millions sterling. At the end of 1906, continues the return, the balance of funds stood at £5,864,000. The total trade-union membership is approximately returned at two millions in September, 1908.

The ninth annual report of the General Federation of Trade Unions (*q.v.*), issued on June 18th, 1908, sho that 122 trade unions belong to the Federation, showing an aggregate membership of 689,674. Financially the Federation had made good progress, showing income £37,203 14*s.* 3*d.*, an increase of £7041 10*s.* 4*d.* over the previous year, whilst the Reserve Fund was £162,210 8*s.* 9*d.*, or £10,068 16*s.* 4*d.* more than 1907.

It is estimated that the number of workers capable of organization in the United Kingdom are represented as under—

Number.

	Men.	Women.	Together.	Percentage of workers.
In Industry, Trade, and Communication ..	4,600,000	1,600,000	6,200,000	86·11
In Agriculture	900,000	100,000	1,000,000	13·89
Totals ..	5,500,000	1,700,000	7,200,000	—

Trade Disputes

The Trade Disputes Act, which passed through Parliament in the autumn session, 1906, had the effect of protecting unions from litigation in consequence of members being called out on strike, thus reversing the Taff Vale decision in August, 1900.

It is argued in some directions that the striking diminution evidenced in the quinquennium period given below was due in some degree to the 1900 decision, and that this later enactment has set the pendulum swinging again in the other direction—

Five Years' Trade Disputes.

Year.	No. of trade disputes.	No. of workpeople affected.	No. of working days lost by the disputes.
1902 ..	442	256,667	3,479,255
1903 ..	387	116,901	2,338,668
1904 ..	355	87,208	1,484,220
1905 ..	358	93,503	2,470,189
1906 ..	488	217,773	3,028,816

How the Trade Disputes have been Settled.

Year.	In favour of the workers. (Per cent.)	In favour of the masters. (Per cent.)	By compromise. (Per cent.)	Indefinite. (Per cent.)
1902 ..	24	47	28	—
1903 ..	23	48	29	—
1904 ..	17	48	31	3
1905 ..	19	46	30	1
1906 ..	31	37	31	1

Parliamentary Representation

The question of the legitimacy of using Trade Union Funds for the furtherance, by propaganda, or payment of members, of their aims came acutely to the front in July of 1908, as a result of a decision of Mr. Justice Neville in the Law Courts. The point arose out of an action by a member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants consequent upon a rule just previously made binding Parliamentary candidates adopted by the union to accept and sign the conditions of the Labour Party. The Court was asked (1) to hold the rule invalid on a technical point, and (2) to declare the policy of contributing to the Labour Party *ultra vires*. Mr. Justice Neville, in a considered judgment, decided in favour of the society on both points, the latter of which settled a

question of vital importance in trade union politics. In a leading article the London *Daily Chronicle* declared that "a decision in the opposite sense would have arrested, or impeded, the trend of trade unionism towards political and party affiliation. It would have confined the powers of trade unions to distinctively trade purposes, or, at any rate, to political action directly limited to the benefit of the several trades. The actual decision, declaring the affiliation and application of funds to be not *ultra vires*, leaves trade unionism at liberty to combine with, and financially to support, any political party it chooses."

Mr. Justice Neville gave his dictum thus: "Given the right to spend trade union money on representation in the House of Commons, how it was spent is a question of policy with which the Court would not concern itself."

International Aspect

According to the returns of the General Federation of Trade Unions issued June, 1908, the number of Trade Union members in industry, trade, communication, and agriculture in the countries enumerated are—

Trade Union Members.

Country.	In Industry, Trade, and Communication.				In Agriculture.				Together.		
	Men.	Women.	Together.	Percentage of Workers.	Men.	Women.	Together.	Percentage of Workers.	Men.	Women.	Together.
Great Britain ..	1,956,283	150,000	2,106,283	33·97	—	—	—	—	1,956,283	150,000	2,106,283
The Netherlands	124,195	4,450	128,645	26·79	200	—	200	0·07	124,295	4,450	128,745
Belgium	152,656	5,460	158,116	?	?	?	?	?	152,656	5,460	158,116
Denmark	89,518	7,842	97,360	51·92	1,072	?	1,072	0·63	90,590	7,842	98,432
Sweden	180,030	13,047	193,077	38·77	7,285	562	7,847	0·91	187,315	13,609	200,924
Norway	24,329	1,010	25,339	6·51	—	—	—	—	24,329	1,010	25,339
Germany	2,074,611	140,554	2,215,165	?	—	—	—	—	2,074,611	140,554	2,215,165
Austria	403,780	41,838	445,618	18·05	2,300	352	2,652	·0·13	406,080	42,190	448,270
Hungary	123,829	5,593	129,332	28·56	*d*24,000	—	24,000	1·38	147,829	5,593	153,332
Servia	4,800	? 550	5,350	?	—	—	—	—	4,800	? 550	5,350
Bulgaria	5,000	—	5,000	?	—	—	—	—	5,000	—	5,000
Italy	200,373	1,752	202,125	6·46	71,629	—	71,629	1·54	272,002	1,752	273,754
Spain	30,914	—	30,914	?	1,491	—	1,491	?	32,405	—	32,405
	5,370,318	372,006	5,742,324	—	107,977	914	108,891	—	5,478,295	372,920	5,851,215

d. In this instance separate figures are not available.

In the countries given below analyses are not available—

	Total trade union members.
*France	896,012
Russia	246,272
Switzerland	57,300
United States	1,970,700
Australia	100,626
New Zealand	27,714
	3,299,604
Listed above	5,851,215
Total strength of International Trade Union movement ..	9,150,819

French Unions.

*According to M. Metin (*Chef Adjoint au Cabinet du Ministere du Travail*) there were in France, on January 1st, 1907, 5322 unions of workmen, with 896,012 members, of whom 79,260 were women; also 187 federations of unions, grouping 3675 unions and 752,362 members; and 131 labour exchanges, comprising 2586 unions of workmen with 455,790 members.

These figures showed that in twelve months the total number of Trade Unions had increased by 1130, and their membership by 149,240; the Labour Exchanges had added six to their number, while 105 more syndicats and 33,454 more members had been added to the total already affiliated to these exchanges.

The two sections of French Trade Unionism, the "reds" on the one hand and the "yellow" and Catholic on the other, lead existences entirely separate. The "red" Trade Unions are the most active and numerous, and are closest in resemblance to the Trade Unions of England. The "yellow" unions or syndicats are made up of "scabs," this appellation being applied in France to all those organizations which work in accordance with the will of the employers. They are not very numerous.

Among the societies which are not "red," there are also the Catholic syndicats, which are fairly numerous in certain regions. These associations are in general mixed bodies, in the direction of which the employers take a part, either directly or through the intermediary of the clergy.

In practice, the relations existing between the workers' organizations and the public powers in France are displayed in the following manner:—

At the Ministry of Labour there has been instituted the Upper Council of Labour, which is composed of representatives elected by the workers' societies and of delegates chosen by the employers, each of the two groups being composed of twenty-seven persons; five deputies are sent by the Chamber of Deputies, and three senators from the Senate. This Council, which is presided over by the Minister, passes resolutions and examines propositions relating to legislation for the working classes.

In Parliament there does not exist in France any Labour Party, properly called, as distinct from the Socialist Party. The majority of the working men representatives are divided between the two Socialist groups—the united or independent.

The principal parliamentary measures of interest to the working classes have been: The institution in October, 1906, of the Ministry for Labour and Social Reform (*prévoyance*); the reduction to nine hours of the Working-day in Mines; that for an extension of the powers of the ten-hour day enactment in general industries; the Approval of the Berne International Agreement, which forbids night work for women in the greater part of the States of Europe; the Suppression of the use of White Lead in Paints. Also, may be included, a system of old-age pensions, which are to be

obtained by levying two per cent. on the wages of the workmen, collecting a similar amount from the employers, with the addition of a bonus to be granted by the State, making a total pension, in normal times, of 360 francs (£16 4 *s.*) per annum.

International Agreements

The question of International Agreements on labour legislation was the topic of one of the discussions of the British Association at their annual Conference in September, 1908, at Dublin. The opener was Professor E. Francke. He said that the question how to effect by means of international conventions a uniform adjustment of the laws and regulations that are intended to serve for the protection of life, health, and morality of industrial workpeople is as old as the laws themselves for the protection of the working-classes. England was the country of origin of both. In the spring of 1890 the delegates of thirteen European countries—amongst them Germany, Great Britain, France, Austria, and Italy—met together at Berlin in order to consider conditions of labour. In August, 1897, a Workmen's Congress, held at Zurich, which was attended by representatives of a great number of countries, and another congress at Brussels in October of the same year, demanded the establishment of an international office for the protection of workpeople. This resulted in a representative gathering from many countries in 1900 at Paris in order to found the International Association for Labour Legislation (*q.v.*) for the legislative protection of workpeople. The seat of this Association is Basle, twelve countries as sections adhere to it—Switzerland, Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Spain, and the United States of America. Every two years the delegates of the Governments and sections meet for the purpose of discussing labour questions—the latest taking place at Lucerne, September 27th to 30th, 1908, the subjects for discussion being prohibition of nightwork for youths; children's work and protection of children; regulation of home-industry; introduction of measures against dangers from the use of poisons (lead); international accident insurance; maximum length of workdays. On all these the aim is to procure the conclusion of new international treaties.

It will be seen, therefore, that industrial and trade-union questions have gathered added importance of late in the estimation of men of science, not only in their general economic aspect, but in regard to the workings of trade unionism in many industries. Several questions of outstanding interest in addition to that already referred to were brought forward.

Fair House

This term prevails in the printing trade to indicate a firm who employ Union men and pay "fair wages." In a case before Justice Grantham, which occupied three days in the hearing, and in which a firm of printers sued thirty-five men for leaving employment without notice, the case was decided in favour of the masters. The case hinged around a "fair house" dispute, the firm in question (Hammond & Co., London and Birmingham) employing both union and non-union men. It was contended by Hammond & Co. that the Compositors Union had endeavoured to coerce them into employing only union men and that the leaving of the men was part of the plan. Being unable, under the Trade Disputes Act of 1906, to obtain redress from the Union, they took action against the men individually and won, damages to the amount of £600 being awarded. One of the points of objection of Hammond & Co. was the rate of overtime. This they alleged was unfair to customers, and in support of their case included the following table (which is reproduced without comment) in a pamphlet, "Trade Unionism," which they issued to give their views on the question:—

"For overtime after 6.30 p.m. the Trade Union arrangements are as follows: for "half a night," that is, from six-thirty till twelve, we are required to pay 7*s.* 3*d.* which was got at in the following manner. From six-thirty till twelve is only 5½ hours, but the Trades Union do not recognize half-hours, so the 5½ hours have to be paid for as six full hours. From six-thirty till seven, however, the workman is required to have time for tea before starting on his overtime, which reduces the time to five hours, the man being entitled under the Union regulations to claim payment for the half-hour as work done while he was taking his meal. From ten till ten-thirty he was to have another half an hour allowed to him for supper as work done, and to be paid for, so that for the half night's overtime, there was 4½ hours net work for 7*s.* 3*d.*, which equals about one shilling and sevenpence halfpenny per hour. Assuming that the mail trains for certain publications required the men to work till either one a.m., this exceeded the half-night, when we had no alternative very often but to pay for the full night through owing to this single hour's extra work, and the price demanded for the full night was sixteen shillings and fourpence. Assuming the workman was only required till one a.m., which was often the case, we then got only 5½ hours' work for this 16*s.* 4*d.* The same 5½ hours' work, if done in the day time is worth 4*s.* 1*d.*, but on overtime, 16*s.* 4*d.*

A summary, therefore, of Trade Union charges for one hour's work, worked at different times of the twenty-four hours, shows—

	per hour. *s.*	*d.*
For work between eight a.m. and six-thirty	0	9
For work between six-thirty p.m. and twelve midnight	1	7½
For 5½ hours, six-thirty p.m. till one a.m., costing 16*s.* 4*d.*	3	0
If the Trade Union charge is 16*s.* 4*d.* till one a.m. and 7*s.* 3*d.* only till midnight, the one hour twelve till one a.m. costs ..	9	1
But as 4½ hours' day work at 9*d.* costs only 3*s.* 4½*d.* as against the 16*s.* 4*d.* for 5½ hours' night work, the difference is for the one hour	12	11½

The Trade Union retort is, of course, that the firm can employ the man for the whole night if they choose, or that they should employ more men and so, by obviating overtime, get their work done at the lowest "fair" rate.

Practical Questions

Sir Christopher Furness's offer, made in October, 1908, and referred to under PROFIT SHARING (lxvii), provoked much comment. The first alternative proposed that Trade Unions should acquire and run two of the shipbuilding works in which he was interested. Had the offer been accepted it would have formed a practical experiment of undoubted value, which would have been watched with much interest. Indeed, there are not wanting those who maintain that Trade Union Congresses might profitably consider the practical and administrative sides of industrialism, or, to use the words of one writer, "the craft side of their demands." This particular essayist continues his argument into other relevant issues. Thus he submits as legitimate questions:—

"They have in the past made clear their political necessities; let us now know what, in their view, are the best modes of efficient production. Ought the nation to continue the factory system or to return to the small workshops; are we getting the best work out of ourselves by our open market, or should we adopt measures of protection; is the unlimited use of machinery good for industry as distinct from capital; ought prices to be fixed or subject to incalculable fluctuation; should workshop control be in the hands of commercial travellers or of master workmen? These are the real problems of industrialism, and, problems, too, which no mere socialist can solve. For their solution the nation will have to depend upon the experience of Trade Unionists."

The general history and progress of Trade Unions are detailed on pp. 1224 to 1236, included in which is the position of trade unionism throughout the world.

PRINCIPAL TRADE UNIONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Compiled from particulars furnished, September and October, 1908.

Where statistical information is not given, such had not been furnished before closing for press.

Name of Society.	Number of Members.	Accumulated Funds.	Name and Address of Secretary.
		£	
Actors' Union	793		K. Blackmore, 49, Bedford Street, Strand, London, W.C.
Anchorsmiths, Amalgamated Society			T. Sitch, Unity Villa, Sydney Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs.
Assurance Agents, National Association of Prudential	2,500	600	D. Jones, 76, Tempest Road, Beeston Hill, Leeds.
Assurance Agents, National Union of Life	2,910	935	D. Sheard, 132, Great Ancoats Street, Manchester.
Bakers and Confectioners, Amalgamated Union of Operative	5,137	5,472	J. Jenkins, 16, Paddenswick Road, Hammersmith, London, W.
Barge Builders' Trade Union			T. Challis, 5, Chandos Terrace, Eastcombe Avenue, Charlton, London, S.E.
Beamers, Twisters and Drawers, Amalgamated Society	5,160	22,831	W. C. Robinson, 12, Benfield Street, Heywood, Manchester.
Bedstead Workmen's Association	2,100		W. Mills, 17, Stafford Street, Birmingham.
Blastfurnacemen, National Federation	10,000	8,600	Alderman P. Walls, Moss Bay, Workington.
Bleachers, Dyers and Kindred Trades' National Federation	23,341	10,243	A. Heaton, City Road, Bradford.
Bleachers, Dyers, etc., Association (Bolton)	7,800		A. Smalley, 19, Wood Street, Bolton.
Block Roller and Stamp Cutters, Amalgamated			J. Nuttall, 29, York Street, Broughton, Manchester.
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	54,460	302,103	D. C. Cummings, Lifton House, Eslington Road, Newcastle.
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers' Consolidated Union	4,500	10,000	J. Kelly, 9, Independent Buildings, Fargate, Sheffield.
Bookbinders, London Consolidated Society of Journeymen	1,245	2,650	W. Coffey, 1, Gough Square, London, E.C.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union	25,708	93,000	W. B. Hornidge, J.P., Trades Hall, St. James Street, Leicester.
Bottle Makers' Society, National Glass	835	5,045	W. Milnes, 89, Fitzwilliam Road, Rotherham.
Brass Founders' and Coppersmiths' Union	6,500		T. Jeffers, J.P., 2, Moss Street, Liverpool.
Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics, National Amalgamated Society	8,034	18,000	W. J. Davis, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.
Bricklayers', Operative, Society	32,830	104,257	J. Batchelor, 46, Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.
Britannia Metal Workers' Association, Birmingham	62	265	G. Priestley, 8, Knowle Road, Sparkbrook, Birmingham.
Brush Makers' United Society	1,350		S. G. Porter, 49, Shrubland Road, London, N.E.
Builders' Labourers' United Union	4,000	5,550	D. Haggerty, 195, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.
Cabinet Makers, Amalgamated Union	3,093	9,586	F. Smith, 43, Empress Road, Kensington, Liverpool.
Cabinet Makers' Association, Perseverance	112	1,051	M. Hendricks, 50, Protheroe Road, Fulham, London, S.W.
Cab Drivers' Union (London)	3,468	1,689	F. Hill, 21, Flaxman Road, Loughboro' Junction, London, S.E.
Calender Workers Protection Association, Dundee and District			J. Cunningham, 39, High Street, Dundee.
Card and Blowing, etc., Operatives Association (Bolton District)	8,100	11,000	J. Edge, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Society	38,000	150,000	W. Mullins, 2A, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester.
Card and Blowing Room (Oldham)	14,250		M. Conolloy, 108, Union Street, Oldham.
Card Setting Machine Tenters' Society	221	1,300	T. Forrest, 227, Two Trees Lane, Denton, Manchester.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society	58,000	112,000	F. Chandler, J.P., 95, Brunswick Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester.
Carpenters and Joiners, General Union of Operative	6,000	9,500	W. Matkin, J.P., 65, Kennington Oval, London, S.E.
Carmen's Trade Union (London)	6,051	3,598	S. March, 54, Minories, London, E.C.
Carters' United Association (England)	1,000		A. Astles, 32, Grosvenor Street, Downing Street, Manchester.
Carters' and Lurrymen's Amalgamated Union	3,502		J. Parr, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Chain Makers' and Strikers' Association			T. Sitch, Unity Villa, Sydney Road, Cradley Heath, Staffs.
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association	1,817	1,532	B. Cooper, 60, Exmouth Street, Stepney, London, E.
Clothiers' Operatives, Amalgamated Union of	3,000	2,480	J. Young, 32, Cobden Place, Leeds.
Coachmakers, United Kingdom, Society of	9,490	24,917	C. Kinggate, 118, Portland Street, Manchester.

PRINCIPAL TRADE UNIONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—*continued.*

Name of Society.	Number of Members.	Accumulated Funds.	Name and Address of Secretary.
		£	
Cokemen's and Labourers' Association (Durham)	3,898	7,000	J. Ogg, 12, The Avenue, Durham.
Colliery Enginemen's and Boiler Minders' Association (Durham County)	2,703	15,692	W. B. Charlton, 20, Western Hill, Durham.
Colliery Enginemen, etc., Association (Monmouth and South Wales)	8,200	15,100	W. Woosnam, 105, Berw Road, Pontypridd.
Colliery Mechanics' Association (Durham)	4,280	15,362	J. W. Taylor, The Avenue, Durham.
Compositors' Society (London)	12,250	63,000	T. E. Naylor, 7-9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.
Co-operative Employés, Amalgamated Union	24,000	31,000	A. Hewitt, Co-operative News Building, Long Millgate, Manchester.
Coopers of Great Britain, Association	5,000		J. Connell, 32, Govan Street, Glasgow.
Cotton Spinners, Amalgamated Association of Operative	22,794	550,000	W. Marsland, J.P., 3, Blossom Street, Manchester.
Decorators' Society, Ornamental			F. Brown, 20, Southampton Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W.
Dock Labourers, National Union (U.K.)	12,000		J. Sexton, 14, Hanover Street, Liverpool.
Dock, Wharf, etc., General Workers' Union (Great Britain and Ireland)	13,202	9,269	B. Tillett, 425, Mile End Road, London, E.
Drillers, London and District			J. Ronan, 1, George Street, Grange Road, Plaistow, London, E.
Dyers and Finishers, National Society	3,069	7,250	A. Heaton, Dyers' Institute, City Road, Bradford.
Dyers, Bleachers and Sizers, Radcliffe and District Cotton Skein			T. Ashworth, 11, James Street, Radcliffe, Lancs.
Edinburgh and Leith Carters' and General Workers' Union			W. Queen, 10, Alderbank Terrace, Edinburgh.
Elastic Weavers Society (Leicester and District)	310	879	J. Hordern, Queen's Hotel, Rutland Street, Leicester.
Electrical Trades Union	1,700	1,550	J. Rowan, 26, Cannon Street, Manchester.
Engine Drivers, Crane Drivers, etc., Amalgamated Protective Union	620	420	G. Grisley, 203, Barking Road, Canning Town, London, E.
Engineers, Amalgamated Society	109,864	751,217	Wm. Cooper, 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E.
Engineers, Hull Steam Trawlers, Society			E. Rudd, 65, Westdock Avenue, Hull.
Enginemen, Cranemen, Boilermen, etc., National Amalgamated	3,633	4,774	J. Baker, 18, Parliament Street, Stockton-on-Tees.
Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics, etc., National Amalgamated Union	5,500	11,030	G. Parker, 39, High Street, Rotherham.
Enginemen's Protection Association, National Federation	8,590		C. Hearse, 19, Mendip View, Radstock, Bath.
Farriers, Amalgamated Society	2,460	2,704	W. H. Briggs, 232, Bury New Road, Manchester.
Fawcett Association	5,059	1,567	W. B. Cheesman, 55, Doughty Street, London, W.C.
File Cutters (Sheffield)			A. S. Mappin, 96, Springvale Road, Sheffield.
Flaxdressers' Trade Union (Belfast)	1,000	1,734	R. Gageby, Engineers' Hall, Belfast.
Floorcloth and Linoleum Printers' Union (Scottish)	145	2,151	H. Brown, 54, Meldrum Road, Kirkcaldy, N.B.
Floorcloth. Linoleum, etc., Printers' Union (Great Britain)	45	305	A. Smith, 3, Garden Street, Hooley Hill, Manchester.
French Polishers, Amalgamated Society	900		A. A. Purcell, 142, Great Clowes Street, Broughton, Manchester.
French Polishers' London Society, United	1,050		E. J. Rudd, 42, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.
Furnishing Trades' Association, National Amalgamated	7,007	10,719	A. Gossip, Moorgate Chambers, 72, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.
Gasworkers, Brickmakers, etc., Amalgamated Society (Birmingham)	4,178	4,775	H. Simpson, 34, Ruskin Buildings, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
Gasworkers and General Labourers, National Union	34,000		W. Thorne, M.P., 172, Pentonville Road, King's Cross, London, N.
Glass Blowers, London Society of			G. Rose, 2, Tavistock Street, Sale Street, Bethnal Green, London, E.
Glass Bottle Makers' Society, United Trades Protection (Yorks.)	2,800	34,749	A. Greenwood, 2, Wesley Street, Castleford.
Glass Makers, Flint, Society (National)	988	5,306	J. Husselbee, 14, Fenton Street, Brierley Hill, Staffs.
Grinders, Machine, Engine and Iron			J. Asquith, 76, Smith Street, Rochdale.
Grinders, Machine, Engine and Iron (Glasgow)			J. McGregor, 383, Cathcart Road, Glasgow.
Hammermen (London and Provincial)			R. Nicholls, 239, New Cross Road, London, S.E.
Hatters, Felt, Amalgamated Society of Journeymen	3,789	13,468	T. Mallalieu, 113, Manchester Road, Denton, Manchester.
Hat Trimmers' and Stitchers' Union, Silk (Denton)	142	1,018	J. Cheetham, 8, Pitt Street, Hooley Hill, Denton, Manchester.
Hat Trimmers' and Wool Formers' Association, Amalgamated Felt	3,170	3,017	T. Mallalieu, 113, Manchester Road, Denton, Manchester.
Holloware Buffers, Trade Protection Society			C. Yates, 124, Rushdale Road, Sheffield.
Holloware, Galvanized, Sheet Metal Workers' and Braziers Association	382	430	S. Webb, 38, Tividale Street, Dudley Port, Tipton, Staffs.

Holloware Stampers, Trade Protection Society			J. Ansell, 71, Powell Street, Sheffield.
Hosiery Federation, National	2,144	3,500	J. Holmes, Exchange Buildings, Leicester.
Iron and Steel Workers, Associated (Great Britain)	7,000	20,000	J. Cox, 6 Mount Pleasant, Darlington.
Ironfounders, Friendly Society, of England, Ireland, and Wales	19,501	94,649	J. Maddison, 164, Chorlton Road, Brooks's Bar, Manchester.
Ironfounders' Trade Union (Welsh)	535	1,874	J. Richards, Derwent House, Vardre Road, Clydach, Swansea.
Ironmoulders, Associated (Scotland)	8,127	91,176	J. M. Jack, 221, West George Street, Glasgow.
Ironmoulders, Central Association of Scotland	4,850	32,159	H. Murdoch, 42, Newmarket Street, Falkirk, N.B.
Iron, Steel and Brass Dressers of Scotland			R. R. McFayden, 25, The Candleriggs, Glasgow.
Jute and Flax Workers' Union, Dundee and District	3,569	1,629	N. Marra, 68, Nethergate, Dundee.
Labour Amalgamation, British	1,879		T. Fox, 5, Repton Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.
Labourers, Amalgamated Union, General	2,292	2,462	T. Coffey, 45, Aybrook Street, Marylebone, London, W.
Labourers, Heywood and District General	130	639	J. Coupe, 102, Schofield Street, Heywood, Manchester.
Labourers' Union of Great Britain	3,226		H. W. Williams, 29, Rutland Street, Swansea.
Labour, National Amalgamated Union of	24,000	10,000	R. Spence, 4, Higham Place, Newcastle.
Labour Protection League	3,500	3,500	A. Harris, 96, Neptune Street, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.
Lace Makers, Amalgamated Society of Operative	3,000	33,000	C. Wardle, Pembridge Place, Mount Street, Nottingham.
Lace Makers (Long Eaton and District)			S. Truman, Oakley's Road, Long Eaton, Nottingham.
Lace Pattern Readers, etc., Amalgamated Society	50		H. Bartlett, 21, Great Freeman Street, Nottingham.
Lace Workers, Auxiliary Society of Male	600	441	G. Simpson, 75, Bramcote Street, Radford, Nottingham.
Leather Trades' Federation (Midland)			G. Power, 4, Countess Street, Walsall.
Leather Workers, Amalgamated Society	800		E. J. Lapping, 9, Moorland Place, Hyde Park Road, Leeds.
Leather Workers Trade Society, Fancy	362	744	A. Davis, "Sessions House" Hotel, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.
Litho Artists, Designers, Engravers, etc., Amalgamated Society	1,567	8,000	R. Barnes, J.P., Phœnix Buildings, 20, Cooper Street, Manchester.
Litho Printers, Amalgamated Society	4,500	15,000	G. D. Kelley, M.P., 312, Deansgate, Manchester.
Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Associated Society	19,503	155,839	A. Fox, 8 Park Square, Leeds.
Loom Overlookers, General Union of Associations of	6,500	35,000	J. E. Tattersall, "Belvedere," Carill Avenue, Moston, Manchester.
Machine Workers' Association, United	5,602	15,617	M. Arrandale, J.P., 48, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.
Masons, Paviors and Stone Dressers' United Operative Society	900	1,450	W. Crew, 30, David Street, Liverpool.
Metal Trades' Federation of Great Britain	60,000		C. Hobson, 3, Alpine Road, Sheffield.
Metal Wire and Tube Workers, National Society of Amalgamated	1,296	4,500	W. J. Davies, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.
Midland Counties Trades' Federation	1,600	3,000	J. Taylor, 63, Vicar Street, Dudley.
Mill and Factory Operatives' Union (Brechin)	1,197		G. Napier, 5, Oswald Buildings, 16, Damacre Road, Brechin, N.B.
Miners' and Quarrymen's Association (Cleveland)	9,165	16,343	George B. Hobbs, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea.
Miners' Association (Bristol)	2,600		W. Whitfield, St. George's, Bristol.
Miners' Association (Clackmannan)	1,183	4,000	J. Cook, 2, Graycraigs Cottages, Sauchie, by Alloa, N.B.
Miners' Association (Cumberland)	5,000		A. Sharp, J.P., 77, Senhouse Street, Maryport.
Miners' Association (Derbyshire)	36,087	249,599	J. Haslam, M.P., Miners' Offices, Salter Gate, Chesterfield.
Miners' Association (Durham)	104,000	441,325	J. Wilson, M.P., 14, North Road, Durham.
Miners' Association (Fife and Kinross)	16,000	54,000	J. Weir, Victoria Street, Dunfermline, N.B.
Miners' Association (Forest of Dean)	2,000		R. Buffany, St. John's, Cinderford, Gloucester.
Miners' Association (Mid and East Lothian)	6,750	13,212	R. Brown, Miners' Offices, Dalkeith, N.B.
Miners' Association (Nottinghamshire)	30,323	186,679	J. G. Hancock, Miners' Offices, Nottingham Road, New Basford.
Miners' Association (Somerset)	3,254		S. H. Whitehouse, Radstock, near Bath.
Miners' Association and Relief Society (Warwickshire)	8,000	40,000	W. Johnson, M.P., J.P., Miners' Offices, Bedworth, Nuneaton.
Miners' Association (Yorkshire)	82,000	270,000	J. Wadsworth, M.P., J.P., 2, Huddersfield Road, Barnsley, Yorks.
Miners' County Union (Lanarkshire)	33,000	82,000	D. Gilmour, Cadzow Street, Hamilton, N.B.
Miners' Federal Union (Ayrshire)	9,100	8,500	James Brown, 56, Annbank, by Ayr, N.B.
Miners' Federation (Great Britain)	350,000	27,208	T. Ashton, 925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester.
Miners' Federation (Lancashire and Cheshire)	55,000	45,000	T. Ashton, 925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester.
Miners' Federation (North Staffordshire)	16,000	34,175	E. Edwards, Miners' Offices, Burslem.
Miners' Federation (South Wales)	135,765	194,334	T. Richards, M.P., Ty Cendl, Beaufort, Monmouthshire.
Miners' Mutual Confident Association (Northumberland)	33,502	142,814	W. Straker, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

PRINCIPAL TRADE UNIONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—*continued.*

Name of Society.	Number of Members.	Accumulated Funds.	Name and Address of Secretary.
		£	
Moulders' Union, Amalgamated	1,276	3,554	S. Howard, 148, Roundthorn Road. Oldham.
Municipal Employees' Association	11,842	4,691	R. Davies, 22, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London, W.C.
Musicians' Union, Amalgamated	4,000	1,000	J. B. Williams, 135, Moss Lane East, Manchester.
Navvies', Builders' Labourers' and General Labour Union	1 000		J. Ward, M.P., 126, Elmsleigh Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W.
Ovenmen's Society, United			T. Edwards, 351, Sncya Green, Nr. Birmingham.
Painters and Decorators, National Amalgamated Society of House and Ship	17,712	23,063	G. M. Sunley, J.P., 4, Camp Street, Lower Broughton, Manchester.
Painters, Scottish Amalgamated Society of House and Ship	3,025	4,103	A. Gardner, 109, Hope Street, Glasgow.
Paper Stainers' Union of General Workers	300	1,328	W. Atkinson, Peel Baths, Church Street, Darwen.
Pattern Makers, United Kingdom, Association	6,405	56,000	W. Mosses, 32, Street Lane, Roundhay, Leeds.
Pipe Makers Association of England, Tobacco	112	337	T. Payne, 16, Alexandra Road, Victoria Avenue, Hr. Blackley, Manchester.
Plasterers, Operative, National Association	7,388	24,268	T. Otley, 37, Albert Street, London, N.W.
Plate, Spoon and Fork Filers, British			W. Kean, 21, Boyce Street, Upperthorpe, Sheffield.
Plumbers, United Operative, Association (Great Britain and Ireland)	11,475	26,671	E. E. Burns, 181, Clapham Road, London, S.W.
Postal Clerks' Association (United Kingdom)	6,057		E. Lea, 138, Heaton Moor Road, Heaton Moor, Stockport.
Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association	8,749		W. Johnson, Pearl Assurance Buildings, Liverpool.
Postmen's Association (London Central)	912		J. Frampton, 29, Frome Street, Islington, London, N.
Postmen's Federation	34,255		A. Maclaren, 125, Howard Street, Glasgow.
Pottery Engravers' Trade Union			T. Eartwright, 203, Leek Road, Burslem.
Pottery Workers, Male and Female National Amalgamated Society	8,500	6,200	J. Lovatt, Pottery Workers' Offices, Hill Street, Hanley.
Power Loom Carpet Weavers Mutual Defence and Provident Association	900	10,641	G. H. Rawkins, 105, Mill Street, Kidderminster.
Power Loom Overlookers' Amalgamated Association (Blackburn)	3,200		R. B. Dodgson, 160, Cedar Street, Blackburn.
Power Loom Weavers' Association (Accrington and District)	4,800	10,000	J. R. Emmett, 163, Wellington Street, Accrington.
Printers' Assistants, Operative	3,000		E. Smith, 26, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.
Printers' Society, Scottish Block (Barrhead District)	21	190	W. Smith, Muir Park View, Beith, N.B.
Printers' Trade Society, South of England Block			F. Randall, Pincot Road, Bexley Heath, Kent.
Printers' Warehousemen and Cutters	3,600	3,748	A. Evans, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.
Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society (London)	2,450	11,045	H. W. Howes, "Printers' Hall," 45, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.
Quarrymen, National Union of	1,000		U. Lovett, Highbury, Mountsorrel, Loughborough.
Quarrymen's Association, Cumberland Limestone	280	463	W. Cowen, 45, Irish Street, Whitehaven.
Quarrymen's Trade Association (Newcastle-on-Tyne)	356	1,101	T. B. Webster, Memorial Hall, Rutherford Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Quarrymen's Union (North Wales)	2,210		D. R. Daniel, Four Crosses, Chwilog, North Wales
Railway Clerks' Association	10,000		A. G. Walkden, 337, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.
Railway Servants, Amalgamated Society	97,561	397,168	R. Bell, M.P., 72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.
Railway Wagon and Carriage Builders' and Lifters' Association			A. C. James, 34, Glenroy Street, Roath, Cardiff.
Railway Workers' Union, General	7,506	6,200	T. Lowth, 27, Green Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester.
Roller Makers, Operative, Society			A. J. Wilson, 29, Egerton Street, Moses Gate, Bolton.
Saddlers, Harness and Collar Makers' Union	696	3,589	G. Ollier, 32, Greenhill Road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.
Seamen and Firemen's Union	8,000		J. H. Wilson, M.P., Maritime Hall, Poplar, London, E.
Seamen and Marine Firemen (Hull)			J. B. Butcher, 44, Mytongate, Hull.
Salt, Alkali Workers' Federation	1,629	2,626	W. Gillett, 370, Station Road, Winsford.
Scientific Instrument Makers	1,000		J. W. Clark, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.
Sheep Shear Makers', Grinders', Finishers' and Benders' Union	78	190	J. Tyas, 22, Carlby Road, Sheffield.
Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association	21,000	115,000	A. Wilkie, J.P., M.P., Wilkie Chambers, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Shipwrights' Provident Union (London)			W. J. Gibson, 33, Dixon Street, Limehouse, London, E.
Shop Assistants, etc., National Amalgamated Union	20,218	21,274	J. Macpherson, 122, Gower Street, London, W.C.

Shuttlemakers, Amalgamated Society			D. Isherwood, Nile Cottage, Greaves Street, Blackburn.
Silver and Electro Plate Finishers' Society, Sheffield	130		O. A. Binney, Congregational School, Furnival Street, Sheffield.
Silversmiths' Trade Protection Society (Sheffield)	552		W. Bagshaw, 8, Times Buildings, Bow Street, Sheffield.
Slaters' and Tilers' Provident Society, Amalgamated	982	1,426	R. Wilson, 19, Oswald Terrace, Gateshead.
Smiths and Hammermen, National United Society	1,302	1,415	R. Nickols, 239, New Cross Road, London, S.E.
Smiths and Strikers, United Kingdom Society	3,900	5,600	G. Ashcroft, 21, Manor Street, Ardwick, Manchester.
Spinners and Piecers, Provincial Association	5,500		A. H. Gill, M.P., 61, Hampden Street, Bolton.
Spinners, Oldham Operative Cotton			T. Ashton, M.P., 39, Belmont Street, Oldham.
Steam Engine Makers' Society	12,000	85,000	W. F. Dawtry, Market Buildings, Thomas Street, Manchester.
Steel and Iron Workers, Amalgamated Society (Great Britain)	6,120	22,000	J. Gavin, 90, Mitchell Street, Glasgow.
Steel Smelters, etc., Association, British	15,000	76,154	J. Hodge, M.P., Ormond Mansions, Great Ormond Street, Holborn, London, W.C.
Steelworkers, Engineering and Labour League			G. Beadle, Horwell House, Harrogate, Darlington.
Steel Workers, National Association	1,344		G. Beadle, Horwell House, Harrogate, Darlington.
Stevedores' Labour Protection League, Amalgamated	3,379	7,802	J. Anderson, Maritime Hall, Poplar, London, E.
Stonemasons, Operative, Friendly Society (Great Britain)	17,000		W. Hancock, 27, John Street, Bedford Row, London, W.C.
Stove Grate Workers, National Union	1,000	8,076	W. Knowles, Effingham Street, Rotherham.
Tailors and Tailoresses, Amalgamated Society	14,185	8,001	T. A. Flynn, 415, Oxford Road, Manchester.
Tailors', Machinists', Pressers' Trade Union, Amalgamated, Jewish	960	498	M. Sclare, 6, Gower Street, Leeds.
Telephone Operators, National Association	1,000		Miss E. Glen, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.
Textile Operatives' Union (Burnley)	503	680	A. Eastwood, St. James' Hall, Burnley.
Textile Operatives', Society of Ireland	2,964	904	Miss M. Galway, Avenue Hall, Garfield Street, Belfast.
Textile Workers' Union and Friendly Benefit Society (Newmilns)			J. Young, Textile Workers' Union, Newmilns.
Theatrical Employees' National Association	1,598	1,129	W. Johnson, 23, Wellington Street, Strand, London, W.C.
Tin and Iron Plate Sheet Metal, etc., National Amalgamated	7,000	32,000	J. C. Gordon, 41, Clapham Road, London, S.W.
Tin and Sheet Mill Men's Association	2,250	5,400	I. H. Gwynne, 6, Belle Vue Street, Swansea.
Toolmakers, Engineers and Machinists, Amalgamated Society	3,710	14,000	W. F. Beston, 38, John Bright Street, Birmingham.
Toolmakers' Trade Protection Society, Amalgamated Edge	300	2,000	L. E. Thomas, 9, Chattaway Street, Nechells, Birmingham.
Tramway and Vehicle Workers, Amalgamated Association	14,000	23,500	G. T. Jackson, J.P., 5, Leaf Square, Pendleton, Manchester.
Trimming Weavers' Association (Congleton)	84	212	J. Ashby, 17, Willow Street, Congleton.
Trunk and Packing-Case Makers' Society of Scotland	146	539	H. Mullen, 135, Parson Street, Townhead, Glasgow.
Typographical Association	19,733	58,568	H. Skinner, 44, Roberts Avenue, Moss Side, Manchester.
Typographical Association (Scottish)	4,560	15,800	J. Templeton, Baltic Chambers, 50, Wellington Street, Glasgow.
Typographical Society (Ireland)	1,200	4,000	T. Collins, 33, Denmark Street, Dublin.
Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union	2,000		Lewis Leckie, 45, Lawford Road, Kentish Town, London, N.W.
Variety Artists' Federation	4,000	3,000	M. Bayly, 28, Wellington Street, Strand, London, W.C.
Watermen and Lightermen, Amalgamated Society of	3,000		H. Gosling, L.C.C., 29, Trinity Square, London, E.C.
Watermen and Porters, Upper Mersey Association			E. Gatley, Union Buildings, High Street, Tap Docks, Runcorn.
Weavers' Amalgamated Association (Northern Counties)	105,000		J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, Accrington.
Weavers and Textile Workers (Yorkshire)	4,100	3,218	A. Gee, 13, Quarmby Road, Cliffe End, Huddersfield.
Weavers' Association (Nelson and District)	10,400		W. Ward, 112, Railway Street, Nelson.
Weavers', Power Loom, Protection Society (Blackburn)	3,600		R. B. Dodgson, 1-3, Princes Street, Blackburn.
Weavers, Winders, etc. (Blackburn District)	14,500		Dr. Gouldsbrough, 2, Eastwood Street, Blackburn.
Weavers, Winders (Bolton District)	2,500		W. Melling, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Weavers, Winders, etc. (Clitheroe)	2,000		A. H. Cottam, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Clitheroe.
Weavers, Winders, etc., Association (Darwen)	8,300		J. Partington, 21, Victoria Street, Darwen.
Wire Drawers of Great Britain, Amalgamated	2,000		J. Bramwell, 321, Gleadless Road, Heeley, Sheffield.
Women Workers' National Federation	2,800		Miss L. Hedges, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.
Woodcutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society	4,685	8,423	T. Park, 33, Plymouth Avenue, Manchester.
Wood Turners, Sawyers, etc., Amalgamated Society			T. Greenwood, 765, Burnley Road, Cornholm.
Wool Sorters, National Union	1,000	3,398	T. Grundy, Albert Buildings, Bradford.

TRADE UNION LEAGUE, WOMEN'S: Founded in 1874. Objects: (1) The organization of women into Trade Unions. (2) The advancement of legislation for the amelioration of the general working conditions of women. (3) The institution of a legal minimum wage. (4) To help in the administration of existing laws for the protection of women's labour. Official organ, *The Women's Trade Union Review*, quarterly, 6*d*. President, Miss Gertrude Tuckwell. *Secretary:* Miss Mary R. MacArthur, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.

TRAMWAYS, ELECTRIC: No other branch, perhaps, of municipal enterprise has made such rapid progress during the last decade as tramway electrification. Birmingham was the first city to obtain general powers to lay tramways (1861), and Huddersfield the first to obtain Parliamentary sanction to work them on their own account. Glasgow is often quoted as being a model of municipal tramway running and administration. That this traffic is profitable may be gathered from the fact that in 1906 a total of £240,041 was paid over to relieve the rates, and this sum is substantially increasing each year.

In London (*see* LONDON) the conduit system prevails, but in the provinces, except in the few cases where the stud system is installed, the municipalities have, in by far the greater majority of cases, adopted the overhead system.

In Glasgow the municipality own the power plant as well as the track and stock. The trams have always been municipally owned. Up to 1907 they had laid and in operation 88·32 miles of route, with 543·98 average cars running. During the year they carried 224,063,098 passengers, the total receipts were £895,841 (£75,000 more than 1905–6), and contributed £35,000 to the rate fund.

In the Provinces

The tramways in the municipalities of Wales are fewer in comparison, but in Cardiff there is 17·61 miles in successful operation, carrying (1907) 24,438,164 passengers at a net profit of £4405, which, however, was not applied to rate relief.

Manchester is progressing rapidly, and expects to ultimately have seven hundred cars running. In 1907, although construction only started in 1901, it had 95·89 miles of street route working, carrying 143,264,501 passengers, producing £719,673, which gave £107,039 surplus after paying interest and charges. Of this, £87,827 was applied to depreciation and reserve funds, and £59,212 for the relief of the rates.

Although the Corporation of Birmingham obtained general powers to lay trams in 1861, it leased lines to private companies until January 4th, 1904, when the first municipal electric tram ran; and from then to January, 1907, electrification actively proceeded, with the result that over fifty-six miles of track was then in operation, and options were held for ten miles more, the leases of which fall in in 1911. Accounts for the year ending March 31st, 1907, which, however, only included three months' working of the full system, showed receipts £117,122, and working expenses £64,778. On January 1st, 1908, the traffic receipts had risen to £5500 per week from 270 cars.

Twenty-three distinct routes are in operation in Liverpool; and Parliamentary powers obtained for forty miles more single track. The streets-length covered in 1906-7 was 57½ miles, the passengers carried during the year 122,094,528, and the total receipts £571,216. This resulted in £27,586 being contributed to the rates.

Considerable discussion has taken place on the stud system owing to a decision in July of 1907 by the London County Council to use it for a three-mile length of double track from Aldgate to Bow, whereas the remainder of the council's trams are on the conduit system. The stud system is in successful operation at Wolverhampton and Torquay, and is also working in Paris. It is argued that a construction saving of £5000 per mile is effected by this method. The experiment was not so successful in London as elsewhere; indeed, within a few weeks of the line being opened in the late summer of 1908, the council decided to revert to horse traction, pending conversion to another electrical system.

The Stud System

TRAMWAYS OF LONDON: (See under LONDON.)

TUBERCULOSIS: Many authorities have pointed out the intimate connection between poverty and this disease. It is noted that while poverty is perhaps the chief predisposing cause of consumption, the disease is in turn a great cause of poverty, as it is most prevalent between the ages of fifteen and forty-five or fifty, the working and wage-earning time of life when the chief supporter of the family, whether male or female, ought to be at the best. Out of four thousand consumptive paupers under the care of Dr. Nathan Raw, in Liverpool, into whose history he made careful inquiry, sixty per cent. became paupers because they were phthisical, and not phthisical because they were poor. The direct and indirect loss to the country is almost incomputable.

The Local Government Board have been strenuous in combating the spread of consumption, and on September 30th, 1908, they decided to issue an order compelling all poor-law medical officers to notify sanitary authorities of all cases of phthisis occurring amongst parochial patients. Previously it had not been included in the list of notifiable infectious diseases. It is now the duty of poor-law medical officers to report to medical officers of health, as the representatives of the sanitary authorities, in cases of consumption among paupers.

This new order also renders it obligatory on other poor-law officials to notify changes of address of parochial patients. A difficulty has been the want of adequate provision for the congregate treatment of consumptives, so that patients may be drawn from their homes and thus a very prolific cause of spreading the disease removed. But little has been done so far, apart from the large institutions, such as Ventnor, the open-air sanatoria, such as the King's experiment at Caterham Valley, and the Central Sick Asylums Board's institution at Hendon.

New Steps

There are two existing methods of dealing with consumption. The first is by sending the patients in the early stage to the sanatoria which have been established in different parts of the country, and the second is through the medium of the workhouse infirmaries.

A suggestion has been made to use the Carshalton Southern Hospital, originally a convalescent home with eight hundred beds and belonging to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, for such a purpose. Another factor making for diminution of infection-danger is the recent general byelaws against expectoration in public vehicles, etc.

Deaths from this disease exceed those of all other forms of infection put together. In England and Wales alone there are sixty thousand deaths annually from consumption and other forms of tuberculosis. In Ireland, according to returns published August 25th, 1908, no less than 11,679 deaths occurred in 1907 from phthisical diseases, out of 77,334 deaths from all causes, an alarming percentage. In Scotland for 1907, in eight principal towns only, there were 6901 deaths from consumption.

Deaths

Notwithstanding the still very high death-rate, a vast improvement has taken place during the last forty years. In addition to more scientific methods and improved medical knowledge, this may be attributed to the better disinfection of dwellings wherein the afflicted have lived and died, and generally speaking, better housing; ample

space, with sunlight and ventilation; abundant wholesome, well-cooked food; abstinence from stimulants; and better habits of domestic and personal cleanliness.

Decrease

In his report issued August, 1908, the Registrar-General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths refers thus encouragingly to the decreasing mortality from phthisis: "The continuous decline of phthisis (consumption) mortality has been adverted to frequently in the annual reports, and the present research shows that most of the occupations have in varying degrees shared in the decline. Even clergymen and farmers, who have experienced an extremely low mortality from this disease in the previous decennial, experienced a still lower mortality in the recent period."

In Germany the matter is dealt with on a wider and more practical scale. A large number of sanatoria are built and supported entirely by the insurance societies, they having discovered that it is cheaper to keep their policy-holders in health.

According to German official returns, more than £1,650,000 has been utilized for the organization of sanatoria in connection with the invalidity insurance, and more than £8,000,000 in the construction of hospitals and convalescent homes among other ameliorative achievements.

TURKEY: Reference is made elsewhere to the Young Turks' movement which resulted in the restoration of a Constitution by the Sultan, by an Iradé issued on July 24th, 1908, ordering the Valis to proceed immediately to the election of members of a Chamber of Deputies. An Imperial rescript was also published on July 26th, pointing out that, owing to the condition of things previously prevailing, the Constitution could not then be applied; but, now that the time had arrived, the Sultan expressed his pleasure at being able to apply it, and his hope that the people would co-operate with Parliament in assisting the Government and their Sovereign. The rescript ended with an expression of his Majesty's thanks for the popular manifestations of loyalty. A general amnesty was also proclaimed.

A new Ministry, with Kiamil Pasha as Grand Vizier, was appointed on August 6th, replacing the old nominees of the Sultan by Ministers more in keeping with the liberal spirit animating the Government. Active schemes of administrative departmental reform were at once proceeded with, a determined attempt being made to cut down expenditure to the necessary minimum by the abolition of sinecures, the prevention of pension frauds, and the reduction of the pay of many of the higher officials, who were receiving larger salaries than those paid to the Ministers of any other European State. It was decided to suppress the subventions to foreign newspapers and the funds for political espionage, formerly entrusted to the Ottoman representatives abroad. Further, the military service was thrown open to all citizens of the Empire without distinction; and a higher military board was formed for the preparation and application of new army regulations and schemes of national defence. An official announcement was also made stating that the Sultan had agreed to contribute to the cost of construction of new Houses of Parliament from the Civil List. Important reductions were made in the household of the Sultan, and lands and moneys improperly acquired by ex-favourites and ex-Ministers were restored to their rightful owners. An important step, and one which created the best possible impression in all circles, was taken by the Government in ordering the Minister of Police to re-arrest all bandits, robbers, and those condemned for crimes at common law, who had been liberated by the previous Ministry.

Educational Campaign

One of the principal difficulties confronting the Young Turks lay in the profound ignorance of a large portion of the Mohammedan population of the Empire, which was entirely incapable of realizing the significance of the political transformation, and in some instances appeared to believe that the new state of things implied the virtual cessation of all government. To meet this difficulty the Young Turks organized an educational campaign for the purpose of enlightening the multitude in regard to the benefits of the Constitution and the privileges which they were now called upon to exercise, a number of emissaries being despatched to preach the gospel of constitutionalism in the Asiatic Provinces and in various parts of Albania and Macedonia.

The financial position of the country naturally gave occasion for considerable misgiving, and the *Hellenic Herald* in August thus summarized the situation:—

"The Treasury is empty. It is hoped, nevertheless, that by raising loans and effecting economies, it will be possible to find the sums urgently needed for the expenses of administration till the meeting of Parliament, to which a statement of the financial situation will be submitted. While the suppression of abuses will certainly benefit the revenues, the increase will be more than counterbalanced by the necessary expenditure of the revenue-earning administrations. The Cabinet hopes that the finances will in time be put on a sound basis by improvements in the method of collecting revenue, the revision of certain commercial treaties, and the development of agriculture and commerce, schemes for which will be laid before Parliament."

Regarding the floating debt, the *Times* of August 28th said:—

"The question of what is the total floating debt of Turkey is becoming one of considerable importance in view of the possibility of a foreign loan in the near future and the certainty that proposals to this end will be submitted to Parliament by the Cabinet. The Ministry of Finance is understood to estimate the floating debt at £7,000,000, but this estimate, though double of that favoured a few days ago in official circles, is regarded as far below the mark by competent European authorities."

The thirty-second anniversary of the Sultan's accession was made the occasion of great popular demonstrations of loyalty, and the Turkish press congratulated the Sultan upon the fact that the illumination and decoration of the houses and streets, which were formerly compulsory, had become a voluntary expression of the nation's loyalty. An important change in the attitude of the Sultan towards the Heir-Presumptive, Reshad Effendi, took place. The latter had been practically a prisoner, but under the new *régimé* he was desired to begin to make himself acquainted with the affairs of State, show himself in public, attend military manœuvres; in a word, act like a constitutional prince.

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UNEMPLOYMENT: The problem of the unemployed continues to be treated as one of great importance. In an article in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1908, Mr. W. H. Beveridge analyzed in an exhaustive manner the economic causes by which there continued to be so large a total of workless workmen, and outlined a plan which, in his estimation, would contribute to a diminution of the alarming total of the unemployed.

"Not only," postulates Mr. Beveridge, "in the last few years, but over the whole period for which accurate economic records are available, there has been a rise in the standard of wealth and of production. Wages

have increased ; the consumption of raw material in all the principal manufactures has grown more rapidly than the population ; the average income and the average productivity of the individual citizen are higher than they ever were before. The terrors of over-population—of a rate of births out of all relation to the rate of industrial expansion, of each fresh comer finding room only at the cost of diminishing the room of others—have been laid to rest by the apparently limitless improvements of manufacturing methods and organization. Industry still expands not less rapidly but more rapidly than the population. Each fresh comer finds on an average not less but more working and living room than his predecessors. Yet with all this there comes the perpetual cry of some who find no living and working room at all. While the number of those who can and do obtain employment rises endlessly, the number of the unemployed never falls to zero.

"The suggestion is inevitable, that there can be no such thing as genuine unemployment. If there are not too many workmen in the country, every man who really wants work must be able to obtain it. Those who fail to find room while fresh room is opening out all around them must be men either unfit or unwilling to do so. They must be 'unemployable'—the inefficient, the lazy, the sick and infirm. This suggestion, however, runs counter to facts at least as incontestable as those of the growing wealth and productivity of the nation. It cannot be supposed that the thirty thousand members of highly skilled and organized trades who at the present moment are returned as unemployed, and for the most part in receipt of out-of-door pay from their unions, are all unemployable. It cannot be suggested that the employers who write to distress committees, as they do write in hundreds and thousands, giving the characters of men now out of work but formerly employed by them, are all in a conspiracy of deceit. Unemployment is not to be explained away as the idleness of the unemployable. As little can it be treated as a collection of accidents to individual workpeople or individual firms. It is too widespread and too enduring for that. There is no general want of adjustment between the natural increase of the people and the expansion of industry, between the rate of supply of fresh labour and normal growth of the demand for it. There are specific imperfections of adjustment which are the economic causes of unemployment.

"The organization of the labour market is not a complete remedy for unemployment. Yet the question may fairly be asked whether every other

One Remedy

of the remedies commonly applied or proposed is not either impossible or useless or dangerous without it. The elaboration of this question would extend the present article beyond all due limits. It must suffice to repeat and to summarize in the fewest words possible the principal services which an efficient system of labour exchanges may be expected to render and the objects for which it appears indispensable.

"1. The organization of the labour market, by public or private action, by voluntary agreement or under legal compulsion, is necessary for the de-casualization of employment. It is not possible for each business to employ only regular men. It is possible and necessary for every business to take all its irregular men from some common exchange in touch with other businesses, and administered with the object of giving all its clients a sufficiency of work, if not under one employer, then under many in succession.

"2. The organization of the labour market, though it cannot in times of depression make work, can even in such times reduce unemployment by abolishing all unemployment that is merely local in character. It can prevent men from being out of work in one place while employers are vainly seeking them elsewhere.

"3. The organization of the labour market is necessary for any drastic treatment of vagrancy. The excuse of the habitual vagrant is that he is looking for work. A national system of labour exchanges, using the post office, the telephone, and the railway, will gradually relieve the habitual vagrant of the excuse, and the decent workman of the demoralizing necessity, for going blindly on the tramp.

"4. The organization of the labour market is indispensable as a test of unemployment in the mass and in the individual. It alone can prevent measures for the relief of temporary distress from encouraging men to remain in trades or places in which they are not wanted, and so becoming measures for the perpetuation of chronic distress. It alone can record accurately the beginning, end, and depth of industrial depressions. It alone by putting every man at once in touch with all the work that is to be had can safeguard against abuse of systems of insurance against unemployment or of honourable assistance to the unemployed in any other form.

"5. Labour exchanges in direct connection with the elementary schools are needed in order to organize and to guide the entry of boys and girls into industrial life, to give each a wider choice of the work for which he or she is best fitted, to study and to influence the character of the demand for youthful workers, to accumulate for the formation of public opinion or the framing of laws information as to the careers offered by various occupations.

"From some points of view the organization of the labour market is the logical extension of principles advocated by many different schools of

Market-places for Labour

thought. If the principle of the living wage means anything, it means not simply a minimum rate of pay per hour, but also a minimum average number of hours in the week and year. If the attack upon unorganized charity and casual relief is not to be wasted, it must be repeated in the industrial sphere ; the process by which indiscriminate giving produces a race of beggars has an exact parallel in the manufacture of casual labourers by the offer of casual employment. If there is economic advantage in having known market-places for corn or wool or stocks, there must be the same sort of advantage in having such market-places for labour. Labour is the only commodity in the world which still finds a buyer only, or as a rule, by being hawked from door to door. The wastefulness of this antiquated method is obvious where, as is the case in skilled trades, an employer has sometimes to wait for a suitable workman. The waste is even greater, though unfortunately less obvious to the employer, in those occupations in which as many men as are wanted can be got at once wherever they are wanted, *i.e.* in which all the waiting is done by an immense unorganized reserve of men.

"From other points of view the organization of the labour market will be decried as a mere palliative. Yet those who are prepared so to describe it cannot do better than assist the palliative to demonstrate its own insufficiency. For the organization of the labour market at least differs fundamentally from most palliatives, in that its effect must be not to cover up, but to bring into stark prominence, the real problem, whatever that may prove to be. If those Tariff Reformers and Socialists are right who assault the existing industrial order at the one point at which it appears to the naked eye impregnable ; if, in fact, the root of the disease is that industry does not grow fast enough, and needs stimulating by the removal of foreign competition, or enlarging by the suppression of private enterprise, they can best prove their case by supporting a proposal which will force into the open the growing surplus which industry cannot absorb. If those are right who find the root of the disease in personal inefficiency, they cannot but welcome a plan for abolishing the half-places of industry into which inefficiency slinks, and in which it is perpetuated. The proposals

here made are first steps upon which all or nearly all may agree, however they differ as to the next step."

The 1905 Act

An experimental attempt by Parliament to cope with the unemployed problem was made in 1905 by the Unemployed Workmen Act, passed August 11th, 1905. The Act provided for the establishment of a distress committee of the council of every metropolitan borough in London, consisting partly of members of the borough council and partly of members of the board of guardians of every poor-law union within the borough and of persons experienced in the relief of distress, and a central body for the whole of the administrative county of London. Provision was also made for the formation of similar committees for provincial areas. The main terms of the Act were as follows :—

The distress committee shall make themselves acquainted with the conditions of labour within their area, and when so required by the central body shall receive, inquire into, and discriminate between any applications made to them from persons unemployed : provided that the applicant has resided in London for not less than twelve months immediately before the application.

If the distress committee are satisfied that any such applicant is honestly desirous of obtaining work, but is temporarily unable to do so, and consider that his case is capable of more suitable treatment under this Act than under the poor law, they may endeavour to obtain work for the applicant, but the distress committee shall have no power to provide, or contribute towards the provision of, work for any unemployed person.

The central body shall superintend and, as far as possible, co-ordinate the action of the distress committees, and aid the efforts of those committees by establishing, taking over, or assisting labour exchanges and employment registers, and by the collection of information and otherwise as they think fit.

Expenses may be incurred by the central body in aiding the emigration or removal to another area of an unemployed person and any of his dependents ; and expenses may be incurred by the central body in relation to the acquisition, with the consent of the Local Government Board, of land for the purposes of this Act.

No such contribution by a council shall in any year exceed the amount which would be produced by a rate of one halfpenny in the pound calculated on the whole rateable value of the borough, or such higher rate, not exceeding one penny, as the Local Government Board may approve.

The provision of temporary work or other assistance for any person under this Act shall not disentitle him to be registered or to vote as a parliamentary, county, or parochial elector, or as a burgess.

The Local Government Board may make regulations for carrying into effect this Act, and may by those regulations, amongst other things, provide for facilitating the co-operation of any body or committee having powers under this Act for any area with any other body or committee, or with any local authority, and the provision of assistance by one such body or committee to another ; and for applying, with the necessary adaptations, to a distress committee having the powers of a central body regulations relating to a central body ; and for the holding of local inquiries by the Local Government Board for the purposes of this Act, and for requiring returns to be made to the Board by any body or committee having powers under this Act.

It was determined that the Act should continue in force for three years from the date of the passing thereof, and no longer, unless Parliament otherwise determined.

The Act also applied to Scotland and Ireland.

Notwithstanding the fact that it was his own Bill, the Rt. Hon. John Burns made a promise on behalf of the Government to amend the Act, which in practical working had been found to present certain difficulties desirable of alteration. On being called into question in the House of Commons on March 27th, 1907, in this respect, he explained that he "told the House fifteen months ago, and again eight months ago, that pending the report of the Poor Law Commission expected at the end of 1908, whose business it was to see whether the Act should be renewed or not, the Government thought that the best thing to be done, especially as they had had no experience of the Act, was to provide the money and the means by which the Act might be carried along during its experimental period and while the subject was under the consideration of the Poor Law Commission. They, therefore, decided not to amend the Act, but to provide £200,000 with which to work the Act ; and, so far, of that amount £106,000 had been disbursed. There was no single distress committee that had a scheme of work but had had more money than was necessary for the purposes of that scheme. All of them had at this moment a small balance in hand, and nearly all had refused to use their rating power to the extent they ought to have done, in order to bring local activities into relationship with Imperial help."

The Funds Available

In regard to the expenditure of the funds provided by the Parliamentary vote of £200,000 above referred to, made to the committees under the Act in 1906, it may be noted that during the following winter the central body organized eight schemes which provided work for 3500 men for varying periods from eight to sixteen weeks at a cost of £50,000. The reports of the whole of the distress committees for the four winter months, December 1st, 1906, to March 31st, 1907, showed that a total of 51,422 applicants were given employment relief amounting to an aggregate of 522,321 days, or 10·1 days per head per month ; the wages earned amounting to £79,614, or £1 10*s.* 10*d.* per head. At March 31st, the names of 8130 applicants for employment stood on the books of the distress committees. Speaking generally, the figures given did not include a large percentage of skilled workmen, of whom an average of about 30,000 were out of work in the same period.

During the ten months from December 1st, 1906, to September 30th, 1907, the number of applicants registering for employment at the fifty Metropolitan and Provincial Labour Bureaux was just upon 120,000. Of these the Bureaux found occupation for over 30,000, and were the means of directing many more to likely quarters of employment.

The Queen's Interest

One of the features of the unemployed problem has been the interest taken by Queen Alexandra, who has always evinced a keen practical concern in the Mansion House scheme, by which employment has been found in Royal parks and public open spaces in Municipal and Government improvements, so as to, in some measure, alleviate the distress. The special "Queen's Fund" during the time of distress in 1907 received and disposed of £150,000 in private relief and employment.

Speaking on employment on February 7th, 1908, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill discussed various methods put forward for dealing with the unemployed question. In his opinion the question of unemployment was the greatest of the day. The people never complained without terrible cause, and they had to solve the question of the crying need of a man who found himself unable to get employment. They had, however, to fight wild and deluded remedies, but must not stop their ears to the real cry which rang through it all.

"Right to Work" Bill

The reference in this speech is doubtless to a remarkable Bill introduced by the Labour-Socialistic party, which was popularly termed "The Right to Work" Bill. This was before the House of Commons on March 11th, 1908, but rejected by a majority of 241 against ninety-five. Arguments which led to its rejection may be

summed up by saying that the consensus of opinion was, that the remedy proposed would have been as bad as the disease it was desired to cure. By "the right to work" clause, which was characterized as "the kernel of the Bill," every workman registering himself as unemployed would have had to be provided by a local authority with work at Trade Union rate of wages, or failing that with money enough to maintain himself and family.

The debate in the House of Commons was very long and heated. A summary of the principal speeches follows—

Mr. P. W. Wilson, in moving the second reading of the Bill, said that the Bill established regular unemployment committees for all authorities, and thus a uniform policy was applied to the whole of the country. The first duty of the committees was to register the unemployed, and that register would be in itself almost a ready-made universal system of labour exchanges. The work clauses dealt with two fairly distinct classes of work—work done by the national authority and work done by the local authority.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, seconding the motion for the second reading, said that this was the first time the problem of the unemployed had been faced from top to bottom. This Bill, like the Trade Disputes Bill, had behind it the combined forces of labour throughout the country. He wished to say at once that from the point of view of the Labour Party—by which term he included all organizations of labour—the kernel of the Bill was Clause 3. This clause provided that—

"Where a workman has registered himself as unemployed, it shall be the duty of the local unemployment authority, subject to conditions hereinafter to be imposed, to provide work for him in connection with one or other of the schemes hereinafter provided, or otherwise, failing the provision of work, to provide maintenance should necessity exist for that person and those depending on that person for the necessaries of life: Provided that a refusal on the part of an unemployed workman to accept reasonable work on one of these schemes, or other employment upon conditions not lower than those that are standard to the work in the locality, shall release the local unemployment authority of its duties under this section."

The movement for dealing with the unemployed must go more and more in the direction of Clause 3. In 1907 the applications received under the 1905 Act from unemployed numbered 87,001. Of the 60,416 who passed the investigation, 36,000 were given employment. This was miserably inadequate.

Opposing Views

The Rt. Hon. John Burns said, that to see whether the Bill was popular with those who knew most about it, the Tottenham Urban Council sent circulars to all local authorities throughout the country with regard to it. What was the response? Resolutions in support of the Bill were received from three town councils out of 322, from sixteen urban district councils out of 818, from four rural district councils out of 671, and from one board of guardians only out of 657. The Central Poor Law Conference was practically unanimously against it. The Bill was impossible, unworkable, and a delusion and a snare, and he asked the House to vote against it.

The Prime Minister (Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith) said "the real issue before us is whether the House is going to recognize, for the first time in the history of Parliament, this principle of the right to work and the obligation to provide work. If you once recognize it, I venture to say it will lead to conclusions little dreamt of or suspected by many people to-day, and which, if carried to their practical consequences, will be prejudicial to no class in the community more seriously than to the working class."

A further Bill on similar lines will be brought forward in the early session of 1909, or possibly before then.

Mr. G. R. S. Taylor, writing in the *New Age* of March 21st, 1908, respecting this rejected "Unemployed Workmen Bill," which was its official title, argued that it laid down that the only real remedy for unemployment is work, and that "it is an essential duty of the State, whether through local councils or central officials, to find an opportunity of useful labour for all those citizens who are ejected from the labour-market by the working of economic laws over which the individual has no control. Work or maintenance—there is the irreducible minimum which Socialists demand shall be made the legal, as it is now the moral, right of every citizen."

Speaking on March 17th, 1908, to the Association of Municipal Corporations, the Rt. Hon. John Burns said the municipalities spent 140 millions a year, and were the largest employers of labour. It seemed to him that that 140 millions was spent mostly on works of building construction, or engineering. It was mostly spent in the building and kindred trades, which did not suffer from foreign competition; and yet, curiously, were more liable to depression and fluctuation than any other trade. Much of that work was done, in his judgment, when the private trade was busy and when municipal work ought not to be carried out. Without damage to the public interests, without damage to the public health, with no disadvantage to the community, he believed that the local authorities, by better organization, by better distribution and allocation of work, might, if they co-operated with the Imperial authorities, who also spent 140 millions on other work, produce a result which would be of the greatest benefit to all. He asked them seriously to consider that suggestion. If they carried it into effect, he was convinced that they would take one of the most practical and useful steps for mitigating the sufferings of the unemployed that had ever been adopted in our time.

Addressing the House of Commons on the occasion of the Local Government Board Vote on July 29th, the same speaker assured hon. members that "every loan he could facilitate, subject to the rules of good finance and the work being properly carried out, which would throw the work into the winter months, would receive his best efforts and attention. In fact, there was already a standing order that no loan should be kept back, the acceleration of which would give work from November to March that might in other circumstances be done from March to October. He was in communication with surveyors, engineers, railway managers, and the owners of docks so as to get them to do everything in their power to diminish casual labour, to reduce overtime, and to see that the amount of work to be done without overtime should be spread over the largest number of men. . . . The Government had supplemented the Unemployed Act with a grant and other legislative proposals. . . . They had arranged that the report as to coast erosion and afforestation should be published concurrently with the report of the Poor Law Commission. Apart from administration, however, the Government had done their best by small holdings, housing, and child legislation, and old age pensions to do their duty to the unemployed. He was convinced the House was satisfied with the administration of the Government and that it would pass the Estimates of his Department. Their administration of the Unemployed Act had been accompanied with sympathy and with reasonable moral courage."

Trade Union Congress, 1908

The unemployed question was dealt with on September 10th, 1908, at the Trade Union Congress at Nottingham, and was the occasion of some significant speeches. The fact that the question threatens to be a particularly serious one in many places during the coming winter, and that relief measures have already been decided on in Glasgow, Nottingham, Liverpool, and Sheffield, gave a very real interest to the debate.

Mr. J. Walker (Workington Steel Smelters) moved a resolution to the effect that the Unemployed Workmen Act had failed; that unemployment was now permanent even in busy seasons; that the Government must make provision for finding work of public utility for all sections of the unemployed; and that the Parliamentary Committee should heartily support Mr. P. Wilson's Unemployed Bill.

Mr. Pete Curran, M.P., said the industrial world was face to face with one of the most pathetic sights that had ever been experienced during the industrial history of this country. "We have trade in its normal state," he went on, "and at the same time, in the month of September, we have hundreds, nay, thousands, of men all over the country clamouring at the doors of municipal buildings and demanding that the local authorities shall do something to find them employment. If that state of affairs exists in September, what may we expect during December and January?

"If the Government is not prepared to do something there is a probability that owing to the indifference of the Government thousands of hungry men, anxious and willing to work, may attempt to do something for themselves. If anything of that character occurs we in the House cannot be blamed."

Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., said the resolution did not say a single word about the cause of unemployment. The reasons were the speeding-up of machinery and the introduction of new inventions. One of the best palliatives was a reduction of hours in all trades. Eventually, he said, the workers will have to tackle the question of machinery—not to destroy it, but to capture it, and have it worked and controlled for the benefit of the whole community. The Board of Trade returns showed that eight per cent. of skilled men were out of work. He had made careful estimates, which convinced him that for every artisan out of work there were at least three labourers unemployed.

Mr. Ben Turner (Batley Weavers) said the horrors of unemployment were best realized by those who had gone through them. The returns showed that ninety-five per cent. of the men who enlisted in the Army did so not because of their love for the flag, but because they were hungry and wanted work which would bring them bread. The Salvation Army returns showed that the chief cause of suicide was unemployment, and other figures showed that last year 2432 people became insane either owing to actual unemployment or the fear of it.

The resolution was submitted and adopted unanimously.

Mr. Bowerman, M.P., moved a resolution that the Government should consider the propriety of making grants in aid to trade organizations which, during periods of slackness, support their members by the payment of out-of-work benefit, and that Ministers should receive a deputation on the subject.

Eventually, on a card vote, the resolution was carried by 921,000 to 559,000.

Some approximation of the unemployed may be gathered from the monthly returns to the Labour Department of 273 principal trade unions, whose membership during 1907 increased from about 616,000 to 635,000. Upon these returns are based the published percentages of unemployed and the "employment charts" of the Labour Department. For the past ten complete years the mean annual percentages of unemployed have been—

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	Ten years' mean.
Percentage	3·4	3·0	2·4	2·9	3·8	4·4	5·1	6·5	5·4	4·1	4·1

At September, 1907, 28,914 out of a total membership of 631,241 were out of work.

The monthly percentages of unemployed, 1906 and 1907 compared, reveal—

	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Nine months' mean.
1906	4·7	4·4	3·9	3·7	3·6	3·7	3·6	3·8	3·8	3·91
1907	4·2	3·9	3·6	3·3	3·4	3·6	3·7	4·0	4·6	3·81

It is calculated that the unskilled workers out of employment are two and a half times more than the skilled men dealt with in the above tables.

Government Returns

A return was issued by the Local Government Board on August 14th, 1908, of the work of the 117 distress committees' operations under the 1905 Act, for the twelve months ending March 31st, 1908, and of the Central (Unemployed) Body for London during the same period.

According to Board of Trade figures published on October 16th, 1908, 251 Trade Unions reported that at September 30th, 1908, out of a total membership of 593,000, there were no less than 55,793 out of employment, representing 9·4 per cent. of the above total.

The number of applications received to March 31st last, and entertained, was as follows:—

	Applications.	Entertained. Applicants.	Dependents.
London Committees	32,624	14,291	42,765
Provincial ,,	57,433	40,322	108,206
	90,057	54,613	150,971

The total of applicants was six per thousand of the population. The highest proportions in London are found in Bermondsey, Poplar, and Woolwich, in each of which the applicants were over twelve per thousand of the population, the average proportion for London being 6·9 per thousand. Outside London, the numbers in Sunderland, Edmonton, Erith, Tottenham, West Ham, Brighton, Norwich, East Ham, Barrow-in-Furness, Hastings, Reading, and South Shields were in excess of this figure, the average proportion for all districts outside London being 5·7 per thousand of the population. For the ten districts bordering on London, viz. Croydon, West Ham, East Ham, and Hornsey, and the urban districts of Edmonton, Erith, Leyton, Tottenham, Walthamstow, and Willesden, the number was 15,832, or 12·2 per thousand of the population.

Of the total number, 3032 were women. The total number of men who applied to distress committees in the year represented 2·1 per cent. of the working male population, as compared with a proportion of 1·9 per cent. in 1906–7, and of 2·4 per cent. in 1905–6.

London Figures

The increase has occurred chiefly in London, where the number of applications in the past year (32,624) was 4443 in excess of the previous year. The difference between the two years was over fifty per cent. in Poplar, and most of the boroughs show some increase. Outside London, on the other hand, many districts had fewer applicants. The most marked increase occurred in Sunderland, owing partly to depression in the shipbuilding trade and partly to industrial disputes. The building trade remained, according to the general account, in a depressed condition, and the engineering and kindred trades became affected. The shipping trade was also reported as being depressed. General labour was affected by the adverse conditions prevailing in the building trade and in the skilled industries.

In as many as 30,257 cases, or about one-third of the whole, the applicants had applied to a distress committee on a former occasion. Of the 90,057 applications

received, some 77,462 cases, or eighty-six per cent., were investigated. In 22,849 the applications were rejected or not proceeded with—3384 on account of unsatisfactory character; 4900 on account of receipt of poor relief within the preceding year; 3350 on account of assistance on relief works in two successive preceding years; and the remainder owing to removal from the district or the fact of the applicants having found work. Of the whole number of applicants, 54,613, or 66·6 per cent., were qualified for assistance under the Act. Nearly eighty per cent. were between twenty and fifty years of age, the largest group being between thirty and forty.

A classification according to occupation shows that 53·3 per cent. were general or casual labourers, 19·4 per cent. in the building trade, and 8·6 per cent. in the engineering, shipping, and metal trades.

Employment, either on relief work or on ordinary work, was offered to 41,459 persons, including 9167 in London. Of these, 5469 had already found work, or for various reasons did not take the work offered. Of distress committees outside London thirty-four reported that no work had been provided through them, but in several cases work was found with private employers.

In London employment was provided principally by the Central (Unemployed) Body, and men were, as in the previous year, selected by the distress committees from their registers to take up the work provided for them as opportunity occurred. The average number of men at work on one day in the winter on all the works thus provided by the Central Body was: On farm and labour colony works, 321; on work in public and other parks, etc., 1610. The usual rate of pay on works other than farm colony works was 6*d.* per hour, and the period of employment ranged from $1\frac{3}{4}$ weeks to $9\frac{1}{2}$ weeks. In addition, the Central (Unemployed) Body provided during the year workrooms for women in three districts—Camberwell, Poplar, and St. Pancras. The average number of women employed on one day in this manner was 104. The women had on an average from 12 to $13\frac{1}{2}$ weeks' work, and received payments at rates ranging from 10*s.* to 17*s.* 6*d.* per week, according to the number of dependent children.

The rate of pay in provincial districts was very commonly 5*d.* per hour. In London the average rate was 6*d.* per hour. The total amount earned in wages by the men and women employed on the various works provided by the Central Body, distress committees, and local authorities was £124,387, of which approximately £15,500 was paid to men and their families engaged on labour colonies.

On October 20th, the London County Council allocated £7800, out of funds received from the Local Government Board, to the Central (Unemployed) Body, arranged for extensive works in parks and open spaces, and passed estimates involving work on tramways to the amount of £281,265. In Parliament the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith stated, on October 21st, that the Government had increased the grant to the Central Fund under the Unemployed Act to £300,000, and had expedited £2,500,000 worth of works and contracts ordinarily considered much later. On October 26th, an animated debate took place in the House on the Unemployed question.

A few committees outside London, Southampton and Leicester especially, used their powers to rent land for work of cultivation. The London local labour exchanges registered during the year 116,034 persons, including 20,339 women. This was rather more than double the number of the previous year. The industrial quality of the workpeople using the exchanges during the year was reported to have improved. The number of situations filled through the agency of the exchanges during the year was 22,096, including 5340 situations for women. The cost of the employment exchanges in London amounted for the year to £8600.

Labour Exchange Registrations

The number of persons assisted to emigrate during the year was 6066, viz. 1321 men, with 3076 dependents, from London; and 437 men, with 1232 dependents, by committees outside London. The total cost of the emigration during the year amounted, in the case of London, to £30,996, and in the provinces to £11,784. 776 persons, including 557 dependents, were assisted to remove to other areas, including 508 persons from London.

The financial statement shows that £186,350 was received by London, and £91,108 by the provincial committees. Of this total of £277,458, £112,581 came from rates, £127,671 from Parliamentary grant, £11,354 repayments for work done, and £7833 from voluntary contributions. The expenditure was £225,687, including £38,392 for cost of work on farm and labour colonies, and £97,124 otherwise; £16,450 for cost of exchanges, etc., and £48,931 for emigration or removal.

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE: Founded in 1853. Object: A general temperance propaganda, looking to the ultimate prohibition of the drink traffic by legislative enactment. Special work was done by the Alliance in connection with the Licensing Bill of 1908. Official organ, *The Alliance News and Temperance Reformer*, weekly, 1*d.* President, Mr. Leif Jones, M.P. *Secretary:* Mr. W. Williams, Broad Sanctuary Chambers, 20, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

UNITED PATTERNMAKERS' ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1872. Membership, 6962. President, Mr. Arthur Pearson. *Secretary:* Mr. Wm. Mosses, 32, Street Lane, Leeds.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION GUILD (LONDON): Founded in 1903. Membership, about five hundred. All residents in London interested in general higher education are eligible. Objects: To foster and strengthen the University Extension movement, by holding meetings of representatives of the centres for discussion of questions of general interest to University Extension workers, by affording information as to facilities for general higher education provided by the University Extension system to visitors from the British Colonies and Dependencies as well as from other countries, by arranging supplementary lectures, social gatherings, etc. President, Sir William Martin Conway. *Hon. Secretaries:* Mr. Ernest H. Short and Mr. Alfred P. Griffiths, 449, Birkbeck Bank Chambers, London, W.C.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION, OXFORD: Work was established in 1878, but did not begin regularly till 1885. The lecturers on the staff number about sixty, and the audiences vary in number from thirty or forty in small country towns to one thousand in large industrial centres, the average being 150. A travelling library, containing from thirty to fifty volumes bearing on the subject of the lectures, is sent from Oxford in connection with each course. Examinations on the subjects of the courses (History, Literature, Art, and Natural Science) are held, and certificates awarded. Centres exist in nearly two hundred towns, and over 22,000 students are in regular attendance. A "Summer Meeting" is held biennially at Oxford, and is attended by over one thousand University Extension and other students, of whom nearly one-third come from abroad. *Secretary:* Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, M.A., University Extension Delegacy, Oxford.

V

VAGRANTS: (See under POOR LAWS.)

VALUE OF LAND IN THE UNITED KINGDOM: (See under LAND VALUES.)

VANDERVELDE, EMILE: Leader of the Labour Party in the Belgian Chamber; born in 1868. He is amongst the most learned of living Socialists. His recent publications upon agriculture in its relation to social reform include *L'Exode Rural et le Retour aux Champs* (Paris, 1903), *Essais sur la Question Agraire en Belgique* (Paris, 1903), *Collectivism* v. *Industrial Evolution*, etc. *Address:* Palais de la Nation, Rue de la Loi, Brussels.

VEGETARIAN SOCIETY AND ASSOCIATION, LONDON: Founded in 1883. Official organs, *The Vegetarian*, monthly, 1*d.*; *The Children's Realm*, monthly, ½*d.* Over 800,000 meals have been supplied to the poorest children in London under the Children's Dinner Fund. President, Mr. A. F. Hills, M.A., D.L. *Secretary:* Miss F. I. Nicholson, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.

VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL: Founded in 1885, and incorporating the Minor's Protection Committee, the Society for the Suppression of Vice, the Belgian Traffic Committee, and the Central Vigilance Society. Object: The repression of criminal vice and public immorality, and the suppression of the "white slave" traffic. For the fiscal year ending April 30th, 1908, 1250 inquiries were made for young women as to the genuine character of those who were seeking their services; international cases dealt with were 2595, and repatriation cases, eight. The Association has branches in Manchester, Cardiff, Sunderland, and Hull and the East Riding. President, The Earl of Aberdeen. *Secretary:* Mr. William Alex. Coote, 161a, Strand, London, W.C.

VIVISECTION: The practice of vivisection has been extant since the time when Galen and the Alexandrian School practised it. In the nineteenth century, however, attention was called to the alleged needlessly cruel and frequent experiments conducted by vivisectionists, and in 1876 a Royal Commission sat, out of which evolved a Bill in 1876 for the better regulation of vivisection. Much has been done between that time and this. Anti-vivisection societies have sprung up, and a further Royal Commission which began its sitting in October, 1906, issued its report in the spring of 1908. Based on the evidence, a Bill has been drafted "To Prohibit Experiments upon Animals," and this may be expected to engage the attention of Parliament very shortly. The practice of vivisection has enormously increased during recent years. In 1881 there were 270 experiments, and in 1906, 46,073; and at date of writing they approximate fifty thousand. These figures apply only to England, Wales, and Scotland.

Among medical authorities who question the value of vivisection are Sir Frederick Treves, Sir Wm. Fergusson, and Prof. Lawson Tait. The case against vivisection may be summed up in the argument that it does not advance knowledge of human physiology, and is therefore a needless cruelty.

On the other hand, the majority of the medical profession argue that it is highly educative as to the internal functions and organs of the body, the course and condition of the blood, and the possibility of tracing the progress of a disease in the body of an inoculated animal. Sir Douglas Powell, President of the Royal College of Physicians; Lord Rayleigh, President of the Royal Society; and Frederick Taylor, M.D., Consulting Physician to Guy's Hospital, London, favour vivisection. (See ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETIES.)

VIVISECTION, BRITISH UNION FOR ABOLITION OF: Founded in 1898 by Frances Power Cobbe. Official organ, *The Abolitionist*, monthly, 2*d.* Vice-President, H.S.H. Princess Ludwig von Löwenstein-Wertheim. *Hon. Secretary:* Dr. Walter R. Hadwen, 32, Charing Cross, London, S.W.

VIVISECTION, THE INCORPORATED PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION FOR ABOLITION OF: Founded in 1902. The Royal Commission on Vivisection was appointed in accordance with a request from one of the vice-presidents, and the Association led the way in giving evidence for the anti-vivisection party. The list of vice-presidents shows sixteen Peers and eighty-eight members of Parliament as supporters of the anti-vivisection Parliamentary movement. *Hon. Secretary:* Sir George Kekewich, K.C.B., M.P., Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

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WAGE-EARNING CHILDREN, COMMITTEE ON: Founded in 1900. The Committee has agitated for the further regulation of child labour, the establishment of children's courts, and the appointment of special magistrates and probation officers for children. President, Mr. Stephen N. Fox. *Hon. Secretary:* Miss Nettie Adler, 6, Craven Hill, Hyde Park, London, W.

WAGES BOARDS: The establishment of legal wages boards in England is one of the leading features of the Sweated Industries Bill, which passed its second reading and was referred to a Select Committee on Home Work on February 21st, 1908. However, the Rt. Hon. H. J. Gladstone, in speaking on the Bill, said that the House were not to consider the proposal as committing the Government to the principle of a compulsory minimum wage. Until the report of the Select Committee and also that of the Commissioner sent to Australia to inquire into the conditions there had been received, the Government purposed to reserve judgment on that particular question as a whole.

The Bill provides that "Wages boards shall be established throughout the United Kingdom, for tailoring, dressmaking, and the making, altering, trimming, finishing, and repairing of shirts. And a wages board shall have power to make regulations fixing the minimum rate of wages to be paid to persons employed in the district such board is formed to control."

Sir Charles Dilke introduced the first Wages Boards Bill in 1900, and in 1906 another. In 1907 a Bill to establish Wages Boards was presented, which had the support of Sir Charles Dilke, Messrs. Percy Alden, Chiozza-Money, G. N. Barnes, A. Henderson, and D. J. Shackleton, among other members. It was read for the first time on February 15th, 1907.

Speaking in October, 1907, in Glasgow, at a Conference on Sweated Industries, Mr. Edward Carpenter discussed the matter from an employer's point of view and also that of the public—

"There is evidently a growing public opinion in favour of the constitution of wages boards and the establishment of some kind of legal minimum; and doubtless something will be done in that direction.

"It is generally tacitly assumed that a legal minimum, by raising wages in low classes of labour, will handicap the employer, make the realizing of a profit more difficult, and generally place a strain upon him. I want to point out that in many respects this is the reverse of what will happen. And I believe that quite a few employers are beginning to realize that this is so, and therefore are favourable to a legal enactment—though no doubt the majority still are opposed to it.

"The case in reality is very simple. Every one knows that the employer to-day has a most anxious time. The dread of competition, the continual fluctuations of prices, the fear of being undersold in the market, haunt him. At any moment a competitor may undersell him; and one of the commonest causes of such underselling is the employment of cheap labour.

"Now, we must contend that to rule out or prevent this operation by fixing a minimum below which the wage shall not go, is a benefit, not only to the employed, but to the employers themselves. It gives them at last some firm ground beneath their feet. It takes away one large cause of doubt and risk and uncertainty; and simplifies greatly for them the problem which they are handling.

"By the fixation of a minimum wage the financial ground beneath their feet will have been made comparatively solid, and the conditions so far equal for all.

Wage Minimum

"The truth is that, within limits, it does not matter to an employer if wages are high, provided all other employers have to pay equally high. It may matter to the public, of course (who may have to pay a higher price for the article), but not to the employer. We come, therefore, now to the question of the interest of the public.

"That the absence of a minimum wage (whether that minimum be obtained by trade unions or by wages boards) may mean a cheapening of price to the public, must of course be admitted. But I think no one will say that that in itself constitutes a sufficient reason. And in the case of the so-called sweated industries, there are reasons for supposing that the enhancement in price due to the minimum regulation would be almost imperceptible, as the wages often bear such a very small ratio to cost of materials, profits, salaries of superintendence, etc., that a rise of wages need make but little difference in the price of the article."

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, speaking before the Women's Industrial Council in April, 1908, maintained that wages boards as a political proposition were not workable, and would lead to no important economic change.

In a leading article on the Railway Crisis and Wages Boards, the *New Age*, of December 21st, 1907, looking at the question from the Socialistic standpoint, thus commented—

"We repeat that wages boards are fortunately an experiment outside party dispute; but we repeat that they are an experiment to be watched with extremely jealous care. We may be quite sure that if they afford loopholes for escape from the responsibility of providing a living wage, and not merely a wage favourable to dividends, the railway companies will find that loophole.

"On its isolated merits a wages board may seem a useful enough device for regulating wages without strikes; but progress towards Socialism does not consist merely of getting rid of the necessity of strikes. We can conceive many modes of averting strikes. The mere avoidance of strikes may be extremely comforting to investors, but the method employed must be considered by genuine reformers. Even supposing that wages boards avert strikes—which is more than can be claimed for them—the question still remains: Do wages boards favour the economic revolution demanded by Socialists?

"We therefore beg all advocates of wages boards to reconsider their ground, to look well before they leap with the Liberal Party into a principle which, so far as we can see, is unable to abolish sweating, unable to secure a living wage; and, in addition, diverts the mind of trade unionism from its true political and economic path."

On the other hand, in their book, *Industrial Democracy*, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, both prominent social reformers, showed that the principle of a minimum wage was "neither theoretically unsound nor practically impossible."

On April 27th, 1908, a conference was held in London at the Society of Arts under the auspices of the Anti-Sweating League, at which M. Fontaine, Directeur du Travail in France, and M. Vandervelde, head of the Socialist Party in Belgium, read papers on "An International Minimum Wage." The papers proved that educated opinion abroad is rapidly being drawn in the direction of regulating wages, both M. Fontaine and M. Vandervelde, from their different points of view and different experience, having been driven to the conclusion that there is no other remedy at present available to check the ravages of industrial exploitation. Many distinguished German Economists, they said, are beginning to think the same. An international minimum wage law appeared impossible for the present, but the European Industrial States would watch with interest the result of the Wages Boards Bill, with the hope of introducing measures on similar lines.

The movement in favour of wages boards in the United Kingdom as a remedy for "sweating" resulted in the appointment, during the summer of 1907, of a Select Committee to inquire into the whole question of "home work," and the possible remedies. Mr. G. R. Askwith, the Board of Trade Arbitrator, told the Select Committee (August 1st, 1907) that there was a growing opinion among the best class of employers in favour of such boards. The report was issued in the autumn of 1908. (See SWEATING.)

Select Committee

Supporters of wages boards are at present divided in opinion between the New Zealand system with its judicial authority, and the Victorian system, more nearly resembling our own trade arbitration boards. Well-known authorities like Miss Clementina Black and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb support the New Zealand system, whilst the Victorian system is supported by the Women's Trade Union League and Anti-Sweating League, and by Sir Charles Dilke, who made it a model for his own Bill of 1906 on Wages Boards, already referred to.

In a *Fabian Tract* (No. 128), dated April, 1908, was outlined the Fabian Society's estimate of the proper basis of a minimum wage law—

"The Act should aim at the fixing and enforcement of a wage sufficient to enable our workers to be maintained in healthy existence. Therefore, the wage should be calculated on what the worker requires for physical health and efficiency, and not on what the trade will bear. The latter method, obviously resulting in the fixing of different minimum rates for each trade, would come under the head of wage regulation, which, in the interests of industrial peace, may be extremely desirable, but is something quite apart from the establishment and enforcement of a national minimum wage in the interests of physical and industrial efficiency. The minimum wage would not replace 'standard' or 'trade union' rates where these were the higher amount.

"In the second place the law must be national: that

is, must apply to the whole country, in order that no district shall undersell another in the labour market at the cost of national vitality. Thirdly, since the last condition cannot be fulfilled by equal money wages all over the country, the Act must be drafted on the assumption that it is possible to determine a national minimum of real wages: that is to say, such a wage as, worked out in its cash equivalent will equalize all local variations in cost of living."

Discussing the benefits that would accrue from such a proposal becoming law, the *Tract* continues—

"What is the number of persons who would immediately feel the effects of the enactment of a legal minimum wage? If we take Mr. Rowntree's figures with regard to the primary poverty in York as fairly representative of the whole kingdom, we should have about five millions of people who are members of families that have incomes insufficient to maintain merely physical efficiency. Many of its members, it is true, would not be capable of earning even the low minimum suggested. These would become the unemployable. To the others, the largest proportion, an increased wage would give the increased mental and physical vitality which are a nation's real capital. There would be a gradual growth in the national dividend, arising from the greater power of production due to the increase of physical efficiency, and the share of each grade and each trade in the dividend would be increased accordingly. A minimum wage law cannot cure the evils which arise from the foolish spending of incomes small or great, but it would act as a palliative of those evils which arise from the existence of incomes that are insufficient for the barest necessaries of life."

Australasia

The Home Office, on July 10th, issued as a Blue Book a report by Mr. Ernest Aves to the Home Secretary on the Wages Boards and Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts of Australia and New Zealand. Mr. Aves was appointed in January, 1907, to inquire into the systems of wages boards established in some of the Australian Colonies, the systems of compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes which have been established in Australia and New Zealand, and the working of the Acts for the regulation of hours of employment in shops. Mr. Aves's conclusions may be briefly summarized as follows:—

"For the most part the advantages claimed by their supporters with varying degrees of validity for special wages boards or for industrial arbitration courts are not peculiar to one system or the other, such as increased wages; improvement in conditions; the maintenance of industrial peace; the increased cohesion of the parties concerned; the ability to contract on an assured wage basis; the suppression of the incompetent employer; and the spread of a greater spirit of contentment. Similar claims might be and indeed are advanced on behalf of other systems resting on a voluntary basis, such as those secured by conciliation boards in England or by the adoption of the co-operative principle.

"As regards the particular methods of industrial settlement that have been examined, although the interest of the general public cannot be entirely severed from that of any trade or industry carried on in its midst, the point of view varies. It is obvious, for instance, that the public interest and the public concern differ in kind as to whether the railway or post-office service or, if there be a local monopoly, coal mining are affected; or, again, as representative of a second great group, the engineering or carriage industries; or of a third group, the lowest paid branches of shirt makers or cardboard box makers.

"In connection with the two first industrial groups to which allusion has been made, it has been assumed that customs are observed and wages paid which are at least compatible with the maintenance of some accepted minimum standard of living. There remains, as has been suggested, a third group of trades in which, or more often in parts of which, this standard is not maintained. They are in whole or in part the under-rate trades.

"The experience of Victoria, valuable and interesting though it is, is thus not conclusive, if only because too brief, too simple, and too exclusively connected with an era of prosperous trade. The problem, highly contentious even there, has differed from that presented in this country very fundamentally—in intensity, in scope, and in circumstance.

"The boards have helped both in the home and in the factory, and probably not simply in the trades under them, to set a more certain standard. They are also believed to mark out a point below which, should reaction come, wages will not, at least without greater difficulty, fall. The test of this period of decline has, it is true, not been reached, and should it come the determinations may break down. But while maintained, or sometimes even when exceeded, they are felt to be a source of strength. They affect sentiment—both public and private. They help to establish beneficial customs, and if character is not thereby weakened this is a great gain. They become, moreover, something which the conscience, not only of the trade, but also of the community, has to take into account.

"There seem to be at once great scope and need for the influence of fuller knowledge of the wider publicity of conditions held to be to the common welfare, and of appeal to sentiment and to sympathy, the whole to be combined with power to impose the pressure of more exacting restrictions or obligations, in proven cases of gross dereliction of social and industrial responsibilities But the lesson of experience does not appear to carry us further than this on the direct line of the legal fixation of wages.

"For various reasons, therefore, the evidence does not appear to justify the conclusion that it would be advantageous to make the recommendations of any special boards that may be constituted in this country legally binding, or that if this power were granted it could, with regard to wages, be effectively exercised."

The main features in the arbitration laws of Australia and New Zealand are given on page 61.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ASSOCIATION, BRITISH: Founded in 1904. Object: The defence, and, where practicable, the improvement of British weights and measures. The membership is composed of trade federations and others. The weights and measures of various countries are investigated with a view of securing that any reform recommended shall be on progressive and scientific lines. Official organ, *British Weights and Measures*, quarterly, 6*d*. President, Mr. Robert Kaye Gray. *Secretary:* Mr. George Moores, F.S.S., 12, Exchange Street, Manchester.

WELFARE AND PROTECTION OF CHILDREN, INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE: Founded in 1888. Object: To hold triennial international congresses in various countries. The membership is about five hundred. The Congress in London in 1902, under the patronage of the King and of Princess Louise, introduced the question of probation officers and of special treatment of child offenders to this country; it also gave a practical turn to the movement for the regulation of street trading by children, and hastened the Government inquiries into vagrancy and the care of the mentally defective, members of the Congress being put on each of the Commissions and Committees. President, Sir William Bousfield. *Secretary:* Mr. William Gibson Lewis, 8, Wells Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.

WHITE CROSS LEAGUE, THE: Founded as a Church of England Society in 1883. Objects: Purity among men; a chivalrous respect for womanhood;

to preserve the young from contamination; to promote a higher tone of public opinion; to carry on rescue work, primarily among men, but also to support rescue work among women. Official organ, *The White Cross*, monthly, 1*d*. Presidents, The Archbishops of Canterbury and York. *Hon. Secretaries:* Rev. A. S. C. Harrison, M.A.; Col. R. Wynyard, M.V.O., 7, Dean's Yard, Westminster, London, S.W.

WOMAN WORKER, THE: The economic position of the woman worker is receiving increasing consideration from sociologists and Parliamentarians, it being upheld in many quarters that the disparity in the wage-earning capacity of men and women is not warranted by the difference in the quality and nature of their work. Indeed, it is contended that, in some branches of skilled and Government labour, the work is actually performed at least as efficiently by the small-waged woman as by the higher-salaried man.

In comparing generally the rates of wages earned by women in skilled trades with those earned by men an immense difference is apparent—that a woman's maximum is a man's minimum, or that a woman's skilled labour is remunerated at about the same rate as a man's unskilled labour. With very few exceptions this is true. It has been pointed out that men and women are so rarely employed on absolutely identical work that comparison of their earnings is difficult. But making all allowance for this, there still remains a glaring difference in the rates of remuneration.

Mr. Sidney Webb sums up the causes which operate to produce this state of things as—(1) the influence of custom and public opinion; (2) the lower standard of life of women as compared with men; (3) woman's lower productivity in the quantity or quality of her work; (4) woman's lack of protective power, owing to her weakness in combination into Unions.

An article in the *Westminster Review* for December, 1907, dogmatizes thus:—

"We shall find that the true explanation of the exploitation of the woman worker lies in the existence of the double-sex standard, which we have allowed to grow up in our minds, and which prevents us from either thinking or acting fairly and justly towards women. By a double-sex standard is meant here simply this: that where men are concerned, abilities and capacities, and consequently work, are, generally speaking, judged according to merit, but in the case of women, these are considered to be depreciated by the mere fact of sex alone. Hence, a woman's work is not placed upon the same level as that of a man, not primarily on account of any relative intrinsic inferiority, but solely and simply because she is a woman, and for this reason alone she is expected, and unfortunately herself expects, to have her work remunerated accordingly.

Double-Sex Standard

"Now, however much we may try to bring about reforms by legislation in the passing of regulative and restrictive measures, no real lasting remedy will be found so long as the mental attitude of the people remains unchanged; and one important point is continually being overlooked by our would-be reformers, that every attempt to impose restrictive legislation, which is based upon the sex of the worker, not upon the worker irrespective of sex, merely helps to bolster up in our minds this double-sex idea in relation to women and to women's work."

There are some 3¼ millions of unmarried women who work for their living in England, and nearly a million of married women.

The census taken in 1901 showed a remarkable decrease in the proportion of occupied women and girls; 31·6 per cent. of all females over ten years of age were returned as occupied, as compared with 34·4 per cent. in 1891. In 1891 there had been a very slight increase as compared with 1881. Of the total number of occupied women and girls the highest proportion are returned as occupied between fifteen and twenty years of age; among the married and widowed the highest proportion is between fifty-five and sixty-five years, and among the unmarried between twenty and twenty-five years. Although there has been an increase in the proportion occupied at the ages of fifteen to twenty-five years, there has been a decrease at every age-group above twenty-five years. There appears, therefore, to have been of late years a substitution of younger for older women.

Of all occupied women and girls about 40½ per cent. were employed in domestic and other service. The clothing trades (dressmaking, millinery, tailoring, etc.) occupied less than half that number, accounting for 16½ per cent. The textile industries employed fourteen per cent., rather less than the clothing trades. These three great divisions together accounted for seventy-one per cent. of all occupied women and girls.

The status of women workers divides naturally into two broad planes—skilled and unskilled labour, and these again must be subdivided to arrive at any comprehensive survey of the subject.

Among the various trades in which skilled workers are needed a wide range of wages exists, and even in any particular branch, local usage, competition, and other circumstances admit of much fluctuation. An all-round average, however, based on Board of Trade returns, gives the following:—

Skilled Workers

Tailoring, dressmaking, and millinery—
- Apprentices, 2*s*. 6*d*. to 5*s*. per week as "pocket money."
- Improvers, 7*s*. 6*d*. to 10*s*. per week.
- Bodice, skirt or sleeve hands, 15*s*. to 25*s*. per week.
- Cutters and fitters, best hands and forewomen (West End), £3 to £5 per week.
- Head milliners (West End), £2 to £3 per week.
- After four or five years an average girl will earn 15*s*. to 18*s*., and a clever girl 20*s*. to 25*s*. per week.

Corset makers, in the bespoke houses—
- Apprentices, 2*s*. 6*d*. a week (but some firms pay nothing).
- Competent hands, 15*s*. to 20*s*. per week.
- Cutters, 30*s*. to £2.
- The ordinary shop corset is usually made by unskilled labour.

Cotton trades—
- Range, taking all districts, £1 to 12*s*. per week.
- (Average in Lancashire and Cheshire 15*s*. 6*d*. per week.)

Woollen manufacture—
- Average, 13*s*. 2*d*. per week.

Worsted and stuff—
- Average, 11*s*. 5*d*. per week.

Upholstery—
- Apprentices, 3*s*. to 12*s*. per week.
- Machinists, 18*s*. to 20*s*. per week.
- Forewomen, 30*s*. per week.

Trade unionism among skilled women workers is growing. In September, 1908, at the Trade Union Conference held at Nottingham, Miss MacArthur stated that the Women's Trade Union League, of which she is Secretary, had affiliated to it upwards of 150,000 working women. Of the total number of women trade unionists in all industries, ninety per cent. are to be found in the textile trades, sixty per cent. of these being in the cotton weaving.

Mrs. Margrieta Beer avers that there is reason to believe that the number of children who enter a skilled trade on leaving school is steadily decreasing. In big towns, she contends, it is fatally easy for a child to enter an unskilled employment in which the initial wages are high, but which offers no prospects for the future.

In order to remedy this state of things the London

County Council has founded several trade schools for girls, where an actual trade training is given, which is intended to replace apprenticeships. The system has been working for some years on the Continent with very successful results. In these schools beside the trade training, general education is continued, and the artistic training which educates the eye and taste of the worker is not neglected. Dressmaking, ladies' tailoring, upholstery, waistcoat making, corset making, and laundry work are the trades taught in these schools.

In another sphere of skilled work may be enumerated Post Office and other Government officials, teachers, etc.

Post Office

According to Miss Mabel Hope, of the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association, "the last fifty years has seen a remarkable growth in the number of women employed in official work. In 1861 only 0·5 women were employed as commercial clerks to every one hundred men. In 1891 it was eight to sixteen times that number, and the proportion is increasing every year, until at present (1908) there are nearly 33,000 women employed by the Post Office, being about one-fifth of the total staff.

"In 1871 (immediately after the State acquisition of the telegraphs) women were, generally speaking, confined to one Department—the Telegraph—numbering 972 in all. Since that year, however, the increase has been most rapid, the figures for the established staff of the Civil Service at the end of 1907 standing at: Women clerks, London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, 1770; Female telegraphists, London, 1900; Provinces, 5000. Female telephonists, London, 600; Provinces, 1330. Women sorters, London, 668. Government typists, London, 215."

As to the character of woman's work in this sphere, the Committee of Expert Post Office Officials reported some time since: "Testimony has been very generally given in favour of work done by the women. At all the ordinary duties of a telegraph office they are as useful as men, and the Department would gain financially and not lose in efficiency if the employment of women were considerably extended."

Notwithstanding the recognition of efficiency, the wages rule twenty-five per cent. less than men's. The mean wages increase to women during the period 1872 to 1897 was thirty-nine per cent. in London, and twenty-one per cent. in the provinces. Since 1897, although the cost of living has risen considerably, wages have been almost stationary. The report of the Select Committee on Post Office Servants issued in July, 1907, recommended among other things an appreciable increase in the average wage. A comparison is appended:—

Old and New Scales.*

	Women clerks.	Telegraphists.	Telephonists.	Sorters.	Government typists.
Old	£55 to £100 yearly	£46 16s. to £98 yearly	£44 4s. to £67 12s. yearly	£44 4s. to £78 yearly	£46 16s. to £65 yearly
Committee's scale.	£65 to £110 yearly	£52 to £104 yearly	£46 16s. to £72 16s. yearly	(increased yearly increment but no higher maximum)	(not included in scope of inquiry)

The teaching profession offers a vast field for the woman worker, not only in the Elementary Schools, but also in Secondary Schools. In the latter,

The Teaching Profession

remuneration is generally considered inadequate in view of the expense of the necessary education involved before teaching efficiency is attained. After her school life, which extends to eighteen or nineteen years of age, the parents of a girl who proceeds to Cambridge or Oxford without having obtained a scholarship must be willing to expend a sum of not less than £300 to £450 for the cost of a three years' course of study at either of these universities, and an additional £80 or £90 at least for one year's professional training at a Training College for Secondary Teachers. At the end of her college days, a young graduate of twenty-two or twenty-three, who has obtained a first class in a Tripos or Final Honours Examination, cannot usually command more than £100 to £110 as an initial salary, and, unless she should become a head mistress later on, will probably never have a salary of more than £200, and very possibly of never more than £150.

Two other great sections of women's work, which come within the category of skilled work, are general office employment and domestic service. With regard to the former, there is no fixed standard of remuneration. A typist and stenographer will earn from 15s. to 25s. per week, or perhaps 30s. if expert. A case in the Courts in September revealed a woman cashier receiving 8s. per week, and that after some years' service. Remunerated household work—domestic service—is not sought after with eagerness; the demand is greater than the supply owing to restrictions and other deterrent factors.

H.I.M. the German Empress, writing on the servant question, says: "To my mind the unsatisfactory condition of our servants is due to the fact that their mistresses fail to take sufficient interest in their welfare. The chief complaint of domestic servants is that they have too many hours of work and too little personal freedom. But if we were to allow them more freedom, we might expose them to serious temptation. We should, therefore, do all in our power to make our servants' leisure hours as attractive as possible within doors, particularly by giving them nice, cheerful bedrooms, which, I fear, is often far from being the case. I sincerely hope that architects will bear this in mind when designing houses. Besides, we ought, in various parts of the town, to establish homes for servants, where they can meet of an evening, and more particularly on Sunday afternoons, in order to discuss subjects of common interest, and, if possible, receive instruction in their domestic duties. But the chief question with regard to our female servants is their moral character, for who can exercise greater influence on our young children than servants who are daily in their company?"

Domestic Service

The position of the unskilled woman worker has become to be considered synonymous with sweating. Indeed, to quote a recent writer, "the mass of the sweated workers in the country are women." The question of sweating is dealt with in separate articles, and, therefore, the plans and projects extant for improving the condition of underpaid workers will be detailed with more appropriateness in that section. A few examples will be found on page 1181 of the microscopic earnings of these unhappy workers, and details could be added showing the extent and variety of the occupations into which sweating enters. In October, 1907, Miss Irwin, Secretary of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, instanced shirtmakers, whose remuneration for making the garments throughout except buttonholing averages eightpence per dozen for flannelette, and 1s. 9d. per dozen for cotton shirts, a dozen taking twenty-one hours to make. The thread is supplied by the worker, and this costs twopence per dozen shirts. For boys' shirts the price averages 5½d. per dozen (seven hours' work). There is often also sewing-machine hire to be paid for. A significant sentence in Miss Irwin's report reads: "This family occupy two rooms, both very dirty and almost destitute of furniture. In this case, as in many others, the shirts on which the mother was engaged would, it is absolutely certain, be used as bedding for the

Unskilled Labour

* The above minimum scales are approximately obtainable at nineteen years of age.

family at night, and thus lend themselves as a medium for the dissemination of dirt, disease, and vermin amongst the purchasing public."

As indicated earlier in this article, shop-sold corsets are produced by unskilled labour. Mr. Chiozza Money, speaking at the Co-operative Congress, held at the Crystal Palace, London, in August, 1908, gave as an average remuneration: Making two dozen pairs of corsets at 1*s.* 7½*d.* a dozen, 3*s.* 3*d.* Deductions—(*a*) 1½ lb. of cane, at 8*d.*, 1*s.*; (*b*) two reels cotton, 6*d.*, 1*s.* 6*d.* Balance earned, 1*s.* 9*d.*, and this meant three days' work.

One of the largest box-making firms in the country, according to Miss Mary MacArthur, proposed to reduce, in the autumn of 1908, their piece-work rates in one department from 1*s.* 6*d.* per thousand to 1*s.*; in the cutting department from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 9*d.*; and in the glueing from 1*s.* 1*d.* to 4*d.* per thousand. The latter rate meant that the girls in that section could not earn more than 4*s.* a week, as against 11*s.* 11*d.* at the old rate.

Among groups of home workers excessively low wages are found to exist. Shirt finishers receive as little as 1*d.* to 1¾*d.* per hour. Pinafore making ranges from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* per dozen, blouse making, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* per dozen. In handkerchief hemming, umbrella-tab sewing, etc., still lower wages are obtained, whilst in match-box making, artificial flower making, conditions are as bad. The unskilled woman worker in factories is often, too, as poorly paid as the home workers referred to. Miss Gertrude M. Tuckwell told the Pan-Anglican Congress in London, in June, 1908: "The average pay of women has been stated, and I think fairly, at somewhere between 7*s.* and 8*s.* Rising in the great textile trades of the North to an average of over 15*s.*, it descends in the case of some home workers to precarious earnings of 3*s.* and 4*s.*"

In the course of the same address, Miss Tuckwell summarized the position thus: "The problem which confronts us is how to regulate the chaos of such inferior labour conditions as I have described; how to put the sweated worker in a position to bargain with his employer for a living wage. This cannot be reached as yet by the voluntary combination of a trade union; the sweated worker has sunk too low in the scale for that. The foresight which makes it possible to see beyond the day's struggle and the capacity for corporate action are gone; to demand a contribution to trade union funds from miserable earnings is to ask too great a sacrifice.

Regulating the Chaos

"The precedent for dealing with such a situation has been established by every law for the protection of the worker, from the old times when rulers considered it their business to obtain for the worker 'a convenient' wage, down to the Factory Law which, with its elaborate provisions for guarding children, young persons, and women, is a perpetual affirmation of the principle that the defence of its weaker citizens is the duty of the State. That regulation of wages which the great unions secure for themselves must be secured by law for those too weak to bargain."

A national aspect of one of the results of the exploitation of the woman worker was thus referred to by Mrs. George Cadbury at Manchester: "We need not look far for one cause of physical deterioration when we realize that all over the country children are growing up who are chronically underfed and insufficiently clothed, owing to the fact that their mothers are giving all their time and strength in return for starvation wages."

WOMEN AND CHILDREN, THE ASSOCIATED SOCIETIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF: An amalgamation of the Associate Institution for Improving and Enforcing the Laws for the Protection of Women, and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, founded in the years 1844 and 1857 respectively. Amalgamated in 1892. Objects: To protect women and children in cases of neglect and other wrongs, by affording them advice or legal assistance; to strive for the improvement of the statute laws with a view to the more effectual protection of women and children. Patron, H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll. *Secretary:* Mr. Arthur L. McIlwaine, Albion Chambers, 60, Haymarket, London, S.W.

WOMEN, CENTRAL BUREAU FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF: Founded in 1898. Objects: To guide educated women in the choice of work; to promote the training of the unskilled; to maintain records of women desiring work, and of employers desiring workers; to collect, investigate, and circulate information as to employment. Official organ, *Women's Employment.* President, Countess of Bective. *Secretary:* Miss Mary G. Spencer, 9, Southampton Street, Holborn, London, W.C.

WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD: Founded in 1883 as a self-governing organization of working women connected with industrial co-operative societies. It has 502 branches, and 25,500 members. Special reforms which it advocates inside the Co-operative Movement include extension of co-operation to the very poor, minimum wage for women employees, Co-operative Health Departments, the representation of women on all boards and committees in the movement. *General Secretary:* Miss Llewelyn Davies, c/o Co-operative Union, 2, Nicholas Croft, High Street, Manchester.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE: A militant Suffrage Society, organized on a democratic basis. There are sixteen London branches, twelve Scottish, twelve provincial, and one Irish branch. The special work done includes a woman's suffrage caravan campaign and work at bye-elections in opposition to the Government. Official organ, *Women's Franchise*, weekly, 1*d.* Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Despard. *Hon. Secretary:* Mrs. Edith How Martyn, A.R.C.S., B.Sc., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

WOMEN'S FREE TRADE UNION, THE: Founded in 1903, and affiliated with the Free Trade Union (*q.v.*). President, Mrs. L. Harcourt. *Hon. Secretaries:* Lady Frances Balfour and Lady Bamford-Slack, 8, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL: Founded in 1894. Objects: To organize special and systematic inquiry into the conditions of working women; to provide accurate information regarding those conditions, and to promote such action as may seem conducive to their improvement. Conducted on lines strictly non-sectarian and independent of party. The membership is 250. Among the special work done is the promotion of a parliamentary Bill for the better regulation of home industries, and an inquiry into the effects, hygienic and economic, of the work of married women. Official organ, *The Women's Industrial News*, quarterly, 6*d.* President, Miss Clementina Black. *Secretary:* Miss Wyatt Papworth, M.A., 7, John Street, Adelphi, Strand, London, W.C.

WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY, THE: Established on a non-party basis, for the United Kingdom. Object: For promoting the eligibility of women to elect to and to serve on all local governing bodies. President, Lady Strachey. *Hon. Secretary:* Miss Leigh Browne, 17, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE: Founded in July, 1908. Objects: To resist the proposal to admit women to the parliamentary franchise and to parliament; to maintain the principle of the representation of women on municipal and other

bodies concerned with domestic and social affairs of the community. President, The Countess of Jersey. *Hon. Secretary:* Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Caxton House, London, S.W.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL LIBERAL ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1892. Membership (August, 1908), 26,750. President, The Hon. Mrs. Henry Gladstone. *Secretary:* Miss E. E. Page, 138, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W.

WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION, THE NATIONAL: Founded in 1903. Objects: To secure for women the parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

During the twelve months ending October, 1908, the Union held nearly six thousand meetings, it has fought twenty-nine bye-elections, it has sold £750 worth of literature, and started a newspaper of its own. Up to October, 1908, the Union had made nine attempts to lay the case for their enfranchisement before the Government in the House of Commons and have suffered arrest and imprisonment to the number of over three hundred. Many women also have faced rough treatment at public meetings in order that they might put questions to Cabinet Ministers. The cash receipts for 1907–8 were over £7000 as against £3000 the year before; the number of subscribers has risen from six hundred to over two thousand. £20,000 has been raised for campaign expenses. The expenditure is £6500 against £2500 last year. Official organ, *Votes for Women*, weekly, 1*d*. *Hon. Secretaries:* Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

WOMEN, SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OF: Founded in 1859. Objects: To promote the employment of women in suitable occupations, by collecting and diffusing useful information on the subject. During the year closed March 25th, 1908, the Society interviewed applicants on 1431 occasions, and 120 visits of inquiry were made by the secretary. Regular engagements had been procured for twenty-one candidates, and those seeking temporary work were employed on 203 occasions. Chairman of Committees, Hon. Victoria Grosvenor. *Secretary:* Miss Gertrude J. King, 23, Berner's Street, London, W.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE: The Annual Conference of the International Council of Women, held at Geneva in September, 1908, under the presidency of the Countess of Aberdeen, gave strong evidence of the progress of the women's movement insomuch as it represented nearly seven million women belonging to societies for furthering the general interests of the sex. Delegates were present from Canada, Germany, Sweden, Great Britain and Ireland, the United States, Denmark, New South Wales, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Tasmania, Switzerland, Italy, France, the Argentine Republic, Victoria, South Australia, Austria, Norway, Hungary, Belgium, and Queensland.

In the United Kingdom, after the extraordinary activity displayed by militant advocates for the women's franchise in the earlier part of 1906, a strenuous period followed in which public notice was drawn to these propagandists by the persistent manner in which they endeavoured to extract opinions from prominent parliamentarians by putting questions at public meetings, and by mere clamant interruption. So successful were these advocates for female suffrage that the question quickly leaped into national notice, and came within the area of present practical politics. The question of women being accorded a vote is not, of course, a new one, many bygone statesmen having expressed opinions thereon, notably Disraeli, who said in the House of Commons, "I do not see on what reasons, if you come to right, women have not the right to vote." In 1907 progress was made by the grant of a power to women to become borough councillors, etc., *i.e.* the Qualification to Women (County and Borough Councils) Act. This received Royal assent August 28th, and enabled women to be elected and to act as county or borough councillors or aldermen, and to be elected as mayor.

Lady Trevelyan, in May, 1908, thus commented on the sphere of women's work opened up by the passing of the Act—

"The disappearance of this disability is another step towards the popularization of our local government system. The barriers which kept women from serving on county councils having been broken down, it is important to recall the reasons which make it desirable that suitable women should offer themselves for election on to them, and that the voters should consider their claims, and accept their services.

"As women form half the population, and have the same interests in good administration as have men, and as they pay their share not only of the imperial taxes but of local rates, it is right and just that they should be on the bodies which levy and administer the rates of their district, and which look after the interests of all the inhabitants; and further, women have certain interests to which men cannot, and do not, give adequate and proper attention.

"From the passing of the Act of 1902, till the Qualification Act of 1907, women, although previously eligible, were disqualified from election to the Education Authority. Now they can obtain full responsibility on the bodies which are the ultimate appeal to which Education Committees must refer, and which levy the rates and so provide the money for the education of the district.

"A large field of usefulness is here opened. During the long hours when the child is compelled to attend the elementary school, the State steps into the place of the parents. It has tried to be a good father, but the motherly element should also be present; and this can only be added by women taking their share in the administration of the education of the district.

"Apart from education, the scope of work undertaken and carried out by local governing bodies, is continually increasing, and a large part of their time and energies are spent on what may be called 'condition of people' questions. These grow in number and importance every year. It is notably in these matters that women are most competent to advise, and in which their help as responsible administrators can be most useful. A long list could be made of such powers invested in the County Councils and the London County Council especially. The Small Holdings and Allotments Act is deeply interesting to all interested in the welfare of rural districts and the suburbs of large towns. These matters require the presence of women on the sub-committees that administer them; and as responsible members of the councils they will now be able to have a voice in the general policy, and in the allocation of money grants, so necessary for all reform, and so important to distribute with wisdom and economy.

In Rural Service

"There will never be wanting women devoted to the cause of the young, the sick, the needy and the outcast. Individual effort will always have a noble and honourable place in social reforms, and is especially valuable in pioneer work. But the lifting of our people to the higher standard of civilization, happiness, and health, to which we now aspire, must in a large and increasing part depend upon the good administration by local governing bodies of the powers which Parliament delegates to them for this purpose. In this work women may now assist.

"George Meredith has said, 'Women are the practical sex.' They bring to local government work an all-

important love of detail, and they have often more leisure than men have to devote to matters which make for good and economical administration.

"Women are qualified to inquire into baby farms, to supervise midwives, to inspect female lunatics, and to direct the arrangements of cookery and laundry classes. Women may be presumed to have special qualifications for the organization and management of girls' and infants' Elementary Schools, of Training Colleges for women teachers, and of secondary schools for girls; whilst in the matter of finance we may fairly expect that they will watch over the rise and fall of the local rates at least as carefully as men do at present, and with fully as much appreciation of the important bearing on the prosperity of the community of their good administration."

As mentioned in Miss Christabel Pankhurst's article (see page 1301), the Bill introduced into the House of Commons on March 8th, 1907, was "talked out." A second Bill introduced on August 14th, and embodying more advanced ideas was not discussed.

During 1908 the suffragettes continued to be active in forcing their claims upon the notice of members of the Government, so much so that the intervention of the police, who had previously made many arrests, became more decided, with the result that some three hundred suffragettes were imprisoned for varying breaches of the peace, not the least conspicuous of which was the "raid" on the House of Commons on October 13th, 1908. The event was marked by the unique spectacle of a suffragette rushing up the floor of the House and shouting "Votes for women!"

A Bill to enable women to vote at Parliamentary elections, presented by Mr. Stanger, was read for the first time on February 3rd, and referred to a committee of the whole House after the second reading on February 28th, 1908. The Bill is to the same effect as the one proposed in March, 1907; its salient features are—

1. In all Acts relating to the qualifications and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters and to vote in such election.

2. A woman shall not be disqualified by reason of marriage from being so registered and voting, notwithstanding the provisions of any law or custom to the contrary.

The Prime Minister

On May 20th, to a deputation of sixty Liberal members for the purpose of pressing upon the Prime Minister the desirability of granting a measure of women's suffrage, the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith said that his own position in regard to this matter was, as they would readily understand, a somewhat delicate one. He had not yet reached the state of grace in which all members of the deputation were no doubt firmly established. But that was neither here nor there. With regard to the practical side of the question, it must be perfectly evident to them all that, however excellent any measure might be, it was wholly out of the question for the Government to think of giving a week, or even two or three days, to any Bill which was not one of their own initiation. He took it that that consideration must be present to their minds, and that they did not press for facilities for a private Bill. They must also be aware that politics were full of surprises, and that sometimes unforeseen accidents occurred which were detrimental to plans, however carefully considered. But, that being said, he regarded it as a duty, and indeed as a binding obligation to the Government, that before this Parliament came to an end they should submit a really effective scheme for the reform of our electoral system. The present state of the law, with its artificialities, its unreasonable delays in obtaining the qualification for the franchise, its indefensible classification of the categories of voters, and, above all, the power of double voting, which was at present conferred upon the class which needed it least—all this urgently demanded reform. No Liberal Government, and no Liberal House of Commons, would be performing its duty if it did not make every effort to get rid of a system such as he had described. This being the Government's intention, it would clearly be within the competence of those present to seek to introduce by amendment, or by extensions, the object they desired. The Government could hardly resist such amendment, for the simple and sufficient reason that probably two-thirds of his colleagues in the Ministry were in favour of it. If it were approved of by the House it could not be any part of the duty of the Government to oppose such an amendment, and therefore the matter must be left to the decision of the House. He must give them one word of warning, however; it must be a distinct condition that any such proposed change must be a change upon democratic lines. Subject to that condition he could not oppose such an amendment, even if he desired to do so, having regard to the state of opinion in the Liberal Party on this question. In conclusion, he pointed out that a measure of women's suffrage such as he had touched on, to be accepted must have behind it the overwhelming support of the women of the country, no less than the support of men.

Mrs. Despard, of the Women's Freedom League (*q.v.*), is a strong believer in adult suffrage, and for long was not quite in unison with other leaders of women's suffrage, insomuch as she upheld that the legitimate channel whereby votes for women might best be obtained was by universal adult suffrage rather than by making the sex distinction. Latterly, however, whilst not relinquishing her views on the general question of the desirability of adult suffrage, she has directed her efforts to securing votes for women by means of a distinctly women's suffrage programme, as being the quicker means to the end aimed at of adequate sex representation.

Probable Benefits

Speaking in March, 1908, on The Economic Aspects of Woman's Suffrage, Mrs. Despard discussed at length the economic position of women, particularly of the workers, as at present existent, and proceeded to unfold how the possession of voting-power would tend towards the general benefit—

"Looking forward to the future, let us see how the possession of the Parliamentary franchise will affect the economic position of woman, and with her, of course, of the community. I do not expect an immediate revolution. I will take, first, the family; secondly, the workshop; thirdly, the State or nation, to each of which the woman undoubtedly belongs.

After dealing with the first section, she proceeded:—

"2. It is needless to urge that women are worse paid and less protected in their work than men. I believe that one of the economic results of the entry of women into politics will be that their long-standing grievances as workers will receive attention; and that consequently their value in the labour-market will rise, while sanitary and other regulations being enforced in places where they toil the strain on their nerves and life energies will be less.

"3. What effect will the emergence of women into politics have upon the inner life of the nation? I believe that the change, though it may move slowly, will be very great. When I speak of the inner life of the nation, I mean such questions as education, land, housing, industry, unemployment, peace and war, the incidence of taxation, and provision for the helpless old and infirm people and

children who have lost their natural protectors. For these matters form the substance of politics, and many of them are demanding treatment of a more drastic nature, perhaps, than has ever been given to them before. Women will go for measures rather than men, rather than party."

June of 1908 was conspicuous for the Women's Suffrage Meeting at Albert Hall, at which ten thousand believers in "Votes for women" were present, and a huge demonstration on June 21st in Hyde Park, London, which was attended by speakers and supporters from all parts of the United Kingdom. It was computed by the *Times* that nearly 500,000 persons were present on that occasion. Over twenty thousand meetings have been held in the United Kingdom since 1906.

A Bill dealing with Parliamentary franchise as a whole, and including franchise for women, married and unmarried, will probably be brought in early in 1909.

The attitude of the Independent Labour Party is favourable to Women's Suffrage, *vide* their resolution at the 1907 Conference: "That this Conference declares in favour of adult suffrage and the political equality of the sexes, and considers that the right of suffrage should immediately be extended to women on the same conditions as to men."

One of the latest developments is the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League (*q.v.*) formed July 20th, 1908, who maintain that Parliamentary suffrage to women would be "fraught with peril to the country."

See also WOMAN'S ECONOMIC POSITION IN GREAT BRITAIN, EUROPE AND UNITED STATES, THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT, WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN (by Miss Christabel Pankhurst), etc.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR: Founded in 1867. Affiliated with the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (*q.v.*). Membership, 410. Official organ, *Women's Franchise*, weekly, 1*d*. Hon. President, Miss Agnes McLaren, M.D. *Hon. Secretary:* Miss J. C. Methven, 25, Great King Street, Edinburgh.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, LONDON SOCIETY FOR: Founded in 1867. Affiliated with the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (*q.v.*). The membership is about three thousand. Official organ, *Women's Franchise*, weekly, 1*d*. President, Lady Frances Balfour. *Secretary:* Miss Philippa Strachey, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION, IRISH: Founded in 1874. Object: To promote the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise and other civic privileges to qualified women on the same terms as men. *Hon. Secretary:* Mrs. Anna M. Haslam, 125, Leinster Road, Dublin.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES, NATIONAL UNION OF: Founded in 1896. A union composed of forty-nine societies operating in various parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Official organ, *Women's Franchise*, weekly, 1*d*. President, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. *Secretary:* Miss Margery I. Corbett, B.A., 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

WOMEN'S TRADES, SCOTTISH COUNCIL OF: Founded in 1894. Object: To improve the industrial conditions of women and children, and to furnish statistics and other exact information concerning these conditions. Chairman, Rev. Prof. George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D. *General Secretary:* Miss Irwin, 58, Renfield Street, Glasgow.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION: Founded in 1903. Object: To found a working alliance between the Universities and labour organizations. There are 925 affiliated societies, 5257 individual members, and fifty branches. Official organ, *The Highway*, monthly, 1*d*. Presidents, The Bishop of Birmingham, and Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P. *Secretary:* Mr. Albert Mansbridge, 24, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.

WORKING-CLASS MORTALITY: According to the yearly returns for England and Wales, issued June, 1908, by the Registrar-General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, the death rate per thousand between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five was seen to be: all males, 8·38; occupied males, 7·84; unoccupied males, 36·31; between the ages of forty-five and sixty-five: all males, 25·03; occupied males, 22·73; unoccupied males, 57·01. The favourable percentage of deaths amongst workers is observable in above. A close estimate of the mortality among women occupied in industrial employment, has been attempted by the Registrar-General on more than one occasion, but several contingent circumstances render any precise tabulation difficult, and approximations could only be reached. Out of 502,138 deaths among women during 1900-02, eight per cent. only were returned as having an occupation, whereas an analysis of the 1901 census on the same basis revealed that 34·5 women were given as "occupied." From the data obtained by exhaustive inquiry, the conclusion was arrived at that cotton operatives and domestic servants were healthier at all age groups than other women on the average; charwomen up to thirty-five years of age showed higher than the average of mortality, but as age advanced a more favourable percentage prevailed. Seamstresses and shirtmakers are among the highest death-rates.

June, 1908, Returns

The quarterly return issued on August 20th, 1908, by the Registrar-General gives the total deaths for the United Kingdom for the three months to the end of June, 1908, as 160,895, which represents 14·5 of the estimated population. Of this total, 121,322 occurred in England and Wales, being 63,168 males, and 58,154 females. The ratio to the population showed per thousand, 14·8 males, 12·8 females, total 13·8, or 1·8 below the ten preceding March–June quarters. The violent deaths were 4969.

A comparative table showing death rates in various parts of the world to June, 1908, is given below, from which it is seen London is healthier than any of the towns mentioned except Antwerp.

	Highest per 1000 living.		Lowest per 1000 living.
St. Petersburg	30·8	Antwerp ..	12·6
Moscow ..	30·5	Chicago ..	13·4
Bucharest ..	25·6	Brussels ..	14·4
Trieste ..	23·7	Amsterdam ..	14·5
New Orleans	22·7	Christiania ..	15·0
Prague ..	21·5	Hamburg ..	15·1
Breslau ..	21·1	Berlin ..	15·2
		London .. 12·7	

Scotland

The annual report for Scotland issued in April, 1908, and dealing with vital statistics to end of 1907, gives the total deaths as 77,267, a rate of 16·178 per thousand, and an advance of 1682 on the previous twelve months. Of the total 38,267 were males, and 39,000 females. An analysis of the 1228 violent deaths which occurred in eight of the principal towns in Scotland — Glasgow, Edinburgh,

Dundee, Aberdeen, Paisley, Leith, Greenock, Perth—showed those which might be considered as resulting from industrial occupations to be—

In mines and quarries	1
Vehicles and horses	30
Ships, boats, docks (not drowning) ..	2
Building operations	2
Machinery	3
Weapons and implements	0
Burns and scalds	205
Poisons, poisonous vapours	54
Drowning	126
Suffocation (other than overlying) ..	101
Falls	32

Ireland

The latest annual return for Ireland is that issued in August, 1908, for the year 1907. The total deaths during the twelve months were 77,334, or 17·7 per thousand of estimated population. Of this total, 38,618 were males, and 38,716 females. The violent deaths were 1877, which is forty-three below the average for the last ten years. Of this number 1690 were by accident, of which the following represents the tables covering industrial employment.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Burns, scalds, and explosions	181	242	423
Drowning	248	58	306
Vehicular	162	19	181
Falls	115	133	248
Suffocation (omitting 74 infants)	14	1	15
	720	453	1173

WORKMEN'S NATIONAL HOUSING COUNCIL: Founded in 1898. Object: To induce municipal bodies to provide houses for the workers at cost rents. There are 150 societies affiliated. Housing Bills are promoted in Parliament, and municipal bodies impelled to build. Official organ, *Housing Journal*, monthly, 1*d*. President, Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P. *Secretary:* Mr. Fred Knee, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.

WORKS DEPARTMENT: (See under LONDON.)

Y

YOUNG LIBERALS, NATIONAL LEAGUE OF: Founded in 1903. In August, 1908, the League had one hundred active branches throughout the country, including fifteen in London. President, The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd-George, M.P. *Hon. Secretary:* Mr. J. Aubrey Rees, 5, Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

YOUNG TURKS' PARTY, THE: At the beginning of the reign of Abdul Hamid II., Sultan of Turkey, it was supposed that a *régime* of progress would be initiated, and at a very early period a reforming party, led by the enlightened and liberal Midhat Pasha, introduced a scheme for the establishment of a Constitution which was endorsed by the Sultan. A Parliament was actually elected, which sat for a short time at Constantinople in 1876. But its demands and measures so displeased Abdul Hamid that he abruptly dissolved the assembly and exiled Midhat, who ultimately was strangled. The despotic policy of the Sultan grew more and more rigid, and corruption increased in every department of the administration. All the world was shocked by a series of massacres in Armenia and Macedonia. For fully a quarter of a century thereafter steady progress was made in their propaganda by the Liberals known as the Young Turks, whose leading spirits were exiles residing chiefly in Paris. These sent active emissaries throughout the Turkish Empire, and circulated great quantities of revolutionary literature. Some of the Sultan's own relatives were amongst the most active of these enthusiasts. The Sultan showed no alarm, nor did he attempt to make any concessions, until in the summer of 1908 he became convinced through a mutiny amongst battalions sent to subdue malcontents in Macedonia, and the refusal of others to attack these, that the army had been captured by the Young Turks. Major Enver Ahmed Bey of the army staff, though only twenty-eight years of age, is recognized as the military leader of the Young Turkey party. From his headquarters at Monastir in Macedonia he telegraphed to the Sultan in August, 1908, that unless a constitution was granted his forces would march into Constantinople to enforce one. The Sultan yielded quickly, the Government was dismissed, and the Young Turks assumed control. Immediately the whole situation was transformed as if by magic, a proclamation of absolute civil and religious liberty being issued. This Turkish revolution may be considered as part of the general awakening of the East. The outbreak was but a few months later than the upheaval in Persia (*q.v.*).

Z

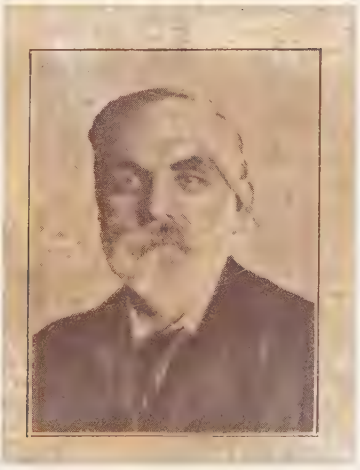
ZIONISM: Arising chiefly out of the persecution of the Jews in Russia, a colony was inaugurated by the late Dr. Herzl, in 1896, in Palestine, for Jews. Largely through the instrumentality of Mr. Israel Zangwill, Dr. Herzl was induced to present his views to the Jewish public in 1896, before the Maccabæans, after detailing his plans in the *Jewish Chronicle* (*London*), on January 17th, 1896. Briefly the plan was to form a joint stock company for obtaining by purchase from the Sultan permission and land to settle in Palestine, and there form a Jewish commonwealth. In London the movement did not meet with gratifying commendations, but on the Continent such men as Max Nordau, Alex. Marmorek, and Max Bodenheimer, supported it. Later, Messrs. Holman Hunt, Hall Caine, and Rider Haggard were among the prominent men in England to express views favouring Zionism. The work and propaganda have steadily progressed until in 1908 there are some thousands of Zionist branches throughout the world. The British Government made the Zionists an offer in 1903 of land in British East Africa, but it was rejected at the Sixth Congress, in 1905 (Herzl having died in the interim), the delegates preferring to adhere to the original intention of purely Palestinian colonization. The active work of Zionism is in the hands of the Jewish Colonial Trust, who have founded, through the Anglo-Palestine Company, a colony at Jaffa, on similar lines to that started under the same auspices in Jerusalem in August, 1904. A Zionist school exists at Temir Khan Shusa in Daghestan. (See also ITO, ICA and JEWISH COLONIES.)

REFERENCES: *Jewish Encyclopædia*, vol. xii., "Zionism"; and vol. vii., Jewish Colonial Trust.

Hon. W. J. BRYAN, U.S.A.
Democracy

Lady GROVE
Moral Education

Earl GREY
Public-house Reform



Rt. Hon. JOHN BURNS, M.P.
Local Government

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM

A

ABANDONED FARMS: The growth of modern commercial centers, the development of factory towns, the increasing part played in economic life by the railroad, the general drift of population from the country to the cities (see CITIES) have led, in certain sections of the country, to the abandoning of farms. The extent to which this has taken place has been by some exaggerated, and the prominence given to the subject a few years ago led to investigations which have shown the exaggeration; nevertheless, the number of abandoned farms, at times at least, has not been small, and the fact has a significance of the most serious character.

REFERENCES: *Reports of Labor Bureaus*, Massachusetts, 1890; Maine, 1890; articles in *Garden and Forest*, vol. vi.; *Chautauquan*, vol. xvi.; *The Nation*, vol. xlix. See also *Abandoning an Adopted Farm*, by Kate Sanborn, 1894; *Hunting an Abandoned Farm*, by W. H. Bishop, *Century*, 47, p. 915.

ABBOTT, LYMAN: Editor-in-chief of *The Outlook* (New York); born at Roxbury, Mass., 1835. He was graduated from the University of the City of New York in 1853 (D.D., New York and Harvard; LL.D., Western Reserve University), and in 1860 was ordained Congregational minister. From 1860–65 he officiated as pastor in Terre Haute, Ind., and 1865–69 at the New England Church in New York. For three years (1865–68) he was secretary of the American Union Commission (Freedmen's). In 1869 Dr. Abbott resigned from his pastorate, and for several years edited the "Literary Record" of *Harper's Magazine*. He was associate editor of *The Christian Union* with Henry Ward Beecher, and in 1888 succeeded the latter as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, resigning in 1898. In 1881 Dr. Beecher sold out his interest in *The Christian Union*, and Dr. Abbott became its editor-in-chief. Later its name was changed to *The Outlook*. Dr. Abbott believes that the problem of political economy is to seek a more equitable distribution of wealth, rather than to promote a larger accumulation of wealth; that social reform calls for a recognition of partnership relations between labor and capital, and the extension of the industrial functions of government. He holds that the principles of the spirit of Jesus Christ applied to social problems would furnish their solution. Among his works may be mentioned: "Christianity and Social Problems" (1897); "The Rights of Man" (1901); "Industrial Problems" (1905). *Address:* *The Outlook*, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

ABERDEEN, ISHBEL MARIA, COUNTESS OF: Born 1857. Throughout her varied life the countess has always been interested in the welfare of the people, and so far as she has been able, both in Scotland, and in Ireland and Canada, during her husband's viceroyalties, she has given of her wealth, her influence, and her personal service to the improvement of the conditions under which the people, especially women, live. She has been at various times president of the International Council of Women, the Women's Liberal Federation, Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, and the Women's Industrial Council. In 1900 she edited the "Report of the International Congress of Women." She is the author of "Through Canada with a Kodak." *Address:* Vice Regal Lodge, Dublin, Ireland.

ABOLITION MOVEMENT: Abolitionist is a term used in the United States specifically for those who favored and sought to effect the abolition of slavery. We here consider the subject simply in the United States. (For the general history of the abolition of slavery, see SLAVERY.) It should not be forgotten, however, that the abolition movement in the United States was but a part of this more general movement.

Two tendencies, one from Christianity, the other from French naturalism and revolutionism, contributed mainly to the abolitionist movement in America. Its first open expression was among the Society of Friends or Quakers. As early as 1671 George Fox, in England, had spoken against slavery, and in 1696 the Pennsylvania Quakers advised their members against the slave trade. In 1774 all persons engaged in the traffic, and in 1776 all who would not emancipate their slaves, were excluded from membership among the Friends. John WOOLMAN (1720–73) and Anthony Benezet (1713–84) were prominent in this stage of the movement. In 1774 a Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery was formed by James Pemberton and Dr. Benjamin RUSH, and in 1787 was reconstructed under the presidency of FRANKLIN.

Early Abolitionists

The arguments of these earliest antislavery writers and workers were drawn mainly from general philosophic, humanitarian, and Christian principles. With Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, and other Southerners, all of whom deplored and often spoke against, altho most of them practised, slavery, other reasons entered in. While not insensible to the humanitarian arguments, they based their position largely on the above-mentioned French political principles then spreading through this country, and thus regarded slavery as a giant evil, inconsistent alike with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of Christianity. Other abolition societies were organized: In New

York (1785), Rhode Island (1786), Maryland (1789), Connecticut (1790), Virginia (1791), New Jersey (1792). The abolition of the slave trade by Great Britain in 1807, and by the United States in 1808, was a great advance. In 1777 Vermont formed a constitution abolishing slavery, and was soon followed by Massachusetts and other states, while many others gradually abolished it.

In 1819–20, the opponents of slavery made a stern resistance to the admission of Missouri as a slave state, but were defeated. The struggle, however, resulted in the so-called Missouri Compromise (1820), whereby slavery was legalized to the south of 36° 30′ N. Lat., and prohibited in all states that might be formed north of it (Mason and Dixon's line). California, however, tho lying partly south of this line, was admitted as a free state (1850), the Southern party obtaining in compensation the amendment of the Fugitive Slave Law, making it penal to harbor runaway slaves or to aid in their escape. But this is to anticipate. From 1801–47 there were various efforts participated in by Jefferson, Henry Clay, and James Madison, in the South, and Bishop Hopkins, Rufus King, President Harrison, and Dr. Channing in the North, to colonize the blacks in Africa. Liberia was declared independent in 1847. In 1831–32 the insurrection of Nat Turner in Virginia excited a strong desire for gradual abolition.

The first leader in *immediate* abolition was William Lloyd Garrison, a Massachusetts printer who (1829–30) worked with Lundy on his "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," published at Baltimore. In 1831 he began publishing *The Liberator* in Boston, and by 1832 the New England Antislavery Society was formed. In 1833 Garrison visited England and secured from Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Henry Brougham, and others, a condemnation of the colonization societies. Garrison's principles were, in his own words—and they soon became the principles of all abolitionists, however they differed in method—that "the right to enjoy liberty is inalienable"; that "to invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah"; that "every man has a right to his own body, to the products of his labor, to the protection of law, and to the common advantages of society." He said: "We plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine revelation as upon the everlasting rock. We shall send forth agents to lift up everywhere the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke. We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively anti-slavery tracts and periodicals. We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb. We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery. We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance." Such were the principles, and such, at least in the earlier stages, were the methods of the abolitionists. Garrison was a firm believer in Christ. He proclaimed himself a follower of the Prince of Peace. Human life he came to regard as sacred above all things. Capital punishment and war, as well as slavery, were to him and to most abolitionists an abhorrence. Viewing the subject thus from the standpoint of morals rather than of any political expediency, slavery was to him a sin not to be gradually abolished, but to be left. In *The Liberator* (vol. i., No. 1, Saturday, Jan. 1, 1831), he wrote: "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think or speak or write with moderation. No, No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen, but urge me not to use moderation in a case like the present! I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard."

Immediate Abolition

From the beginning, Garrison had declared for no union with slaveholders, and proclaimed the Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." In Dec., 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed, with Beriah Green as president and Lewis Tappan and John G. Whittier, secretaries. Theodore D. Weld, Samuel J. May, and Wendell Phillips began lecturing. In 1833, Miss Prudence Crandall, in Connecticut, opened her school to negro girls. She was ostracized, the legislature forbade such schools, and she was imprisoned. Riots against abolitionists became frequent. Prices, ranging from $3,000 to $20,000, were reported to be set by the South on the heads of several of the leading abolitionists. The latter sum was offered by six Mississippians for Garrison's head, and the same amount, made up publicly in New Orleans, was offered for the person of Arthur Tappan. In 1837 a slave was burned to death over a slow fire in St. Louis; and for his words in denouncing this, Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, a Presbyterian minister who had established an abolitionist newspaper in Alton, Ill., was mobbed and killed. Garrison, in Boston, was seized by a mob, dragged by a rope half naked through the streets, and was only rescued by a *posse comitatus* and conveyed to the mayor's office. Abolitionist lecturers and sympathizers were denounced from the pulpit and subjected to every indignity. Judge Birney declared that "the American churches were the bulwarks of American slavery." Such were some of the obstacles that abolitionist "apostles" had to contend with. Yet while the majority of pulpits either denounced the Garrisonian agitation or else were silent on the subject of slavery, there were ministers in all denominations who were outspoken in their denunciation of this great wrong, and valiantly espoused the cause of the slave. In the Unitarian denomination alone 170 ministers signed a protest against slavery, many of them preaching fearlessly against it, and willingly sacrificing favor and popularity in the cause of freedom.

The American Anti-Slavery Society

As a not unnatural result of the popular prejudice and indifference, the Garrisonian wing now became very radical. They were accused of advocating every kind of innovation, from woman's rights to free love, and were freely denounced as "come-outers" and "infidels." Birney, the Tappans, Gerrit Smith, Whittier, John Jay, Edward Beecher, Thomas Morris, and others left the original organization of the Garrisonians, and in 1840 organized the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. They felt that the time was come for the organization of a new political party, while the Garrisonians continued to radically urge their doctrines through all parties. As a result, in 1840, the Liberty Party

was organized, and in 1840 J. G. Birney was nominated for president, and Thomas Earle, of Pennsylvania, vice-president, polling 7,059 votes. In 1844 Birney and Morris polled 62,300 votes. These were drawn mainly from voters for Clay. As a result, Polk was elected, Texas annexed, and a vast amount of slave soil added to the United States. The policy then began to prevail in the North of advocating limitation of the slave area, and this led to the formation of the FREE SOIL PARTY. In this the Liberty Party was mainly merged, tho a few continued to vote a Liberty Party ticket to a much later date. In 1848 ex-President Van Buren was nominated as president by the Free-Soilers, and polled 291,363 votes.

Meanwhile, the agitation over the Fugitive Slave Law was coming to a head. The Constitution having recognized slavery by Art. iv., Sec. 2 of that document, it was declared that persons held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, and escaping to another, should be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor might be due. To this was added the amendment referred to above on the admission of California as a free state. The demand was made by the Free-Soil Party that this be repealed; yet in 1852 it polled a diminished vote. The same year Harriet Beecher Stowe published her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which at once produced a remarkable effect in enlightening the people and arousing in them a sense of the injustice and evil of slavery. In 1855 Captain John BROWN went to Kansas to vote, and to fight as well, against the efforts of Missouri border ruffianism and squatter sovereignty to establish slavery in Kansas. The leading abolitionists were eagerly engaged in helping slaves to escape to Canada by means of the "underground railroad," or a series of houses whose inmates were willing to shelter and aid slaves in their secret flight to the North. In 1856 the Free-Soil Party was largely merged in the newly formed Republican Party, with Gen. John C. Fremont as standard-bearer. He polled, however, only 114 electoral votes to 174 by James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate.

In 1856, May 19th and 20th, Charles Sumner delivered his speech in the United States Senate on "The Crime Against Kansas." The speech was an exposure of the cruel injustice of the government of the United States toward the free citizens of Kansas, and was strong and fearless both in its argument and its invective. Whittier said that "it was the severe and awful truth which the sharp agony of the national crisis demanded." It caused intense excitement among the pro-slavery members of the Senate. After the adjournment of the Senate, as Sumner sat writing at his desk, he was assaulted by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, and was so severely injured that it was four years before he could again take his place in the Senate, tho Massachusetts left it unfilled during his absence; he suffered from the effects of the murderous assault as long as he lived.

In 1857 the validity of the Missouri Compromise was rejected by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision. (See DRED SCOTT.) In 1859 John Brown made his effort to rouse the slaves at Harper's Ferry, was captured, and on Dec. 2d, hanged.

In 1860 the success of the Republican Party led to the firing upon Fort Sumter (April 12, 13, 1861) and the opening of the war. The war was not begun to abolish slavery, but simply to put down the rebellion. But the antislavery feeling grew. The fugitive slave laws were abolished in 1864. On Jan. 1, 1863, Lincoln issued, as a war measure, his emancipatory proclamation; and finally, in 1865, Congress passed the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States. On April 9, 1870, the American Anti-Slavery Society disbanded, believing its work fully done. (See NEGRO; SLAVERY; PHILLIPS; GARRISON, etc.)

The War of the Rebellion

REFERENCES: Among the best are *United States*, by Von Holst, vol. i.; *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, by Wilson; *American Conflict*, by Greeley; *Speeches*, by Garrison; *Political History of the Rebellion*, by McPherson; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Mrs. H. B. Stowe; *The Slave Power—Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs*, by John E. Cairnes; *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles, Biographies of Garrison, Phillips, and Brown*, by Parker Pillsbury.

ABORIGINES PROTECTIVE SOCIETY, THE: An English society which is active on the CONGO QUESTION against the employment of the CHINESE in South Africa, and kindred questions. Secretary, H. R. Fox Bourne, Broadway Chambers, S. W., London, England.

ABRAHAM, WILLIAM: British member of Parliament; born 1842 in Wales; educated in the national schools at Carnarvon. Son of a miner, the lad was early put to the same work. Already in 1873 he was made the miners' agent to conduct their affairs and to mediate when necessary in all questions and disputes between the miners and the operators. He is known everywhere throughout Wales by the name "Mabon." In 1885 he was elected to Parliament to represent the radical interests in the Rhondda Valley, Glamorganshire, a seat he still occupies. He is also president of the Miners' Federation of Southern Wales. *Address:* Bryn-y-Bedw, Pentre, Rhondda, Glamorganshire, Wales.

ABSENTEEISM: The practise of absenting oneself from one's country, station, estate, etc. In sociology it is used mainly of landlords absenting themselves from their lands and letting them out to tenants, the landlords giving no time nor care to their possessions except to receive the rents, which they spend in other places and communities. It has been an especial evil in Russia, France, and Ireland; but it is becoming common also in the United States, where wealthy investors live on their rents, perhaps themselves residing in London or in Paris.

The evils of absenteeism are not hard to discover. There is, first, the loss of interest which a resident is apt to take in the things and persons about him. "It is not the simple amount of the rental being remitted to another country," says Arthur Young, "but the damp on all sorts of improvements." The absentee is also less likely to take account of circumstances (e. g., tenant's improvements), which render rack-renting unjust. He is less likely to make allowance for calamities which render punctual payment difficult. "Miseries of which he can see nothing, and probably hear as little of, can make no impression" (A. Young). He is glad to get rid of responsibility by dealing with a "middleman" or intermediate tenant. Without the softening influence of personal communication between the owner and the cultivator of the soil, the "cash nexus" is liable to be strained beyond the limit

of patience. There can be little doubt but that absenteeism has been one potent cause of the misery and disturbances in Ireland. The cruelest oppressors of the French peasantry before the Revolution were the *fermiers*, who purchased for an annual sum the right to collect the dues of absentee seigneurs; and this evil it is not hard to trace in American life. The proverbial hardness and harshness of the agent who collects rents for absent owners is not invariable, but is frequent. There is, too, the not-to-be-forgotten effect upon the absentee himself of collecting rents from strangers to whom he pays no duties. Sometimes it may be indeed for the good of a community that a rich and luxurious, and perhaps immoral, landlord be absent from it, but this brings us to another subject. (See LUXURY.)

Perhaps the safest generalization is that made by Senior, that "in general the presence of men of large fortune is morally detrimental, and that of men of moderate fortune morally beneficial, to their immediate neighborhood." It must be remembered, however, that to those who hold that land should be held only by those who use it, or that all land should be taxed to its full rental value, absenteeism is an evil incident to the present system that is to be overcome only by the overthrow of the present system. To others it is an evil to be overcome by the greater insistence upon the *duties* as well as the *rights* of wealth. A strong statement of a different but very real form of absenteeism we quote from a suggestive report of the Church League of Lowell, Mass., Oct. 9, 1893:

Industrial Absenteeism

"It is largely true that the labor of Lowell earns the dividends, but they are mostly spent elsewhere, because the stock of the mill corporations is owned elsewhere. Thus we are confronted by the worst kind of absenteeism. The profits earned here go from here, while the mass of poverty, want, and vice that accumulates in every large manufacturing center is dumped on the charity of our churches and the hospitality of our poorhouse. We see the dreary dwellings of the earners of scanty wages; we see the premature age and disability of those broken down by the rapidly increasing speeding of machinery; we confront the intemperance and vice that follow from the hard conditions and hopeless despair of their bettering. The notebooks of our ministers are filled with sad, sad cases of destitution, sickness, and death, made peculiarly sad by the life history of the mill operative."

Professor Hadley, in his "Railroad Transportation" (1886), p. 133, has some pertinent remarks on absentee shareholders.

ABSTINENCE, REWARD OF: An expression in political economy, first used by SENIOR to denote the profits which he considered to be the "natural" reward of the capitalist for the use of capital which he had abstained from using in immediate consumption. The phrase is called "well chosen" by Mill, and has been widely adopted, and undoubtedly contains some element of truth; but it is, nevertheless, considered to be inapt by most economists to-day, since it is at least in great danger of misleading. Thus, when Jevons says, in his "Political Economy Primer," that "Capital is the result of saving or abstinence," he either expresses a mere truism, or states what is very frequently not the fact. If he means that capital is wealth that has not been consumed in other ways, he says what goes without saying; but if he means that capital is the result of saving and abstinence, so that the capitalist deserves to be rewarded because of his self-sacrifice, he implies what is very often *not* the case. All capital is by no means the result of careful saving and economy. It is notoriously very often the result of shrewd and fortunate investment by those who have lived at the same time in the utmost luxury and self-indulgence. It is made frequently by speculation and financiering in the "bulling" and "bearing" of stocks, in the engineering of some corner or combination in the market, in land speculation, and in a hundred other similar ways. Many fortunes have been begun as the result, perhaps, of abstinence and economy at the start, but after this, have been made by the bold, shrewd, and fortunate investment of the little sum. If the reliance had been *simply* on abstinence and economy, there would have been no fortune. G. Bernard Shaw, in the "Fabian Essays," calls "reward of abstinence" that "gleam of humor which still enlivens treatises on capital."

ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, THE: See AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

ACCIDENT INSURANCE: Insurance against accidents is a recent growth, tho the Hanseatic League seems to have developed a form of mercantile insurance in 1541, and England against the casualties of warfare in 1665. Modern accident insurance was planned in England in 1845, and the Railway Passengers Assurance Company began business there in 1849. Two years earlier (1847) four health-insurance companies had been formed in Massachusetts. In 1863 James G. Batterson formed a Railway-Passengers Insurance Company in Hartford. To-day accident insurance in the United States protects at least a million men and their families, and pays $20,000,000 a year in claims. (See also INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE, and INSURANCE.)

REFERENCES: *A Study of Accidents and Accident Insurance*, by George E. McNeill, Boston, 1900; *Accident Preventing*, in *Cassier's Magazine*, July 1905; *The Outlook*, Dec. 31, 1904.

ACCIDENTS IN INDUSTRY: The number of persons who are annually killed or injured in the United States as the result of industrial accidents is only approximately ascertainable in the present state of our vital and labor statistics. It is, however, a factor of such economic and social importance that in many other countries careful and comprehensive inquiry is made into the subject through factory inspectors, or other departments specifically charged with the duty of investigating causes and conditions detrimental to health and life in industry. The vital statistics of the United States census for the registration area contain, it is true, a statement of the number of deaths caused by accidents among occupied males; but there is no conclusive information available as to how many of the accidents reported under death certificates are specifically chargeable against industry or occupations on account of inherent or removable hazards or circumstances dangerous to human life. The nearest approach to an answer to the question as to the number and degree of frequency of accidents and injuries in American industry, is an estimate of the number of deaths occurring annually among all occupied males in the United States generally and in manufacturing and mechanical employments in particular. This, however, does not answer the equally important questions as to the probable number of workmen injured or incapacitated and

the degree of injury sustained, which require separate consideration, and regarding which our present state of statistical information is exceedingly unsatisfactory.

An approximate estimate of the annual loss of life from accidents among occupied males in the United States may be arrived at by the following method. Estimating the male population, ages fifteen and over, for the middle of 1906 as 28,322,000, and applying to this number the accident death-rate for occupied males, returned by the last census as 1.13 per 1,000, the resulting total is 32,004 fatal accidents in the mortality of the entire adult male population of the United States in 1906. In other words, it would appear to be safe to hold, upon the basis of this estimate, that from 30,000 to 35,000 fatal accidents occur annually in the United States among males of ages fifteen and over. An equally useful method is to first estimate the probable total mortality from all causes and then apply the normal percentage of deaths from accidents as determined by the last census for occupied males generally. For illustration, in the male population, as given above, at an annual normal rate of 15.0 per 1,000, as determined by the census, there occur approximately 424,830 deaths from all causes. Since in the mortality for occupied males 7.53 per cent are deaths from accidents, the probable number of such deaths is 31,990 per annum, or about the same as determined by the previous method.

General Estimate

In these estimates I have considered the adult male population as a whole and made no distinction between accidents in general and occupation accidents in particular. It is possible, however, to arrive at an approximate estimate as to the probable number of deaths properly chargeable to industry by the following method. In mercantile employments in which there are practically no occupation accidents, properly to be considered as such, the general accident rate is 0.46 per 1,000, as compared with 1.13 per 1,000 for males in gainful occupations generally. The excess or difference of 0.67 per 1,000 may be assumed to constitute the extra risk from accident in industry in general. If, upon the basis of the population as previously given, we estimate the number of accidents at the rate of 0.46 per 1,000, the annual number of deaths from accidents is 13,028. If this number is deducted from the total previously given, there remains an actual difference of 18,976 deaths from accidents, which would represent the result of employment or exposure in occupations or industries more or less hazardous and detrimental to human life. So that, restating the conclusion, it would appear to be a safe and conservative assumption that in the aggregate American adult male population there occur annually from 30,000 to 35,000 fatal accidents, and that of this number from 18,000 to 20,000 are the probable result of dangerous or hazardous employments.

Accidents, thus defined, comprehend the whole field of injury to men engaged in gainful occupations. *Industrial accidents* proper affect almost entirely those who are employed in factories and workshops or manufacturing and mechanical industries generally, including under this term all the trades and employments of a more or less mechanical nature, at which men work for wages and which require skill and ability beyond the grade of common labor. The number employed in this group, upon the result of the last census, is estimated for 1906 at 5,603,100. The general accident rate of this group, according to the census, was 0.88 per 1,000; and if this rate is applied to the number given, the probable annual accident mortality among adult males in industrial occupations generally is 4,931. Estimated by the percentage method, upon the basis of 6.44 per cent of fatal accidents among deaths from all causes among men in manufacturing and mechanical employments, the probable annual mortality from fatal accidents is 4,980, or almost the same.

In other words, approximately from 5,000 to 5,500 deaths from accidents occur among men in industrial occupations, and the remainder of the accident mortality among occupied males is generally chargeable chiefly against transportation, mining, shipping, fishing, and other dangerous employments. Since the accident mortality of men in mercantile employments is only 0.46 per 1,000, the probable excess in the accident death-rate of men employed in industrial occupations is 0.42 per 1,000, which, applied to the number employed, gives a total annual mortality of 2,353. So that, among men in strictly industrial employments in the United States, the average annual mortality from accidents is about 5,000 to 5,500, of which approximately 2,400 to 2,600 are chargeable against industry as a causative factor materially increasing the mortality from this group of causes.

Annual Average

For an estimate of the probable total number of accidents and injuries in American industry, only fragmentary data are available. The word "accident" has never been defined with sufficient accuracy, so that returns of one state are not strictly comparable with the returns of another. There is even less uniformity in this respect in the returns of different countries. The experience of accident insurance companies is also not useful for the end in view, in that for the protection of the companies against imposition and fraud the word "accident" is more strictly limited in the usage of accident insurance companies than in the returns of factory inspectors or bureaus of labor statistics. For this reason, the fact that, for illustration, the percentage of fatal cases to all accidents is about 1.3 in the experience of a large and representative company would not warrant the use of this figure in estimating the probable number of all injuries in American industry. Then, again, the experience of an accident company includes a large proportion of non-industrial risks on the one hand, and of extra-hazardous risks on the other.

Perhaps the most useful data are the accident statistics for the State of New York, which have been collected and published for the last four years. In the aggregate there have been reported 18,176 accidents during this period, of which 438, or 2.4 per cent, were fatal. If this figure is applied to the estimated number of deaths in industry, previously given as 5,000 to 5,500, the probable total number of accidents of all kinds in American industry upon this basis is from 200,000 to 250,000 per annum. It may be argued, of course, that the data for New York State are not sufficiently comprehensive and representative of American industry in general and that, therefore, the preceding estimate of approximately 250,000 accidents per annum is an overestimation of the facts. This may possibly be so, but, as I have previously pointed out, there is so wide a difference of opinion as to what properly constitutes an accident or injury of sufficient importance to come within the statutory requirements for reporting such accidents and injuries in industry generally, that no two estimates, upon whatever basis they may be adopted, are likely to agree. The New York State returns are in a large measure sustained by the corresponding data for Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and the United Kingdom. In Massachusetts, of the total number of reported industrial accidents, 2.46 per cent were fatal; in Wisconsin, 2.1 per cent; and in the United Kingdom 2.9 per cent. It would, therefore, appear to be a safe assumption that of all accidents in American industry 2.5 per cent are fatal; and if this figure is applied to the previous estimate of the accident mortality in industry, the resulting total is 208,300 industrial accidents per annum. This estimate includes all accidents of sufficient importance to cause at least a temporary loss of earnings, a loss of industrial efficiency, or a temporary suspension of labor.

New York

The data for New York are for twelve groups of industries, including metals and machinery, stone and clay, wood-work-

ing plants, leather and rubber, chemicals and explosives, paper and pulp, printing, textiles, clothing and laundry, food, tobacco and liquors, water, gas and electricity, and building. The space is not available for discussing these industries in detail, but the following table shows, first, the number of accidents in New York State during the four years 1901–4, according to degree of disability, and second, the estimated number of such accidents in American industry generally (5,600,000 male employees).

ESTIMATE OF ACCIDENTS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY
1906

(Upon the Basis of the Data for New York State)

DEGREE OF INJURY	NEW YORK STATE (1901–4)		UNITED STATES (1906)
	Number	Per cent	(5,600,000 male employees) Number
Temporary disablement:			
Lacerations	3,315	18.2	37,911
Burns	1,136	6.2	12,915
Cuts	3,991	21.9	45,618
Bruises	3,277	18.0	37,494
Sprains	671	3.7	7,707
Fractures	1,219	6.7	13,956
Other injuries	1,069	5.9	12,290
Total temporary disablement	14,678	80.6	167,891
Permanent disablement:			
Partial loss of			
Eyes	94	0.5	1,042
Limbs	79	0.4	833
Hands, feet	136	0.7	1,458
Other parts	2,624	14.4	29,995
Total	2,933	16.0	33,328
Complete loss of			
Eyes	1	0.1	208
Limbs	3	0.1	208
Hands, feet	6	0.1	208
Internal injuries	66	0.4	833
Total	76	0.7	1,457
Total permanent disablement	3,009	16.7	34,785
Deaths	438	2.4	4,999
Not reported	51	0.3	625
Grand Total	18,176	100.0	208,300

I have every reason to believe that the foregoing estimate is conservative, and that the facts of actual experience will conform to the theory. In round figures, according to the preceding table, there occur annually some 200,000 accidents in American industry and industrial pursuits. Of this number some 5,000 are fatal and some 38,000 are of sufficient seriousness to cause either total or partial disability to perform remunerative labor. From an economic point of view, the problem of industrial accidents, in the light of these statistics, is a most serious one. The loss in industrial efficiency alone represents a vast sum of money, to which must be added the cost of illness, nursing, etc. How much of this waste of life and health is preventable cannot be discust without a lengthy consideration of the facts of each industry and occupation. In a not inconsiderable degree the solution of the problem lies with the workmen themselves, while much of it falls properly within the scope of preventive legislation and state control. Some industries are naturally more dangerous than others, while some are practically free from serious risk.

As a brief illustration of the degree of variation in risk, I have made an analysis of the Rhode Island occupation mortality statistics for the decade 1895–1904, and in outline the result is as follows:

Rhode Island

According to the Rhode Island returns for the ten years 1895–1904, there occurred among occupied males generally 18,403 deaths from all causes, of which 1,520, or 8.3 per cent, were deaths from accidents. Among women employed in industrial pursuits, there occurred during the same period 1,251 deaths, of which 43, or 3.4 per cent were deaths from accidents. The difference in the percentages is chiefly the result of a more general exposure of men to hazardous conditions detrimental to life and health. A discussion in detail of the Rhode Island statistics would far exceed the available space. I can only briefly touch upon the more important employments.

In general *mechanical industries* the percentages of deaths from accidents in the mortality from all causes were 7.1 for tool-makers, 6.8 for machinists, and 6.8 for mechanics generally. In the iron and steel industries the percentage was 7.6 and among molders 6.7.

In *general trades* and *industrial occupations* the information is available for seventeen different groups, in which the percentages of deaths from accidents vary between 20.0 for steamfitters and 1.3 for printers. For the separate groups the percentages are as follows: Steamfitters, 20.0; painters, 12.8; boilermakers, 9.7; masons, 9.0; tanners, 8.7; bakers, 7.6; stone-cutters, 7.5; tailors, 6.1; butchers, 6.0; rubber workers, 5.7; jewelers, 5.5; tin-workers, 5.1; plumbers, 4.7; barbers, 3.8; plasterers, 3.8; shoemakers, 2.9; printers, 1.3.

In the *textile industry* detailed returns are available for seven occupations, regarding which the respective percentages are as follows: Dyers, 11.4; carders, 10.5; weavers, 9.4; operators generally, 9.3; superintendents and overseers, 8.7; spinners, 3.1; wool-sorters, 2.6.

Among men engaged in *driving, teaming*, and allied occupations the percentages of deaths from accidents were: Teamsters, 14.7; hostlers, 14.3; cab and hack drivers, 14.3; drivers generally, 8.5; expressmen, 7.9; coachmen, 7.6; livery and stable keepers, 2.9.

Among men engaged in *contracting and construction* work, the percentages of deaths from accidents were: House-movers 60.0; roofers, 33.3; slaters, 25.0; carpenters and joiners, 9.2; and contractors and builders, 5.7.

The preceding occupations include most of the more important industrial pursuits. If the comparison were extended to include men employed in railway transportation, shipping, mining, etc., the less serious character of industrial pursuits would be more apparent.

In four selected groups of mercantile occupations the percentages of deaths from accidents were: For manufacturers, 2.0; merchants, 3.8; clerks and salesmen, 4.5; and storekeepers, 5.7. All these percentages are considerably below the general average, and this is equally true for farmers, with a percentage of 5.4, and gardeners with only 3.6.

While this analysis is limited to the mortality statistics of the State of Rhode Island, it is quite probable that the conditions in manufacturing states or industrial sections generally are about the same. The facts stated emphasize the necessity and social duty of a more qualified and scientific system of factory inspection and the rendering of uniform reports regarding accidents and injuries among persons employed in American industry. (See DANGEROUS TRADES; INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE; MINING; RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.)

FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN.

Dr. Josiah Strong has made some startling but significant comparisons in regard to accidents. He says in a tract, "Safety and Security for American Life and Labor" (1906):

Our peaceful vocations cost more lives every two days than all that we lost in battle during our war with Spain. It has been pointed out that the Pennsylvania coal-fields alone furnish "an industrial Bull Run" annually.

In these piping times of peace, we in the United States kill in four years some 80,000 people more than all who fell in battle and died of wounds, on both sides, during the four years of our Civil War. Records of the War Department show 67,058 killed in action, and 43,012 who died of wounds in the Federal armies; total, not including those who died from sickness, 110,070. Confederate records were largely destroyed, but it is believed that their losses were proportionately severe. Total number of enlisted men in the Union Army, 2,800,000. The War Department estimates total Confederate force at something over 1,000,000 men. This would make total Confederate killed and dead from wounds about 40,000—total, both sides, 150,000.

The number who died by accidents and violence in the United States in 1900 was 57,513. (See Census Bulletin No. 83.) That is, in the same length of time, we are now killing 53 per cent more people than two great armies could destroy equipped with all the weapons of death that ingenuity could then devise, and making destruction their eager business.

We are killing more than twice as many every year as perished by violence in both the French and English armies during the Crimean War. There are more killed and wounded on our railroads every year than the entire losses of the Boer War on both sides in three years.

The perfection of modern firearms rendered the late conflict in Asia exceptionally bloody. The entire losses of the Japanese in killed and wounded were 153,652; those of the Russians 180,134—a total of 333,786. This estimate was made by Gen. Tarker H. Bliss, of the United States General Army Staff, and is officially described as very nearly accurate. The above figures do not include the losses by sea fights, which, however, add only a few thousand.

The casualties of our industrial army are, without doubt, at least fifty per cent greater every year. Of course, the losses of war include many deaths from sickness. These are not considered here because we have no means of estimating the number of corresponding deaths in our industrial army, caused by death-producing occupations. There is, however, a long list of trades which cause premature death, none the less surely because gradually.

A record kept during a part of last year showed 2,555 fatalities in New York City in nine months, which was at the rate of 3,406 for the year—an average of more than nine violent deaths a day.

Without any increase of the annual rate reported by the government in 1900, there will be 575,000 killed every ten years, besides some 5,000,000 injured, even if our proportion of accidents to the population should prove to be no greater than that of France. This is like massacring every inhabitant in three cities the size of Indianapolis, Kansas City, and Denver, every ten years, and at the same time maiming and mangling every man, woman, and child in Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, and Oklahoma, and doing it every ten years.

Is it not time for the public to know the magnitude of these perils of peace? Is it not time to learn that this wounding and killing—more frightful than that of war—is largely unnecessary? Is it not high time to take some active measure to stop it?

Comparing accidents abroad with these in the United States, Dr. Strong says:

Among a given number of coal miners there are more than twice as many fatalities in this country as in Great Britain; the proportion being 2.64 here to 1.27 there. Of a given number of railway employees we kill nearly three times as many, and injure more than five times as many as Great Britain; we kill two and a half times as many, and injure five times as many as Germany; we kill more than three times as many, and injure nearly nine times as many as Austria-Hungary.

Nor must we imagine that accidents have been reduced to a minimum abroad. An investigation of 15,970 accidents in Germany showed that 53 per cent of them were avoidable. If among a given number of employees we have more than twice as many accidents as Germany, and if more than half of Germany's accidents are avoidable, it would seem probable that more than three-quarters of our accidents are avoidable.

REFERENCES: "*A Study of Accidents and Accident Insurance*," by George E. McNeill, Boston, 1900; *Census Bulletin*; *World's Work*, March, 1906; *The Independent*, April, 1906; *Charities*, July 7, 1906.

ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH: See WEALTH.

ACTORS' CHURCH ALLIANCE: A society founded in 1899 by Rev. Walter E. Bentley, for the purpose of establishing closer relationship between the theater and the church. It appoints chaplains of all denominations to minister to the needs of the dramatic profession and agitates against Sunday performances and other evils of the stage. It has some 3,000 members, about half of these being of the dramatic profession. It is established in more than 400 towns of the United States and Canada, with local chapters in the larger cities, and is affiliated with the Actors' Church Union of England. President, Rt. Rev. H. C. Potter, D.D.; Secretary, Miss O. D. Drescher, 1431 Broadway, New York.

Mr. Bentley says:

One of the strangest facts in our complex civilization is that two of our greatest institutions, the Church and the theater, have been so far apart in sympathy and interest for so many centuries, and with the exception of a few feeble, spasmodic efforts, have not even tried to understand each other. This unhappy divorce has been injurious to both. The stage has lost the guidance and direction of the organized conscience of the community, while the Church in ignoring this great department of social action has lost that touch of nature which the stage supplies, and to that extent its grip on daily life. The Alliance seeks to correct this. It recognizes the stage as one of the greatest educational and ethical forces in society, potent to humanize, even while seeming but to amuse, and contributing so vitally for weal or for woe, to the character and destiny of the nation. It seeks to aid the Church at large in establishing closer relations with men and women following the dramatic profession, by making special provision for their needs and aiding them in any and every way conducive to their welfare. Clergymen of all denominations, Jewish and Christian, are appointed in every theatrical center, their duty being to visit members of the profession as temporary parishioners and to render them every service in their power. They also enlist the sympathies of local managers, and post Alliance calendars giving their names, churches, and services near the call board on the stage of every theater, signifying their willingness to care for any one who may be left sick in their town. Weekly notices are posted to the chaplains from the New York headquarters, giving, in advance, the arrival of the dramatic members, and thus the two are brought into immediate contact and are mutually introduced simultaneously all over the United States and Canada.

Another great aim of the Alliance is the effort to abolish Sunday performances, especially in the West. This is done not only on religious grounds, but also in justice to the actor, who, through this custom, is compelled to work seven days a week for six days' pay. Special Sunday services are provided by the chaplains, where the exigencies of traveling prevent the actor from attending the regular service; and social receptions are held whenever opportunity affords. Thus every effort is made to promote mutual good fellowship. Local chapters, consisting of the clergy, actors, and the public have been organized in about thirty-five of our largest cities, and everything possible is done to encourage and increase the support of the more wholesome drama and to bridge the chasm of misunderstanding between these two great departments of social life.

WALTER E. BENTLEY.

ACTORS' CHURCH UNION: A union formed in England, in connection with the State Church, at about the same time and along the same lines as the ACTORS' CHURCH ALLIANCE (which see). It is now established in about twenty-three metropolitan and 137 provincial counties in Great Britain. The Bishop of Southwark is its president. Honorary secretary, Rev. Donald Hole, 20 Woodview Gardens, Highgate, N. London, England.

ADAMS, FRANCIS: Writer in the cause of labor; born in Malta, 1862. He was educated for the civil service, but instead became a teacher and writer, issuing a volume of verse in 1884. In the same year he went to Australia for his health, and threw himself into the labor movement, issuing his "Songs of the Army of the Night," in 1887. In 1890 he returned to England, broken in health, yet continued to write for the cause of labor to the last, in *The Fortnightly Review* and elsewhere, and issued "The New Egypt" just before a final hemorrhage. On Sept. 4, 1893, he calmly and deliberately shot himself in the presence of his wife, and was buried "with clenched hands" in Margate Cemetery.

ADDAMS, JANE: Head of Hull House in Chicago; born at Cedarville, Ill., 1860; daughter of State Senator J. H. Addams. She was graduated from Rockford College in 1881, whereupon she traveled in Europe for two years. Together with Ellen G. Starr she founded Hull House in 1889, and has continued as its head ever since, developing its steady growth and large success and usefulness. Miss Addams has taken a promi-

nent part in almost every reform movement in Chicago, and even in the United States, especially in all that concerns women, children, and the tenement population. She was at one time appointed inspector of streets and alleys in the Hull House district, and introduced many reforms; and she has served also on numerous municipal and other public committees as well as on innumerable private ones. She has constantly been called upon to deliver commencement and other addresses, mainly upon some subject in social reform, from the standpoint of ethics and democracy; and she has written a large number of articles in magazines and elsewhere. Miss Addams is neither an avowed Socialist nor a Tolstoian, tho friendly to both those views and an active worker for many of their proposals. Her emphasis is upon the ethical side of the social movement, coupled with an insistence upon the democratic organization of industry, largely on socialist and trade-union lines. Among her writings may be mentioned: "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements" and "The Objective Value of a Social Settlement," in a volume entitled "Philanthropy and Progress," 1893; a contribution to "Hull House Maps and Papers," 1895; "Democracy and Social Ethics," 1902; "Newer Ideals of Peace," 1907. *Address:* Hull House, 335 S. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.

ADDERLEY, Hon. and Rev. JAMES GRANVILLE: Born 1861; educated at Oxford; first head of Oxford House, in East London. During the great dock strike he aided the dockers, raising £800 for them. He has officiated as curate or vicar in the parishes of Barking, Plaistow, Mayfair, and Marylebone, and since 1904 as vicar of Saltley, Birmingham; and he is on the Council of the Christian Social Union. Among his writings are: "Stephen Remarx" (1893), a Christian Socialist novel; "The New Floreat" (1895); "Christ and Social Reform"; "Looking Upward" (1896); "Francis of Assisi" (1901); "A New Earth" (1903); and "Behold the Days Come" (1907). *Address:* The Parsonage, Saltley, Birmingham, England.

ADLER, FELIX: Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture; born at Alzey, Germany, 1851; came to the United States in 1857; was graduated from Columbia College in 1870 (Ph.D., Berlin); professor of Semitic languages and literature at Cornell, 1874–76. In 1876 he founded the Society for Ethical Culture in New York City, and in 1879, under the name of the Workingman's School, he established the Ethical Culture School, which he still directs. Dr. Adler was a member of the Tenement House Commission in 1883, and in 1900 of the Committee of Fifteen. In 1902 he became professor of social and political ethics at Columbia University, the chair being especially created for him. He is chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, and gives much of his time to the work for children. Dr. Adler believes in democracy and in voluntary collectivism, but not in Socialism; in the sacredness of each person's individuality; and that the right democratic spirit will have been attained when the relations to equals, to those in the higher ranks, and to those in the lower ranks of life have been adjusted on an ethical basis. He is the author of: "Creed and Deed"; "Moral Instruction for Children"; "Life and Destiny"; "The Religion of Duty"; and "The Essentials of Spirituality"; and he was one of the founders of *The International Journal of Ethics. Address:* 152 West Street, New York City.

ADLER, VIKTOR: Physician; Socialist; born in Prague, 1852. Educated a physician, he gave up his profession for Socialist propaganda. In 1866 he started the *Gleichheit*, and succeeded in uniting the divided Austrian Socialist Party. He is now editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party; and is author of many Socialist tracts and short books on labor chambers, universal suffrage, etc.

ADMINISTRATIVE NIHILISM: A phrase first used by Professor Huxley in an address before the members of the Midland Institute, 1871, to describe the doctrine (which he opposed) of those who believe that the state should be limited in its functions to the protection of its subjects from aggression. The address has since been published under this name of "Administrative Nihilism." Professor Huxley quotes approvingly Locke's maxim, that "the end of government is the good of mankind," and defines the good of mankind as "the attainment by every man of all the happiness which he can enjoy without diminishing the happiness of his fellow men."

ADULTERATION OF FOOD: In political economy this means "the act of debasing a pure or genuine article for pecuniary profit by adding to it an inferior or spurious article, or taking one of its constituents away." In England, as early as the thirteenth century, the legislature attempted, tho with but partial success, to strike a blow against it, showing that it existed even then; but it is modern invention and still more modern commercialism that has mainly produced it. Between 1851 and 1854 in England a sanitary commission, instituted in connection with *The Lancet* newspaper, and most ably conducted by Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, made revelations of so startling a character that parliamentary action took place; and this, tho at first ineffective, has been improved, till it is now somewhat effective, and has been followed by legislation in other countries.

I.—In the United States

It is in the cheaper grades that adulteration of food is commonly found. The greater temptation would naturally lie in debasing the dearer commodities, but those who buy the dearer commodities have obviously the means to make effective their demand for good qualities, and will not take the poorer. It is thus upon the working class that the burden of debased commodities mainly falls. Not all such deceptions are harmful to health; but they are all swindles, whether harmful or not.

Food Budget

The United States Bureau of Labor in 1904 analyzed the household budgets of 2,567 working-class families. They are not typical budgets, it must be said, but exceptional ones, since these families, averaging 5.31 persons each, had an average yearly income of $827.19. The average working-class family in America has nothing like this income. Fifty-one per cent of the unskilled shoe-workers of the nation receive less than $300 yearly. The general run of textile operatives receive but little more. The Pennsylvania bituminous-coal miners receive but $418.15, and the anthracite miners $684.78 (1904). The 1,300,000 railway workers, including all the salaried officials, average but $631 (1903–4), while the highly paid steel workers receive but $710 (1905). The normal working-class family, even allowing two bread-winners to

each, will probably not average more than $600 a year. The figures are of the utmost importance in considering the relation of household budgets to deceptive and debased foods; for the lower the income the more the family is rendered the prey of adulterations—the more it is forced to renounce the solid and nutritious foods wherein adulteration is least, and the more it is forced to have recourse to the less nutritious foods, including stimulants, condiments, and the like, wherein adulteration is greatest.

Meat, salt and fresh, furnishes 28.45 per cent of the value of the food consumed by these families. This is a high percentage, the actual one for all working-class families being more likely in the neighborhood of 20 or 23. Meat is not yet subject to substitution. But it is, in no slight degree, subject to debasement. If the reports of the special correspondent of the London *Lancet*, of Mr. Upton SINCLAIR, and of many other investigators are to be believed, meat slaughtered in the great packing-houses does not, by a large margin, meet the standard requirements. (See PACKING-HOUSES.)

Adulterated Articles

Lard, which claims 2.86 per cent of the value of the food budget, may be mentioned here, by reason of its supposed kinship to meat. It is very generally adulterated. Forty-nine per cent of the samples reported examined in the Connecticut report for 1903 were "grossly adulterated" with cotton-seed oil. There is also a thing called "compound lard"—tho it is not likely that the qualifying word is generally revealed by the dealer to the average consumer—which is made almost wholly of cotton-seed oil, tho occasionally paraffin shares its company. "Real lard," says the report, "is a minor constituent."

Milk, butter, and cheese form the second highest number in the food budget, 16.12 per cent of the total. The adulterations and debasements in this category are both so extensive and so intensive that space cannot be given for enumerating them. In spite of laws for the inspection of milk in most of the states, its "dosing" with formaldehyde and its adulteration are general. The cheaper grades of condensed milk are almost all frauds. Cheese is rarely the thing it pretends to be. Oleomargarin is still sold for butter, and a thing known as "renovated butter," temporarily transformed, according to Commissioner Blackburn of Ohio, from "unsalable butter in various degrees of putrefaction," is sold in large quantities. But a new process of "faking" butter, which is no more than the solidifying of skimmed milk, threatens an overflow of the markets, particularly in Canada, where it is now being unloaded.

Vegetables count for 9.72 per cent of the food budget. In their native form they are, of course, impossible to substitute. The canned goods, however, are very generally "freshened" or colored with chemical salts and preserved with boracic or salicylic acid. Peas, string beans, asparagus, corn, and tomatoes are all subject to this manipulation.

Sugar and molasses count for 5.34 per cent. Crystallized sugar is generally pure, but pulverized sugar is very liberally adulterated; and most, if not all, of the popular brands of maple sugar and sirup are substitutions. Molasses and fancy sirups are chiefly glucose.

Eggs count for 5.14 per cent and poultry for 2.90. Despite the apparent difficulty of fabricating eggs, the thing is said to have been done with a fair degree of success, tho it is believed that the business has declined. As for real eggs, the deception to the consumer is largely one of pretense as to comparative freshness. But "egg flake" and "bottled egg," which are, or until very recently have been, largely used by confectioners and bakers, are the product of putrid eggs deodorized by boracic acid.

Flour and meal claim 5.13 per cent, and bread 3.81. Not much can be alleged against the purity of ordinary flour and meal, altho the so-called gluten flour, which is generally sold, has been shown by repeated investigations to be largely fraudulent. The case against baker's bread is a much stronger one. Many of the grosser impurities have been reformed out of it, tho it is still freely "dosed" with alum.

Fruit comes to 5.05 per cent. Here is another commodity which in its ordinary form defies "doctoring." Canned or dried, however, it suffers a fate similar to that previously related of vegetables; while in the form of fruit-spreads it is subject to the most brazen and wholesale debasement or substitution.

Coffee and tea claim 4.90 per cent, of which tea represents about one-third. Virtually all sales of coffee to the consumer are fraudulent in one way or another. The average person who thinks he knows what he wants will almost invariably, when purchasing, ask his dealer for Mocha and Java, and it would be a queer sort of dealer who should reply that he had none. And yet, as 98.9 per cent of all coffee imported into the United States comes from Latin America, it is evident that very few persons in this country have ever tasted either Mocha or Java. In addition to this wholesale deception, coffee, especially when ground or pulverized, is very generally adulterated with beans, peas, barley, and other and less wholesome substitutes, while coffee "essence" and "coffee compounds" are almost invariably fraudulent. Tea is carefully inspected at the ports, and only a small quantity of really doctored leaves find their way here from abroad. But there is considerable "touching up" with graphite, adulterating, and even substituting within the country.

Fish is listed at 2.45 per cent. There is a good deal of seizing and destroying of superannuated fish by the health authorities (385,699 pounds in New York City in 1905), a good deal of transforming of one kind of fish into another by our restaurant keepers, and perhaps a certain amount of "touching up" for rejuvenating purposes by our market keepers.

Vinegar, pickles, and condiments are listed at only 1.26 per cent. No one acquainted with the food of the poor in a great city would accept these figures as typical. The real percentage—among the city poor at least—is considerably higher. The stinting of nourishing food develops an abnormal craving for acids, spices, and peppers, which the poor buy in large quantities. This whole class of commodities is subject to the most shameless adulteration and substitution.

A wide range of edibles is comprised in the final entry, "other food," with 6.24 per cent, or, including rice, 6.87 per cent. This total doubtless includes cocoas and chocolates, candy, cake, and ice-cream, breakfast foods and a host of articles such as baking-powders and cream of tartar. Cocoas and chocolates are very frequently adulterated, sometimes with no more than an excess of starch, wheat flour, or maize, but in other cases with foreign fats and insoluble matter. Candy, and particularly cheap candy, is largely adulterated. Said Dr. Lederle two years ago:

"It is, or was, hard to get pure candies. Years ago we found candies actually colored by poisonous colors, one of which was chrome yellow. Then terra alba, a white mineral, was used for 'loading' candy and cheapening it. So far as flavors are concerned, natural flavors have been almost entirely replaced by artificial compounds made by the chemist in the laboratory."

Much of the cake in the cheaper bakeries is unfit to eat, and as for the ordinary ice-cream it would be more appropriately named frozen starch and skimmed milk. Cream of tartar and baking-powder are variously adulterated or substituted, much of the former being nothing more than plain bicarbonate of soda. A report of the New York State Board of Agriculture in 1904 declared eight of seventeen samples to be substitutes.

Pure-Food Legislation

For something like seventeen years strong efforts had been made to induce Congress to pass a pure-food bill. Several minor measures, affecting a few commodities, had been passed, but it was not until the summer of 1906 that a comprehensive bill was enacted. This act, approved by the president June 30, 1906, provides for the fixing of standards in foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and prohibits after Jan. 1, 1907, the manufacture of debased or misbranded goods in the territories, the insular possessions, and the District of Columbia, and the introduction of such foods into any state, territory, or possession of the Union. The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor are designated to fix the standards and to "make uniform rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions" of the act.

Under the provisions of the act an article of food is deemed to be adulterated in any of the following circumstances:

(1) If any substance has been mixed and packed with it so as to reduce or lower or injuriously affect its quality or strength.

(2) If any substance has been substituted wholly or in part for the article.

(3) If any valuable constituent of the article has been wholly or in part abstracted.

(4) If it be mixed, colored, powdered, coated, or stained in a manner whereby damage or impurity is concealed.

(5) If it contain any added poisonous or other added deleterious ingredient which may render such article injurious to health.

A proviso, however, exempts certain commodities artificially preserved in cases where the preservative is removable by the consumer, and when instructions are given for its removal. The general tendency of the act will be toward compelling manufacturers to state the character of their goods by proper labels. Dealers who can establish a guaranty from wholesalers, jobbers,

or manufacturers, that goods handled by them are unadulterated or properly labeled, are exempt from prosecution.

W. J. Ghent.

II.—In Great Britain

There was practically no effective legislative control over the purity of the food supply in Great Britain until the year 1875, when the Sale of Food and Drugs Act came into operation. This act provided for the appointment by local authorities of public analysts whose duty it was to examine samples submitted to them by an official acting under the direction of a committee representing what was known as a vestry, a body of local administrators which has now given place to a borough or county council. The appointments are referred to the Local Government Board which to some extent controls the operations of the act. Before the act came into force the practise of adulteration was not merely fraudulent in kind but was fraught also with the gravest risks to the public health. People were not only cheated, they were poisoned. This state of affairs was exposed in a remarkable series of articles which appeared in *The Lancet* from 1851 to 1860, and the appalling conditions soon came to the notice of Parliament, chiefly by the efforts of the founder of *The Lancet*, Mr. Wakley, M.P. for Finsbury. Acts were passed in 1860 and 1872, but these were inefficient. However, since the Act of 1875 was passed, the condition of the food supply has steadily improved, till at last the adulteration of food was confined merely to fraudulent practises, while the use of poisonous substances was virtually stamped out. At the present time it is seldom that cases are brought to notice of poisonous substances having been found in the foods submitted to the public analyst. The Act of 1875 was further strengthened in 1879 and again in 1899.

Sale of Food and Drugs

Meanwhile, however, adulteration has become a fine art, and every conceivable opportunity is taken to deceive the public analyst.

Food is "faked" so cleverly as to defy detection by the ordinary methods of analysis, and this is particularly true in regard to butter. The criterion of genuine butter is a certain proportion of volatile fatty acids, a criterion which is readily satisfied by substituting foreign fats which yield volatile acids in quantity compensating for the poor percentage of genuine butter, if indeed any is present at all. The chief article of food examined in England is milk, and the result shows generally an amount of adulteration equal to 10 per cent of the samples examined. Milk showing less fat than 3 per cent is regarded as having had part of its cream abstracted. Drugs form but a small proportion of the articles examined, but on the whole the results of examination prove satisfactory. The standard for drugs is generally held to be the British Pharmacopœia. It must be confest that analysts in England do not give that attention which ought to be given to substances which involve an arduous examination. For this, however, the analyst can hardly be blamed, since as a rule the fees which he is paid do not compensate him for any special work. The average fee received by the public analyst is usually less than half a guinea per sample. This fee may remunerate him satisfactorily in the case of the analysis of milk or of coffee, but such a fee would not be consistent with a complete analysis of spirits or water.

Clever Adulterations

Recently proceedings have been taken under the Food and Drugs Act against the sale of brandy and whisky, the composition of which did not accord with that of the genuine articles made entirely from grape and malt. Standards for genuine brandy and whisky have been laid down, which depend upon the amount of by-products of fermentation and distillation other than alcohol found in genuine brandy and whisky. Convictions have thus been obtained under the operations of the Food and Drugs Act. The fact that it can be proved by analysis that both brandy and whisky are frequently nothing but spirit derived from grain in the patent still, has thrown the spirit trade into a condition nothing short of alarm. There is no doubt that substitution has been practised by this industry for a long time; and the general opinion is that a clear and accurate description of the spirit sold for consumption should be declared on the label.

There is no immediate prospect of any serious fresh legislation of a general kind being made in England in regard to the adulteration of food. It is probable, however, that extra steps will shortly be taken in order to protect the public from the extensive watering of butter that goes on, and also its sophistication with foreign fats. Under the name of milk-blended butter, a good deal of that article is sold which contains no less than 25 per cent of water, and this retailed at 1 shilling per pound. It is a clever ruse on the public, and will probably be dealt with by a special statute. The samples of food and drugs examined annually by public analysts number about 50,000, and generally a third of this number consists of samples of milk. The rate of adulteration for all samples is approximately 10 per cent, a figure which year by year has shown slight reduction. The extent of adulteration, however, is probably greater than this, since when samples are obtained in an unofficial way the percentage of adulterated ones rises considerably. In past years the penalties have been too trifling to deter offenders from repeating the offense; but recently the fines inflicted have been much heavier, and with a salutary effect.

Legislation

It is to be regretted that England is still without any definite statutes concerning the use of preservatives and coloring-matters. A special departmental Committee was appointed several years ago to consider this question, and its members issued in 1901 a report containing their recommendations. These recommendations have never become law, altho the opinion of the public analysts has been guided by this report, and prosecutions have succeeded on the strength of the conclusions of the Departmental Committee. Briefly, these conclusions were that preservatives and coloring-matters should be absolutely prohibited from being used in milk and all other articles of food intended for infants or the sick, that formaldehyde be prohibited altogether, that borax compounds be allowed in limited quantity in cream and in butter, and salicylic acid in wines, etc., to the extent of one grain per pint. The use of copper salts for greening vegetables was condemned.

On the whole it may be said that the Sale of Food and Drugs Act is working well, and certainly since its inception the quality of the food supply has greatly improved; but evidence is not wanting that the act requires amendment in several directions, and public attention is being drawn to the fact. Perhaps the weakest section in the act is that which allows a dealer to sell any adulterated goods so long as he declares the fact. There is little doubt that tho this disclosure is publicly made by a notice in the shop or on the label of the goods, the public in many instances are careless and pay little regard to such declarations, or else the announcement escapes their attention on account of its being printed in small letters or in an obscure place. Of course, when the inspector appointed under the act gets samples in this way, the defense is that the fact that the goods were not genuine was

Effects of the Act

disclosed at the time of the purchase in one of the ways indicated. In most of the public houses in England a notice commonly hangs in the bar pointing out that the spirits are diluted with water "in compliance with the requirements of the Food and Drugs Act"!!! In some restaurants it is even declared that the milk sold cannot be guaranteed to contain its full complement of cream. Such methods are calculated to defeat the aim of the act, which is to provide the public with food of good quality and to protect them against fraud.

S. Archibald Vasey.

References: *The Independent*, May 24, 1906; *The Outlook*, March 3, 1906; *The Lancet*, London.

ADVERTISING: In the early and middle ages signs and criers were used for this purpose, and the public crier gradually became a necessary and important officer. The first advertisement in the United States appeared in *The Boston News Letter*, a two-page paper (8 inches by 12), in 1704. The first number of advertisements appeared in *The New England Weekly Journal* (Boston, 1828), and pertained to books, coffee, runaway slaves, sale of negro girls, etc. The New York *Sun*, established in 1833, contained advertisements of various kinds, tho not as numerous as at the present time. The first newspaper advertising agency was established in Philadelphia in 1840, by Volney B. Palmer. To-day there are more than 600. Magazine advertising began with *Scribner's Monthly* in 1870.

Growth of Advertising in Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States

Year	Subscriptions and sales	Advertisements	Per cent
1880	$49,000,000	$39,000,000	44
1890	72,000,000	71,000,000	49
1900	77,000,000	95,000,000	54

It is this advertising which makes possible the educational work (good and bad) of the daily press and of the weekly and monthly magazines. The amount expended in newspaper and periodical advertising in the United States was put by the census (1900) at $95,861,127. Advertising on bill-boards, fences, etc., has been estimated at $1,250,000 annually; street-car advertising at $2,000,000; lithographing (folders, etc.) at $15,000,000. These estimates are probably far too low. The total has been estimated at $600,000,000 annually. Mr. Post spends $600,000 annually in advertising his food products. $1,000,000 was spent in 1893 in advertising the breakfast food known as "Force," and more than $1,000,000 is spent annually in advertising "Peruna." A soap firm gave a three-years' contract to a magazine for a one-page advertisement at $4,000 per month.

Socialists believe that much of the money spent in advertising is an economic waste due to competition; but $95,000,000 expended on newspaper and periodical advertising is less than 1 per cent of the commerce of the country, spent for making it known. Movements and societies have recently been started, making propaganda against the abuse of advertising in beautiful and historic places, as well as against immoral and indecent advertising. The best known of these is the London "Society for Checking Abuses in Public Advertising" ("Scapa"), 1. Camp View, Wimbledon Common, S. W. London. Some cities have passed ordinances on the subject. For the United States, see American Civic Association.

References: *Publications of the American Statistical Association* (new series), vii., 52, Boston, 1900; *Journal of Political Economy*, ix., 218, Chicago; *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan., 1904; *Chatauquan*, Oct., 1903.

AFRICA: Reform in Africa is a question of the spheres of influence of the great powers. The following table shows the present situation:

countries	Area in Sq. Miles	Population	Per Sq.M.	Protestants	Roman Catholics	Eastern Churches	Jews	Mohammedans	Others
Africa:									
Abyssinia	150,000	3,500,000	23	.....	2,000	3,098,000	60,000	50,000	290,000
British Possessions	2,391,000	38,105,000	16	2,024,000	325,000	1,000	16,500	12,217,500	23,521,000
Congo Free State	900,000	30,002,000	33	15,000	17,000	.....	.....	600,000	29,370,000
Egypt	400,000	9,734,000	692[1]	27,000	26,000	647,000	25,000	8,979,000	.....
Egyptian Sudan	95,000	2,000,000	8	.....	2,000	3,000	2,000	1,693,000	300,000
French Depend.	3,792,000	34,849,000	9	472,500	758,000	26,000	117,000	17,667,000	15,808,500
German Depend.	932,000	13,047,000	14	47,500	21,500	.....	.....	812,000	12,166,000
Italian Depend.	188,000	850,000	4	1,000	17,000	12,000	500	450,000	369,500
Liberia	35,000	2,060,000	58	65,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,995,000
Morocco	219,000	5,000,000	22	1,000	5,000	3,000	150,000	4,840,000	.....
Portuguese Depend.	794,000	8,248,000	10	11,000	1,270,000	.....	.....	270,000	6,697,000
Spanish Depend.	253,000	274,000	1	1,000	14,000	.....	.....	199,000	60,000
Turkish Depend.	399,000	1,000,000	3	.....	6,000	9,000	10,000	275,000	.....
Total Africa	11,403,000	148,669,000	13	2,665,000	2,493,500	3,799,000	381,000	48,752,500	90,578,000

[1] Nile valley.

There are 14,178 miles of railroad in Africa, distributed as follows: Algiers and Tunis, 3,039; British Possessions, 3,671; Egypt, 2,885; Orange Free State, 596; other countries, 3,987. (See also Cape Colony.)

AGAPE: A love-feast, or feast of brotherhood and social communion, in the early Christian Church. The name comes from the Greek word *αγάπη*, signifying love. At these feasts the rich Christians presented their poorer brethren with gifts, and all sat around the tables and ate together as a token of their equality before God. The utmost harmony and fellowship prevailed. Prayer opened and closed the meeting, and a bishop or presbyter presided. A portion of Scripture was read, expounded, and discust; and during the feast spiritual songs were sung. If any communication had been received from another church, or from an absent member or bishop, it was publicly read. Money was collected for widows, orphans, prisoners, the poor, and those who had suffered shipwreck. At the close the members embraced, and a "philanthropic prayer" was pronounced. A spirit of practical sympathy

and benevolence prevailed. The participators did not seek for private spiritualities nor for personal enjoyment, but acted as "members one of another." In the second century persecutions checked the agape, and in the third and fourth centuries they degenerated into a kind of banquet, where the deaths of relatives and martyrs were commemorated, and where the clergy and the poor were guests. The increase of wealth at last rendered their original purpose abortive, and transformed them into positive evils, and too often scenes of iniquity. Councils denounced them for their riotousness and debauchery, and finally banished them altogether.

The agape have been revived by the Moravians, who hold solemn feasts where wheaten bread and tea are set before the participants, and where prayer and praise are offered up. (See GILDS.)

AGE OF CONSENT: The "age of consent" is the age of the female below which carnal connection, either with or without consent, is declared rape, and the male is liable to punishment therefor. In all the states of the Union and in sections under government control, as the territories and the District of Columbia, as well as in all civilized foreign countries, legislators have recognized the fact that innocence should be protected from the designs of vicious men. Therefore the statutes provide that below an age varying in different localities no maiden may legally consent to carnal connection with a male of an age of discretion, which is placed usually at seventeen years. Tho the maiden may consent, the law holds that the male is liable to punishment just as if she had resisted, provided she is below the age limit set.

According to the common law of England, a female becomes a woman at twelve years of age. Until the year 1885, the age of consent in Great Britain, therefore, was the end of the twelfth year. In 1885, by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, carnal intercourse with a female under the full age of thirteen years, was made a *felony*, punishable by penal servitude for life or for any term not less than three years, or by imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labor. The act further provides that carnal intercourse with a female between thirteen and sixteen years shall be deemed a misdemeanor, punishable at the discretion of the court by imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labor.

In Great Britain

As the laws of the United States are based on the English statutes, it follows that in all of the original states the age of consent was held to be twelve years. In one or two of them, however, it was fixed as low as seven years.

These facts, coming to the notice of earnest people whose hearts had been stirred by the agitation for moral purity, started and sustained by Mrs. Josephine Butler, Wm. T. Stead, and others, in England, efforts were put forth in several states to raise the age of consent from seven or twelve years to an age where greater experience and knowledge of the world would constitute more adequate protection.

This movement has become general; and in nearly every state the age of consent has been raised to sixteen or eighteen years, and in one state—Wyoming—to twenty-one years. The greater number have placed the age at sixteen years; and in some of these states it is not likely to be raised higher, as in them a girl of sixteen is allowed to marry without the consent of her parents; and legislators are not inclined to raise the age of consent above this point.

In the United States

According to a careful canvass the age of consent in each of the different states is as follows:

TEN YEARS: Georgia; Mississippi.

FOURTEEN YEARS: Alabama; Missouri; Nevada; North Carolina; South Carolina; Virginia; West Virginia.

FIFTEEN YEARS: Texas.

SIXTEEN YEARS: Arkansas; California; Connecticut; Illinois; Indiana; Iowa; Kentucky; Louisiana; Maine; Maryland; Massachusetts; Michigan; Minnesota; Montana; New Hampshire; New Jersey; Ohio; Oregon; Pennsylvania; Rhode Island; South Dakota; Vermont.

EIGHTEEN YEARS: Colorado; Delaware; Florida; Idaho; Kansas; Nebraska; New York; North Dakota; Tennessee; Utah; Washington; Wisconsin; the District of Columbia (Washington City), and territory under government control.

TWENTY-ONE YEARS: WYOMING.

Two States, Alabama and Delaware, have followed the method adopted in Great Britain of making the punishment more severe when the female is under ten or twelve years, and lighter between that age and fourteen or sixteen years. One State (Georgia) is reported to have no statute which exactly covers the case.

It is greatly to be desired that those states in which the age limit is below sixteen years will speedily amend their code so as to place the limit at sixteen or, better, eighteen years.

At present there are not sufficient data obtainable to accurately describe the conditions that exist in foreign countries relative to the age of consent. As legislation abroad is quite conservative and governed largely by precedent, it is not to be expected that the same advance has been effected as in this country.

O. EDWARD JANNEY.

AGRARIAN PARTY: A German political party, formed in 1869, under the leadership of M. A. Niendorf and Elsner von Gronow, to represent the interests of the landlords. The party has endeavored to abolish taxes on land, and to limit the importation of foodstuffs. Its influence is considerable, as it has largely dominated the conservative interests in the Reichstag.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AND EXPERIMENT STATIONS: The first agricultural school was founded by Fellenberg at Hofwyl, Switzerland, in 1806, and endured thirty years, educating 3,000 pupils. The Albert Institution, a great agricultural college, was founded at Glasnevin, near Dublin, Ireland, in 1838. In England a private experimental station was started at Rotham in 1843. The Royal College of Agriculture at Cirencester, England, was commenced in 1845, and a college of agriculture at Downton, in 1880. Various English colleges and universities have now agricultural departments. Grants of money in aid of agricultural education are made through the Board of Agriculture. Traveling-schools with dairy apparatus have been started. In Canada there is a successful agricultural college at Guelph, Ontario. Most of the Australasian colonies have agricultural colleges.

France has an elaborate system of agricultural

education under the national government, with the Institut National Agronomique at the head. There are three national schools of agriculture, with many secondary schools. Since 1879 instruction in agriculture, horticulture, and natural history has been obligatory in normal and primary schools. Belgium has developed a similar system. Denmark is giving much attention to this work, with an agricultural college at Copenhagen and numerous agricultural schools. Germany has no developed system, but many universities and industrial schools have agricultural courses. Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Russia are developing schools and colleges. Traveling instructors are employed in Norway and elsewhere. Germany has more than 100 experiment stations; France has 70; Austria 41.

In the United States the first agricultural college was established at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1855. Under the provisions of the acts of Congress of July 2, 1862, and Aug. 30, 1890, colleges having courses in agriculture are in operation in all the states and territories. In 1857 a bill was introduced by Senator Merrill of Vermont, who became a leader in the movement, and in 1862 a bill was passed donating land in each state for agricultural colleges. In 1887 Congress also appropriated $15,000 in each state for agricultural experiment stations. To-day there are sixty-six agricultural colleges, and there are experiment stations in nearly all the states and territories. Wisconsin started the first dairy school.

The total number of students in all departments of these institutions during the year ended June 30, 1904, was 53,161, of which number 6,726 were enrolled in institutions for colored students.

Of the students in the college departments, there were enrolled in regular four-year courses, as follows: Agriculture, 2,096; horticulture, 209; forestry, 26; mechanical engineering, 3,767; civil engineering, 3,222, electrical engineering, 2,936; mining engineering, 922; chemical engineering, 285; railway engineering, 3; sanitary engineering, 32; textile engineering, 95; general engineering, including unclassified first-year engineering students, 746; architecture, 227; household economy, 674; chemistry, 444; general science, 1,707.

There were enrolled in short courses as follows: Agriculture, 3,651; horticulture, 69; dairying, 673; mechanic arts, 1,145; household economy, 647; mining, 93.

The total income of the institutions, excluding the amount received for experiment stations, was $10,885,550, of which amount the several states and territories contributed $5,654,758, and the amount received from federal sources was $2,045,963.

The total value of all property amounts to $74,564,424, of which sum $28,388,826 is invested in interest-bearing securities.

The total income of the experiment stations in 1905 was $1,515,734, and they employed 845 persons. Of this work the Secretary of Agriculture says (1906):

The farmer will not fail the nation if the nation does not fail the farmer. He will need education to know the powers of the soil which are now hidden from him. The prospective yearly expenditure of $10,000,000 for educational and research work by nation and states, with such increases as may come from time to time, must have enormous effects. There may be agricultural schools for the small children, and agricultural high schools for the larger ones, and their education will be continued in the colleges.

The work of the Department of Agriculture has already had results which are valued at hundreds of millions of dollars annually, and yet the department feels that it has barely crossed the threshold of its mission of discovery and education. Cooperating to the same ends are 60 experiment stations in 51 states and territories, the 63 agricultural colleges, thousands of farmers' institute meetings yearly, many excellent agricultural periodical publications and new instructive books. Then there is a new line of work which is so productive of results that it is constantly extending, and that is the demonstration farm, the encouragement of individual farmers to change their agriculture so as to multiply their yields and their profits, and thus afford object-lessons to other farmers.

Thus it appears that forces are now at work which will very considerably increase the production of the farms within a generation, and which promise to continue the increase indefinitely.

In 1905 the secretary said:

Recent years have also witnessed the development of a great system of popular agricultural education for the adult farmer through the farmers' institutes which are now held throughout the country and annually attended by about a million men and women engaged in agricultural pursuits. With the growth of the research work of this department and the experiment stations it has become very evident that publications alone would not meet the demand for information regarding improved methods of agriculture and the ways in which the results of scientific investigation may be applied to agricultural practise. The absence of agricultural instruction in the schools and the coming on to the farms of millions of people from foreign lands, together with the wide-spread interest in the results of agricultural research, have made it necessary that means be devised for giving agricultural people instruction by word of mouth which will enable them to understand and utilize the information so largely given out in the publications of this department and the stations.

For this purpose the farmers' institutes established under public authority in the states and territories furnish an agency of great usefulness. It has therefore seemed highly desirable that this department should ally itself closely with the farmers' institutes, and make them efficient instruments for the wide diffusion of the knowledge gained by the department and other agencies for agricultural research. With this end in view a farmers' institute specialist was appointed two years ago in the Office of Experiment Stations, and efforts have been made to place at the disposal of the institute lecturers the information gained by the department in many lines.

AGRICULTURAL LABORERS: See AGRICULTURE; WAGES.

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, THE: Founded in England in 1901, by the amalgamation of the British Agricultural Organization Society with the National Agricultural Union. Its object is education and the development of cooperation in British agriculture. The society (*a*) advises with regard to the preliminary steps to be taken in the formation of a society; (*b*) supplies model rules giving societies a legal constitution without trouble or expense; (*c*) gives information concerning the working of other societies, with the object of mutual help and experience; (*d*) is in a position to negotiate with firms in a manner impossible for a local society; (*e*) institutes systematic methods of administration in order to secure good management. The number of societies affiliated with the Agricultural Organization Society in 1906 was 140. Secretary, J. Nugent Harris, Dacre House, Dacre Street, Westminster.

The Irish Agricultural Organization Society has 718 societies affiliated with it (see IRELAND) with 76,334 members. Secretary, R. A. Anderson, 22 Lincoln Place, Dublin.

AGRICULTURE: The importance of the part played by agriculture in the economic, commercial, and industrial life of man, and the gravity of the economic problems involved, it is impossible to overestimate. In most countries more people are engaged in agriculture than in any other class of occupation. In the United States (1900) it was 35.7 per cent; in Hungary (1900), 68; in Italy (1901), 59; in Russia (1897), 58; in Austria (1900), 58; in Sweden (1900), 49; in Denmark (1901), 48; in France (1896), 44; in Ireland (1900), 44; in Norway (1900), 41; in Germany (1895), 37; in Switzerland (1888), 37; in Holland (1899), 30; in Belgium (1900), 21; in Scotland (1901), 12; in England and Wales (1901), 8. These figures include those engaged in fishing.

This, however, shows only the direct importance of agriculture. Indirectly it influences all

occupations. If the agricultural population is prosperous, it must affect every other class, and vice versa. This is not only because every man and woman and child must consume the products of agriculture, but because the size of the farm population makes it the one great market for almost all manufactured articles which relate to the necessities of life, and because the agricultural element affects politics and furnishes the great bulk of materials of commerce. It was not until the tribes of the world first commenced agriculture and gave up their nomadic habits that civilization can be said to have really commenced. On the other hand, there is probably no occupation so affected by the varying social and political conditions of man as agriculture, because no occupation so depends for its life on settled habits, peaceful life, and general prosperity.

Indirect Influences

Yet, important as it is, agriculture to-day faces the most serious problems in the greatest countries of the world: the U. S., Russia, Germany, to a less extent in France, but in Great Britain most of all. The drift of population to the city, and of industry to manufacturing and trade, has meant to a serious extent the decline of agriculture. Mr. James J. Hill (see below) says: "Agriculture, in the most intelligent meaning of the term, is something almost unknown in the U. S." In Great Britain the agricultural problem has been acute for the last thirty years. In Russia a changing political condition, commencing with the freeing of the serfs, has driven millions from their former feudal tenures of land, without economic ability to get land or maintain independence. In other countries, tho less seriously, agriculture has also suffered by the movement toward the city and toward manufacturing and trade. In most countries, too, especially in the U. S., all that the farmer buys, and the transport and marketing of his crop, are passing under the control of the monopolist and organizer of trade, while agriculture itself is the most difficult occupation to organize, so that often the agriculturist seems to have to cope single-handed with a market under the bond of combination. To-day there is, however, a wide-spread revival of interest in agricultural development, and a very general effort at agricultural education. The farmers are beginning to cooperate in many ways, but theories of reform differ.

Early political economy, especially among the Romans, had much to say about agriculture. Cato, Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, Varro, and Colomella treat agriculture in a half patronizing, half dilettante way, but yet give some good suggestions and teach the importance of all men having something to do with agriculture, and recommend small farms and free labor. It is a sad comment on their lack of earnestness that Rome fell largely on account of its large farms, tilled by slave labor.

The period of the Middle Ages was too stormy to develop much thought on agricultural lines, tho many of the monasteries and some of the greatest monks and bishops gave good examples of Christian cooperation and community life in the tilling of fields with their own hands and for the common good.

Physiocrats

It is, however, the French Physiocrats, headed by Quesnay and Gournay, who have placed the greatest importance on agricultural production. With them agriculture (including mining, as, in a sense, the cultivation of the soil) is the only industry that produces wealth. Commerce and manufacture, they held, only change the form and place of wealth. All taxes, therefore, they taught should be placed on land; hence they are the true progenitors of the single tax. Their doctrine, too, fell in with the tendency to revert to nature and simplicity, taught by Rousseau and the "natural" school. Adam Smith brought thought back to more balanced views; but the rising industrialism, developed by the invention of machinery and steam power, drew men away from agriculture. There was a rush into industry, and agriculture was neglected. The land, in England especially, fell under the control of great landowners, who leased their farms out at will, usually to tenants, and left the agricultural laborer often as poorly paid and less cared for than the slave. Slaves cost money; laborers could be had for the asking. The chain-gang and the lash were common sights on English fields, and the homes of the English laborers were more rotten than slave pens. The more balanced views of Adam Smith were forgotten in carrying out his principles into the doctrinaire position of Ricardo and the orthodox school. Malthus's conclusion as to the law of population, that it was necessary that the poor perish, stilled England's conscience. To buy in the cheapest and to sell in the dearest market was considered a law of God. Labor was a commodity that must obey this "natural" law. The repeal of the Corn Laws marked an epoch in the development of agriculture and in the world.

J. S. Mill

J. S. Mill is the first writer to treat the agricultural question from both a moral and an economic basis; yet, in his economic teachings, as contrasted with his socialistic philosophizings, he scarcely departs from the orthodox position. He compares the English system of large farms owned by lords (*la grande culture*) with the French, Flemish, and Rhenish systems of peasant proprietorship, or small farms owned and operated by peasants, and draws a strong argument in favor of the latter, saying, "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert." He shows also that small farms owned by their operators increase production, because more labor and more fertilizing are expended upon each farm than would be on the same land less divided. Following Mill, economic writers have taken one side or other of this question, either favoring *la grande culture* or peasant proprietorship, but, until very recently, for the the most part conforming to the view of Mill. *Metayage* (see METAYER), or the system of the peasant leasing and operating a farm on the condition of giving the landlord half of the produce—a system prevailing mainly in Italy and other southern European countries—has had some advocates, but not many.

"La Grande Culture"

Facts, however, are leading many minds to-day in another direction. It is being found that small farming does not pay. Mr. D. A. Wells said as early as 1889, "that the only possible future for agriculture, prosecuted for the sake of producing the great staples of food, is to be found in large farms, worked with ample capital, especially in the form of machinery, and with labor organized somewhat after the factory system, is coming to be the opinion of many of the best authorities, both in the U. S. and Europe" ("Recent Economic Changes," p. 460). Mr. Wells adds in a note:

An American practical farmer, the owner and manager of 7,000 acres (Mr. H. H——, of Nebraska), to whom the writer is indebted for many items of information, communicates the following additional review of this subject from the American (Western) standpoint: "The average Western farm is now recklessly managed, but capital will come in greater volume and set up processes which will displace these wasteful methods. The revolution is certain, even if the exact steps cannot now be precisely indicated. At present the hay, and much of the grain, and nearly all of the tools and implements are unsheltered; and more than 50 per cent of the hay is ruined for a like reason, while the animals themselves (I do not mean now on the wild-stock ranges, but even on the trans-Missouri farms) have no roof over their heads, except the canopy of heaven, with the mercury going occasionally 20° and even 30° below zero. These wasteful methods in farming are in part promoted by the U. S. Homestead law and the occupation of the hitherto inexhaustible expanse of cheap lands. When the ignorant, degraded, and impecunious can no longer acquire 160 acres upon which to employ their barbarous methods, and when the land already taken up

shall have risen from the low prices at which it now stands to $50 or more per acre, a new dispensation will arrive. Neither the cattle nor the food which the cattle consume will then be raised by any such methods as now prevail; neither will they be exposed to the elements in winter. True enough, the opening up of other virgin fields in Australia, South America, Africa, and elsewhere may retard this rise in the value of the land in the western part of our continent, and thus to a certain extent delay the passing of the land exclusively into the hands of larger capitalists and better managers; but it must be considered that not all climates are suitable for energetic, capable farming populations, and likewise that the best forage plants are restricted to temperate latitudes."

Already the process of displacing the small farms by large farms, operated by capitalistic labor, is far along in the U. S. (See HOMES.) Says a writer in the "Fabian Essays":

Capitalism

Even agriculture, that one occupation in which old-fashioned individualism might be supposed safe, is being subjected to capitalism. The huge farms of Dakota and California, containing single fields of wheat miles long, are largely owned by joint-stock corporations and cultivated exclusively by machinery. These huge farms, combined with the wheat "corners" in New York and Chicago and the great railway corporations of America, have played havoc with many of the small farmers of the Mississippi valley, as the statistics respecting mortgaged farms will show. And when it is remembered that the American farmer will be more and more obliged to meet the growing competition of the wheat of India, produced by the cheapest labor in the world, his prospects do not appear very bright.

For several years past, however, general trade conditions, connected with unusually large crops, have prevented disaster to the farmer in the U. S. He has been enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity, and has been paying off his mortgages, and accumulating wealth. Said Mr. James Wilson, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, in his report for 1906:

Official Report, 1906

Economic revolution in the art and science of agriculture, which became noticeable in this country half a dozen years ago, has continued during 1906, with tremendous effect upon the nation's prosperity. Crops so large as to be beyond any rational comprehension have strained the freight-carrying ability of railroads. Directly and indirectly the farmer has set up a demand for iron and steel that has exceeded the productive power of the chief producer among nations. His contribution to the supply of loan capital has been beyond calculation and recalls the fact that the depression in the loan and investment market of 1903 was cleared away by the following crop.

Meanwhile the farmer has been a generous consumer, and has given powerful support to the market of the industrial producer, to the trade of the merchant, and to the wages of the workingman. The farmer has become aware of the importance of the place that he occupies in the republic, and in the pride of his occupation he is ready to offer this yearly account of himself to the people. . . .

Taken at that point in production at which they acquire commercial value, the farm products of the year, estimated for every detail presented by the census, have a farm value of $6,794,000,000. This is $485,000,000 above the value of 1905, $635,000,000 above 1904, $877,000,000 above 1903, and $2,077,000,000 above the census for 1899. Farm products continue to be so far beyond the national requirements that the farm still overshadows the mill, the factory, and the workshop in providing exports. With his surplus beyond the nation's need, the farmer has loaded the fleets of oceans. These products were exported to the value of $976,000,000 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906—enough to build a high-class railroad half-way around the earth. This is the largest amount ever reached by agricultural exports for this or any other country, and exceeded by $24,000,000 the extraordinary value of 1901, which had previously been the record year.

Principal among the items that make the increase over the fiscal year 1905 are grain and its products, chiefly wheat and flour, for which the gain was $79,000,000; packing-house products, for which the gain was over $37,000,000; cotton, $19,600,000; various seeds, $6,355,000; dairy products, $3,900,000; and live animals, $2,400,000. Products exhibiting a decrease were mostly inconsiderable. In hops, the decline was $1,355,000; tobacco, $992,000; vegetable oils, $726,000; fruits, $440,000.

Cotton maintains its long lead over other chief exports, with a value of $401,000,000 for 3,634,000,000 pounds, so that the latest year was exceeded only by 1898, 1899, and 1905 in quantity exported; but in value of exported cotton the figures for 1906 are $19,600,000 higher than for 1905, which was previously the record year, and $29,000,000 higher than for 1904, which was third in order in the value of these exports.

In his report for 1905 the secretary said:

Every sunset during the past five years has registered an increase of $3,400,000 in the value of the farms of this country; every month has piled this value upon value until it has reached $102,000,000; that portion of the national debt bearing interest is equaled by the increased value of farms in nine months, and this increase for a little over a year balances the entire interest- and non-interest-bearing debt of the United States.

Nevertheless, the problem remains. Mr. James J. Hill, president of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads, said in an address delivered at the Minnesota State Fair at St. Paul, 1906:

James J. Hill

There must be a national revolt against the worship of manufacture and trade as the only forms of progressive activity and the false notion that wealth built upon these at the sacrifice of the fundamental form of wealth production can endure. The first requisite is a clear recognition on the part of the whole people, from the highest down to the lowest, that the tillage of the soil is the natural and most desirable occupation for man, to which every other is subsidiary and to which all else must in the end yield. . . . Within forty-four years we shall have to meet the wants of more than 200,000,000 people. In less than twenty years from this moment the United States will have 130,000,000 people. Where are these people, not of some dim, distant age, but of this very generation now growing to manhood, to be employed and how supported? When the search-light is thus suddenly turned on we recognize not a mere speculation, but the grim face of that specter which confronts the unemployed, tramping hateful streets in hope of food and shelter. . . .

In the year 1950, so far as our own resources are concerned, we will approach an ironless age. For a population of 200,000,000 people our home supply of iron will have retreated almost to the company of the precious metals. There is no substitute whose production and preparation for practical use is not far more expensive. Not merely our manufacturing industries, but our whole complex industrial life, so intimately built upon cheap iron and coal, will feel the strain and must suffer realinement. The peril is not one of remote geologic time, but of this generation. And where is there a sign of preparation for it? . . . Only one half of the land in private ownership is now tilled. That tillage does not produce one half of what the land might be made to yield, without losing an atom of its fertility. Yet the waste of our treasure has proceeded so far that the actual value of the soil for productive purposes has already deteriorated more than it should have done in five centuries of use. There is, except in isolated and individual cases, little approaching intensive agriculture in the United States. There are only the annual skimming of the rich cream, the exhaustion of virgin fertility, the extraction from the earth by the most rapid process of its productive powers, the deterioration of life's sole maintenance. And all this with that army of another hundred million people marching in plain sight toward us, and expecting and demanding that they shall be fed. . . .

Every farm properly cared for should be worth more money for each year of its life. The increase of population and demand, the growth of the cities and markets, and the development of diversified farming with density of settlement should assure a large increment. Even where large quantities of new and fertile land are opened, these influences, together with the lowest cost of transportation in the world, should make the growth of values steady.

Within the twenty years between 1880 and 1900 the aggregate value of farm lands and improvements, including buildings, declined in every one of the New England and Middle States, except Massachusetts alone. The total decrease in value for these ten states of the first asset of a civilized people is more than $300,000,000. Nor is the attempted explanation by the Census Bureau of this shrinkage either adequate or convincing. Even the great and fertile State of Ohio, in the Middle West, showed a decline of more than $60,000,000. On the new lands of the West, where once the wheat yield was from twenty to thirty bushels an acre, it is now from twelve to eighteen. . . .

In manufactures we have come to consider small economies so carefully that the difference of a fraction of a cent, the utilization of a by-product of something formerly consigned to the scrap heap, makes the difference between profit and bankruptcy. In farming we are satisfied with a small yield at the expense of the most rapid soil deterioration. We are satisfied with a national average annual product of $11.38 per acre, at the cost of diminishing annual return from the same fields, when we might just as well secure from two to three times that sum. . . . If a process for extracting metallic wealth from rocks were to be discovered to-morrow,

such as to assure the country an added volume of $1,000,000,000 in wealth every year, the nation would talk of nothing else. Yet these things would be but a trifle when compared with the possibilities of agricultural development in the United States.

The government should establish a small model farm on its own land in every rural congressional district, later perhaps in every county in the agricultural states. The new crusade should be proclaimed everywhere, from the executive chamber, from the editorial office, from the platform, and above all from every college class room and from every little schoolhouse in the land.

Agricultural Decline in Great Britain

In Great Britain the problem confronting agriculture is at least as serious as it is in the U. S., and more acute. Says Mr. E. A. Pratt ("The Transition in Agriculture," 1906): "The opening up of vast expanses of virgin soils in the U. S., Canada, Argentina, Australasia, and elsewhere, to the production of wheat on a scale to which there could be no possible approach in the United Kingdom; the quick transport of these and other foreign or colonial supplies by ocean steamers at rates which were so low that they became almost a negligible quantity; the invention of refrigerating processes which nullified climate, as steam had already annihilated distance, and opened up British markets to the almost limitless supplies of meat, butter, and other perishables from distant lands; the steady fall in the price of wool, owing to the magnitude of the flocks raised in our colonies—these and other causes, apart from the advent of a succession of unfavorable seasons, were sufficient in themselves to disturb the very foundations of British agriculture, and to show that the old order of things in regard thereto was passing away."

A report of the Agricultural Committee of the Fabian Society (July, 1905) comments as follows:

The decline of agriculture in Great Britain began about thirty years ago. The bad harvests of 1876–82 caused widespread ruin, while in the same period the introduction of very cheap ocean transport and the extension of agriculture in America and elsewhere led to a tremendous fall in prices. According to the Board of Trade figures, the fall in 1898–1902, compared with 1871–75, has been 37.7 per cent in corn, and 18.1 per cent in meat, bacon, and dairy produce. The effect on incomes derived from land has been catastrophic. The landlord's share, the gross annual value of lands assessed to income tax under Schedule A (including tithe rent charge, ornamental gardens, gardens exceeding one acre, farmhouses and buildings, etc.) fell in Great Britain from £59,568,253 in 1879–80 to £42,507,895 in 1902–3. The average reduction in rent has thus been 28.5 per cent, but in some localities the fall has been as much as 60 per cent. The fall in the value of the fee simple is about the same, and small and encumbered owners have suffered most. Farmers' capital was largely swept away in the early years of the decline, and even now they have to live close and can save but little. The estimated amount of farmers' profits fell in Great Britain from £28,405,086 in 1879–80 to £14,288,974 in 1902–3, or one half. Agricultural laborers alone have gained during the last thirty years; but altho the average weekly earnings in England are now 18*s.* 3*d.*, there is, according to the estimates made by Mr. Wilson Fox, of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade, "a deficit of 2*s.* 0½*d.*, if the value of food, the cost of rent, firing, light, clothes, and club is compared with the earnings of the head of the family (without allowing for any expenditure on beer, tobacco, and household requisites)." The balance must be made good from the earnings of wife and children, from the garden, the poultry, or the pig.

Between 1871 and 1904 arable land in Great Britain has decreased by 3,122,000 acres, and permanent pasture has increased 4,668,000 acres. There has been a great change from corn-raising to cattle-rearing and dairy-farming, with less employment of labor. Simultaneously imports have increased enormously, not only in grain and meat, but also in dairy produce, eggs, poultry, etc., where we might have hoped to hold our own.

The landlord system must bear a large share of the blame for the decay of agriculture. The bad times found many landlords with burdened estates and no reserve, saved in prosperous times, wherewith to keep their property in a state of efficiency. Placed in the position of the social and economic leaders of the rural districts, they have, as a class, largely devoted themselves to drawing their rents and trying to escape public burdens. They have not compelled their tenants to be good farmers; in fact, by obstructive rules and by annual tenancies, they have often prevented improvements. They have not stood between the agricultural laborers and their employers; on the contrary, by neglecting to provide a sufficient supply of sanitary cottages, they have powerfully contributed toward the rural exodus. Locally they have misused their economic strength for political and sectarian ends; while nationally they have set up a false ideal before the nation. To-day they still draw about £43,000,000, or three times the farmers' profits, from the land of Great Britain, with, as the evidence before the Royal Commission on Agriculture showed, disastrous results to the nation. "The evidence goes to show that overrenting (1) has been a chief cause of depression in bringing farmers to ruin, and in deteriorating the condition of the land; (2) is even now very general; and (3) that the opinion that further reductions are necessary and inevitable, is, among farming witnesses, practically universal. . . . There is much evidence to show that reductions are by no means universal, and that, in many districts and on many estates the system of temporary remissions or abatements, sometimes wholly insufficient to meet the times, is still common. In many cases, even in districts where depression is general, there would seem to have been neither reductions nor abatements of any kind." (Royal Commission on Agriculture Minority Report, F. A. Channing, M.P.) The main work of administration is done by a private service of estate agents, bailiffs, and foremen; and the landlord is a mere parasite on the industry of the country.. Farmers, as a body, have shown a great lack of that capacity and adaptability with which men in other occupations have met bad times. They have clung to the old idea that wheat-growing was their only duty, and stubbornly resisted every attempt to persuade or coax them into better business methods. . . .

The Landlord System

Between 1851 and 1901 the number of adult males engaged in agriculture has fallen from 1,904,687 to 988,340, altho one would have expected that the practical elimination of female labor (where there was a fall from 436,174 to 52,459) and the great decline in the employment of males under twenty (from 327,615 to 186,076)—both of these being healthy developments—would have to be compensated by an increase in the number of men.

The weakest point in the present system is the marketing of farm products, and before we can tackle reconstruction, we must find the cause of this weakness. Our butter comes from Denmark, Russia, France, Australia, New Zealand; cheese from Canada, United States, Holland, New Zealand; eggs from Russia, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, France; vegetables from France and Germany.

Small Holdings

Much thought has recently been given to measures that would tend to remedy this state of affairs. There may even be said to be a "new agricultural movement." Efforts have been made to develop small holdings; and to accomplish this was the especial aim of the Small Holdings Act of 1892. By this act county councils were authorized to acquire land, divide it into small holdings of from one to fifty acres, erect buildings thereon, and provide roads, fences, water-supply, and drainage; but the main idea was to sell such holdings, on an instalment system, to the persons wanting them. A council was authorized to let the land only when "of opinion that any persons desirous of themselves cultivating small holdings were unable to buy on the terms fixt by this act, or where the land had been hired by the council on lease or otherwise"; and even then the size of the holding so let must not exceed fifteen acres, or be of a greater annual value than £15. The county councils were also authorized to advance a would-be tenant four fifths of the purchase money on the security of the building. The results thus far have not been large. The procedure has been so costly and complicated, and so hampered by formalities and restrictions of every kind, that County Councils have, as a rule, hesitated to take in hand a great amount of trouble, without any corresponding guaranty of permanent success; and in 1905 a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to inquire into the workings of the act. Too often the small freeholder has had to sink

all his available capital in securing the land, has had to satisfy many legal demands, has consequently found himself encumbered with the burden of a heavy mortgage. The report of the committee mentioned above calls the act "a complete failure."

More has been accomplished by agricultural cooperation. An AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY was established in 1901, and five years later it had 140 other societies affiliated with it. The Fabian report calls cooperation the "secret of success." It says:

Cooperation

Cheap railway transport and better conditions of sale can be obtained if the farmers will combine. What has hitherto been lacking is the desire for combination, tho in a few localities that defect is being slowly overcome. What characterizes the agriculture of the Continent is the prevalence of combination. Alike in Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Hungary, Finland, Poland, Servia, we find a network of cooperative societies all over the country—societies for the cooperative purchase of seeds, manures, implements and machinery, cooperative creameries for the production of butter and cheese, egg-collecting societies, societies for the sale of fruit or grain, export societies, mutual insurance societies, and so on. This voluntary cooperative movement is generally fostered by the State, and has received much aid from landlords and religious bodies.

E. A. Pratt, in his "The Transition in Agriculture" (1906), argues in favor of allotments to the working classes in the towns, to prepare them to become freeholders; and he instances the successful experience of Aylestone, a suburb of Leicester. He says:

The Aylestone solution of the problem here presented is: The cooperative tenancy, under the most economical conditions, of allotments which will (1) give a factory worker healthy recreation; (2) enable him to supplement wages and decrease household expenses by the production of fruit and vegetables, which will, at the same time, give his family a better food-supply than would otherwise be possible; (3) afford him an opportunity, while still engaged in a factory, of gaining such experience of, and acquiring such taste for, market-gardening work that, when the factory failed him, he would still be able to contribute to the support of his family, if not keep them and himself altogether, by becoming a market-gardener, instead of having to depend on such odd jobs as he might be able to pick up as one of the unemployed.

Another and most important contribution to the means of solving the problem, is the Garden City idea, combining the best in city life with the advantages of the country. (See GARDEN CITY.) Socialists of the Fabian type, as evidenced in the report of their committee, would have a large policy of State intervention and control. Says the report:

The breakdown of private enterprise in agriculture has left us with landlords and farmers impoverished, with agricultural laborers earning less than, or just over, subsistence wages. Much capital has been lost, the agricultural population has declined to a dangerous degree. There is no organization for the supply of our growing town markets, everywhere is chaos, while the foreign producer every day gains ground by superior organization. It is necessary for the State to interfere, partly to secure the better utilization of our national resources, partly to increase our agricultural population. We must look forward to five and twenty years of resolute effort; prosperity cannot be restored in a day. The class most needing protection, the laborers, must be dealt with first, in order to raise them to a decent level of comfort. A living-wage must be secured to them and, as a consequence, the farmers' rents must be fixt at a fair level. An Agricultural Court must be set up in each county to regulate wages and fix rents. Continental success in agriculture depends on cooperation, and that in turn is associated with the peasant proprietor system. That system for sundry reasons cannot be adopted here, but its advantages can be obtained through security of tenure. The small farm system should, therefore, form the basis of our reconstruction, free play being left for a graded system of farms where possible. In each county an Agricultural Committee should have compulsory power to acquire land and let it out to tenants, chiefly small holders. It should have power to advance capital to individuals on the collective guaranty of its tenants, and it should be its duty to organize the collection of farm produce and its disposal in the market.

Meanwhile there is progress. A Board of Agriculture for Great Britain was established by Parliament in 1889; and was constituted in 1903 as a Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. It has divisions on animals, intelligence, land, and fisheries. In Ireland a Department of Agriculture and Technical Institution was created in 1899. (See IRELAND.) Agricultural education has also been much advanced. Some eighteen institutions may now be classed as AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES. The Rothamsted Experimental Station, and numerous local societies contribute to the advance. Wise effort in certain directions and in certain quarters has produced satisfactory results. The breeding of high-class live-stock of all types has undergone great expansion, partly in order to provide good dairy cattle and the best qualities of meat, and partly as a separate commercial enterprise, to supply the requirements of countries which have looked to Great Britain as the land whence the best of breeding-stock could be obtained. The production of fruit in Great Britain is said to have doubled during the last thirty years. Flour production is likewise largely increased. Market-gardening, potato-raising, and vegetable-raising have also grown. It is along such subsidiary lines that many people believe that England's agricultural future will develop.

Progress

Ever since the time of Young, the agricultural system of France has been the classic form of small proprietorship. Nearly half the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits; but one generation having succeeded another, and the individual plots of land having been still further divided, the *morcellement* has gone so far that some of the holdings are of the most diminutive proportions. Again, a property of twenty or twenty-five acres may be represented by thirty, forty, or fifty small patches and parcels of land scattered over an entire commune. The caring for such minute parcels of land involves an amount of labor akin to slavery. In his "Relèvement de l'Agriculture," Lafargue wrote:

France

The condition of agriculture brought about by our subdivision of land, and the distance from each other of the morsels belonging to one owner, condemn a man to work such as animals and machines ought to execute, and not only reduce him to the level of a beast, but curse the soil with sterility.

Léonce de Lavergne says in "L'Économie Rurale de l'Angleterre, d'Écosse et de l'Irlande":

Altho the French laborer is frequently proprietor of the land, and thus adds a little profit to his wages, he does not live as well as the English farm-laborer. He is not so well fed, not so well clothed, and is less comfortably lodged. He eats more bread, but it is generally made of rye with the addition of maize, buckwheat, and even chestnuts. . . . He rarely eats meat. I am acquainted with parts of France where people live on seventy centimes (fourteen cents) a day.

Mr. Pratt, in his "The Transition in Agriculture," speaks of these conditions as follows:

Nor have the results of peasant proprietorship in France been more satisfactory from a financial standpoint. "Proprietors" they may be in name, but few of the peasants hold their land free of mortgage and many of them are heavily indebted besides. They not only cultivate the soil under the most laborious of conditions, but they must meet, as best they can, the demands of the State, the usury of the money-lender, and also the fees of the lawyer who fattens alike on the land transfers and on the quarrels and lawsuits. "Of the 8,000,000 proprietors in France," wrote M. Lecouteux, when professor of rural economy at the Institute, "3,000,000

are on the pauper roll, exempt, that is, from personal taxation"; while of the remainder, at the period of which this authority speaks, 600,000 proprietors paid contributions to the State amounting to only five centimes each. "Getting rid of one order of landlords and their rents," adds M. Lecouteux, "they have subjected themselves to another, tho invisible, order—the mortgagees, and to their heavier and more rigid rents."

Nevertheless, there is a brighter side. Agricultural cooperative societies or syndicates have taken a deep hold in France, and are gradually accomplishing many beneficent reforms. France devotes some 5,000,000 acres to the cultivation of the vine, and is in many ways one of the leading agricultural countries of the world.

The system of land tenure and the condition of agricultural population is very different in different portions of the German Empire. Generally, small estates and peasant proprietorship prevail in the West-German states, while large estates prevail in the Northeast. In the Prussian provinces of Pomerania, Posen, and East and West Prussia, estates of 250 acres and more are the rule. In Westphalia and Oldenburg the agricultural laborer rents a small plot of ground from his employer on condition of giving him a certain number of days' work in return for a lower rate of wages than would otherwise be paid in the district. The laborer is a small cultivator on his own account, not as a rule rich enough to possess a team of horses, but allowed the use of his employer's team when necessary, and receiving other assistance in kind. The relations between the two parties are reported to be more favorable than in any other part of Germany. In Southern Germany small holdings prevail, but here the laborer is himself a small freeholder, who ekes out the scanty resources of his own property by performing service for the farmers who have more land than they can cultivate themselves. This becomes the more necessary, because on the death of the small freeholder any land which he has accumulated does not pass intact to his appointed heir, as in Westphalia. It is, as a rule, subdivided among his children, who must recommence the laborious process of saving, if they are ever to be in a position of independence.

Germany

Mid-Germany—i. e., the district between the Weser and Elbe—is the home of the different classes of peasant farmers and of what are known as free laborers. These are drawn from different classes of the village population, possessing larger or smaller plots of land held on different systems of tenure handed down from feudal times, and known as Kötter, Brinksitzer, Häusler, or Anbauer. To the larger farmer (*Bauer*), or to the large landed proprietor (*Gutsbesitzer*), they are all merely day-laborers in the strictest sense of the term.

In the wide expanse of territory east of the Elbe the contract between the agricultural laborer and his employer takes a great variety of forms; but in what Professor Knapp calls the most typical districts, where great estates (*Rittergüter*) are numerous and settlements of peasant farmers (*Bauerndörfer*) few, the most usual form has hitherto been that known as socage tenancy (*Instenwesen*). Here the landowner enters into a contract for a lengthened period, which assures him of the services not of an individual merely, but of a family. The family is settled in a cottage upon the landlord's estate, and must be prepared to provide a man and an assistant—a so-called socager (*Scharwerker*)—to perform the agricultural labor required on the estate. A very small daily wage is paid in return; the socage tenant generally receives a portion of garden-ground for his own use in addition to his house, and a few acres of land are cultivated for him within the estate; whatever these produce, whether corn, other kinds of produce, or potatoes, belongs to the socage tenant (*Inste*). Finally, the socage tenant has a right to thrash his landlord's corn during the winter in return for a certain proportion of the yield. This remuneration in kind is often more than he can use, but he is at liberty to sell it, and the proceeds, together with a very small daily wage, represent the extent of his pecuniary resources. As a rule he owns a cow or a few sheep, and in all cases he keeps one or two pigs. As far as health and good nourishment are concerned, the condition of such a laborer leaves little to be desired, and lately much has been done to remedy the miserable character of the cottages. Germany now produces one third of the world's output of sugar beets, and is the leading potato-producing country. Vineyards along the Rhine sometimes give a net return of $100 per acre.

In Belgium, Holland, and Denmark peasant proprietorship has gone very far, the individual holdings being very small. This very fact has, perhaps, been one of the main factors in promoting cooperation. For details, see those countries.

Agriculture has been called "the backbone of Italy." Very few parts of the civilized world, indeed, have a more distinctly agricultural character than this country, where "the rural laborers may be counted by millions, while the industrial operatives are only numbered by thousands." Great as is the importance of the agricultural question, however, it is extremely difficult to grasp, owing to the extraordinary complexity and variety of the conditions of Italian land tenure. It includes the medieval manor (*latifondo*), cultivated on the most primitive extensive system, the most perfect system of intensive cultivation on a large scale; "petite culture" pushed to the extreme of specialization, and the same methods applied to the most heterogeneous mixture of products; rents varying from 5 lire to 2,000 lire per hectare; peasant proprietorship, "metayer" farming, feudal tenancies, and hired labor. In every separate district the phenomena of rural economy have special, exclusive, characteristic features, arising from an infinite diversity of local circumstances.

Italy

There are three typical forms of agrarian contract in Italy—the "metayer" system (*mezzadria, mezzeria, colonia*), in which the principle of profit-sharing finds its simplest expression; the leasehold system (*affitto*), and the system of home cultivation by means of hired laborers (*salario*). Each of these systems has given rise to innumerable deviations in practise, and each passes by insensible gradations into the other. Many agriculturists cultivate part of their land as metayers, part as leaseholders, and part as the farm servants of a landlord. Agriculture, however, generally is in a very primitive condition. Lombardy is the garden of Italy, with 1,600,000 acres of irrigated land, and its intensive culture. Italy has over half a million people engaged in raising silkworms.

In Switzerland industry and agriculture are very closely connected. "The peasant when unoccupied by his land easily finds some useful employment in a multiplicity of other labors,

varying from tree-felling and wood-carving to the manufacture of watch-springs. The artizan or factory hand is, on the other hand, generally half a peasant, possessing some few square yards of land, with a cow or a few goats."

Switzerland

The Swiss system of land tenure, which is favorable to the formation of small freeholds, also contributes to the prosperity of the agricultural population. By far the greater part of the land is held in farms varying in size from two to five hectares, and in many industrial districts an innumerable quantity of minute holdings are to be found cultivated by members of the working class. The question of rent is an unimportant one in Switzerland, as it is rare to find a farm which is not worked by the owners; but owing to the continual subdivision of property the land is in many cases heavily mortgaged.

The existence of large areas of common land (*Allmend*) in Switzerland is of great benefit to the agricultural classes. These lands are said to be a survival from the times when the whole soil of the country was held by the nation in common. The first departure from this custom was made by the Romans, who granted lands to veteran soldiers; gifts of land to religious foundations—to the Abbey of St. Gall, for example, in the eighth century—did still more to establish the principle of private property; but even as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by far the greater part of the soil of Switzerland was held in common. In 1803, under the influence of ideas which found expression in the French Revolution, the common lands were to a great extent sold by the communes to private persons. It was believed that private ownership would lead to better cultivation and to the eventual decrease of poverty, but the results showed that in most cantons the step had led to the increase of pauperism. The common lands now existing include (1) gardens, orchards, and vineyards, situated for the most part in valleys or on hillsides; (2) pasture lands both in the lowlands and on mountains; (3) forests, where the inhabitants of the commune have the right of gathering firewood; (4) marshes, ponds, peat bogs, and the shores of lakes.

Where farms are large enough to absorb more labor than the family of the owner can supply, they are cultivated by permanent laborers, who live with their employer and practically form part of his family. These laborers are engaged for long periods, and the best relations exist between them and their employers. Day-laborers, on the other hand, find themselves in a very unstable position, as the demand for extra labor is not continuous, but confined to certain seasons of the year, such as the hay harvest.

Of the remaining countries of Europe, Austria and Russia, which are the most important agriculturally, present sharp contrasts with modern methods on some farms, and most primitive methods generally. For the division of the land, see the article on the respective countries, and for statistics as to crops, see the last division of this article. Spain has few advanced methods, in spite of her extensive cultivation of vines, oranges, and olives. In South America the Argentine Republic is taking a large place in the world's agricultural market with wheat, wool, cattle, and wine. Brazil holds a leading place with coffee. In Mexico the raising of cattle and sheep is the main agricultural interest. For Canadian conditions, see CANADA. In Africa, Egypt under English administration and Fellah labor produces large amounts of sugar and high-grade cotton. China and India, in spite of ancient methods and rude implements, produce important crops by irrigation and garden-like culture. For Australia, see AUSTRALIA.

Other Countries

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Statistics of Agriculture

United States

Persons engaged in agriculture (at least ten years of age)

Agricultural laborers	4,410,877	3,747,668	663,209	3,004,061
Dairymen and dairy-women	10,875	9,983	892	17,895
Farmers, planters, and overseers	5,674,875	5,367,169	307,706	5,281,557
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, etc	61,788	58,928	2,860	72,601
Lumbermen and raftsmen	72,020	71,920	100	65,866
Stock raisers, herders, and drovers	84,988	83,056	1,932	70,729
Turpentine farmers and laborers	24,735	24,454	281	*
Wood-choppers	36,075	35,962	113	33,697
Other agricultural pursuits	5,532	5,289	243	*19,520
Total	10,381,765	9,404,429	977,336	8,565,926

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v.

NUMBER AND ACREAGE OF FARMS, AND NUMBER OF ACRES IMPROVED AND UNIMPROVED: 1850 TO 1900*

YEAR	Number of farms	Total acres in farms	Average number of acres to a farm	PER CENT OF FARM LAND	
				Improved	Unimproved
1900	5,737,372	838,591,774	146.2	49.4	50.6
1890†	4,564,641	623,218,619	136.5	57.4	42.6
1880†	4,008,907	536,081,835	133.7	53.1	46.9
1870†	2,659,985	407,735,041	153.3	46.3	53.7
1860	2,044,077	407,212,538	199.2	40.1	59.9
1850	1,449,073	293,560,614	202.6	38.5	61.5

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., pp. xvii, xviii, xxi, and xxii.

† Not including farms of less than three acres, which reported the sale of less than $500 worth of products in the census year.

VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY: 1850 TO 1900*

YEAR	Value of all farm property	PER CENT OF VALUE OF ALL FARM PROPERTY IN—		
		Farm land, with improvements, including buildings	Implements and machinery	Live stock
1900	$20,439,901,164	81.3	3.7	15.0
1890	16,082,267,689	82.6	3.1	14.3
1880	12,180,501,538	83.7	3.3	13.0
1870†	11,124,958,747	83.3	3.0	13.7
1860	7,980,493,063	83.3	3.1	13.6
1850	3,967,343,580	82.5	3.8	13.7

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., pp. xxxiv., 694, 696, 698, and 700.

† Values for 1870 were reported in depreciated currency. To reduce to specie basis of other years they must be diminished one fifth.

NUMBER OF FARMS OF SPECIFIED ACREAGE: 1900, 1890, AND 1880 *

YEAR	Under 3 acres	3 and under 10 acres	10 and under 20 acres	20 and under 50 acres	50 and under 100 acres	100 and under 500 acres	500 and under 1,000 acres	1,000 acres and over
1900	† 41,385	225,844	406,641	1,257,496	1,366,038	2,290,282	102,526	47,160
1890	(‡)	(‡)	265,550	902,777	1,121,485	2,008,694	84,395	31,546
1880	§ 4,352	134,889	254,749	781,574	1,032,810	1,695,983	75,972	28,578

PER CENT OF FARMS

YEAR	Under 3 acres	3 and under 10 acres	10 and under 20 acres	20 and under 50 acres	50 and under 100 acres	100 and under 500 acres	500 and under 1,000 acres	1,000 acres and over
1900	0.7	4.0	7.1	21.9	23.8	39.9	1.8	0.8
1890	.....	.....	5.8	19.8	24.6	44.0	1.8	0.7
1880	0.1	3.4	6.3	19.5	25.8	42.3	1.9	0.7

* From *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., pp. xlv. and 690.
† Including all farms of less than three acres that, continuously, require the labor of one individual.
‡ Not separately reported, but included with farms under ten acres, numbering 150,194 or 3.3 per cent of all farms.
§ Including only those that reported the sale of products of $500 or over in the census year.

PRODUCTION OF CROPS *

CROP	Unit of measure	1850	1900	1905
Corn	Bushel	592,071,104	2,666,324,370	2,707,993,540
Wheat	"	100,485,943	658,534,252	692,979,489
Oats	"	146,584,179	943,389,375	953,216,197
Barley	"	5,167,015	119,634,877	136,651,020
Rye	"	14,188,813	25,568,625	28,485,952
Buckwheat	"	8,956,912	11,233,515	14,585,082
Rice	Pound	215,313,497	250,280,227	637,000,000
Flaxseed	Bushel	562,312	19,979,492	23,400,534
Hay, forage	Ton	13,838,642	† 79,251,562	60,531,611
Cotton	Bale ‡	2,469,093	9,534,707	11,320,000
Tobacco	Pound	199,752,655	868,112,865	633,033,719
Hemp	"	69,742,000	11,750,630	.....
Beans	Bushel	§ 9,219,901	5,064,490	.....
Peas	"	(§)	9,440,210	.....
Potatoes	"	65,797,896	273,318,167	260,741,294
Sweet "	"	38,268,148	42,517,412	.....

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. vi., pp. 72, 76, 80, 84, 88, 92, 94, 216, 326, 330, 419, 425, 436, 438, and 591; and *Eleventh Census*, Agriculture, p. 89.
† Exclusive of cornstalks.
‡ Commercial bale.
§ Beans and peas given as one crop.

A.—FARMS CLASSIFIED BY TENURE

Owners	3,148,648	54.9	59.8	21.0	90.4	4.9
Part owners	451,376	7.9	8.5	4.0	2.7	1.0
Owners and tenants	53,299	0.9	1.0	0.2	0.6	0.1
Managers	59,085	1.0	1.2	0.2	0.3	1.6
Cash tenants	751,665	13.1	9.6	36.6	1.1	76.8
Share tenants	1,273,299	22.2	19.9	38.0	4.9	15.6

B.—FARMS CLASSIFIED BY AREA IN ACRES

Under 3	41,385	0.7	0.7	0.6	3.9	7.6
3 and under 10	225,844	3.9	3.5	6.8	10.6	15.9
10 and under 20	406,641	7.1	5.7	16.0	13.2	17.7
20 and under 50	1,257,496	21.9	18.3	45.9	20.4	24.2
50 and under 100	1,366,038	23.8	24.8	18.0	12.6	14.4
100 and under 175	1,422,262	24.8	27.2	8.9	17.7	12.3
175 and under 260	490,069	8.6	9.5	2.2	4.5	5.2
260 and under 500	377,951	6.6	7.4	1.2	7.9	2.0
500 and under 1,000	102,526	1.8	2.0	0.3	6.1	0.3
1,000 and over	47,160	0.8	0.9	0.1	3.1	0.4

† From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., pp. lxvi., xciv., xcvii., civ., cxii., 4, and 5.

NUMBER OF FARMS OF SPECIFIED TENURE *

YEAR	Number of Farms	PER CENT OF FARMS OPERATED BY—		
		Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants
1900	5,737,372	64.7	13.1	22.2
1890 †	4,564,641	71.6	10.0	18.4
1880 †	4,008,907	74.5	8.0	17.5

* From the *Twelfth Census*, vol. v., p. 688.
† Not including farms with an area of less than three acres, which reported the sale of less than $500 worth of produce in the census year.

FARMS OPERATED BY FARMERS OF SPECIFIED RACE †

CLASSIFICATION OF FARM	Number of farms	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION				
		All farms	Farms operated by farmers of specified race			
			White	Negro	Indian	Mongolian
All farms	5,737,372	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Great Britain and Ireland

PERSONS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE ‡

	1881	1891	1901
Farmers, graziers	633,787	597,878	577,177
Farmers, graziers, sons or other relatives returned as assisting in the work on the farm	280,964	297,099	320,976
Agricultural laborers, farm servants	1,192,725	1,072,059	869,728
Gardeners, nurserymen, seedsmen, florists	168,846	199,014	239,689
Others—shepherds, farm bailiffs, etc	86,009	83,706	102,242
Total	2,362,331	2,249,756	2,109,812

‡ From the *General Report* on the 1901 census.

Cultivated Land

	England Million Acres	Wales Million Acres	Scotland Million Acres	Great Britain Million Acres
1871–75	23.91	2.65	4.56	31.12
1905	24.61	2.79	4.88	32.28

Arable Land

1871–75	13.69	1.07	3.48	18.24
1905	10.85	0.81	3.43	15.09

Holdings and Acreage

	No. of Holdings, 1905	Acreage under crops and grass	Average size	
			1905	1895
England	372,144	24,611,186	66.1	65.3
Wales	60,429	2,794,661	46.2	47.1
Scotland	79,131	4,880,985	61.7	61.5
Great Britain	511,704	32,286,832	63.1	62.6
Ireland	515,803	4,656,227	9.02	9.4*

* 1896 figures.

The various sizes of these holdings were:

	1–5 Acres	5–50 Acres	50–300 Acres	Above 300 Acres
England	81,232	166,622	109,498	14,792
Wales	10,342	31,671	18,008	408
Scotland	18,685	34,673	23,055	2,718
Great Britain	110,259	232,966	150,561	17,918
Ireland	62,126	363,541	* 80,564	† 9,572

* 50–200 acres.
† Above 200 acres.

Concerning allotments of one acre and under in Great Britain, these numbered in 1895 579,133; those of less than one acre were 541,990, and of one acre, 37,143.

In Ireland there were, in 1905, 78,001 holdings not exceeding one acre.

Live Stock, 1876–1906

Year	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
1876	1,863,410	9,995,028	32,262,579	3,734,429
1886	1,927,527	10,872,811	28,955,240	3,497,165
1896	2,115,440	10,941,655	30,853,789	4,300,960
1906	2,108,879	11,732,061	29,109,971	3,499,232

Acreage under Crops and Grass

	1876–80 (Acres)	1891–5 (Acres)	1901–5 (Acres)
Wheat	3,190,086	2,016,467	1,676,839
Barley	2,752,850	2,277,014	2,024,180
Oats	4,170,324	4,370,834	4,203,003
Beans and peas	755,700	495,797	424,490
Potatoes	1,384,515	1,266,218	1,214,284
Turnips, swedes and mangolds	2,792,956	2,656,574	2,394,222
Flax	138,404	83,420	48,744
Total arable land	.....	20,345,937	19,135,694
Permanent grass	.....	27,042,070	28,577,400
Total acreage under crops and grass	47,403,060	47,988,007	47,713,094

Acreage under Crops, 1906

The figures for the United Kingdom include the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands.

	Great Britain	Ireland	United Kingdom
Corn Crops—	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*
Wheat	1,755,696	43,888	1,801,279
Barley	1,751,238	176,520	1,931,627
Oats	3,042,926	1,076,281	4,138,378
Rye	64,808	10,336	75,415
Beans	288,891	1,959	290,978
Peas	153,979	301	154,430
Total	7,057,538	1,309,285	8,392,107

The acreage under wheat in 1906 was a decrease of 41,299 acres for Great Britain, and an increase of 6,028 acres for Ireland. The acreage under barley increased in both countries.

Produce of Crops, 1905–6

	Total Produce	Yield per acre	Average yield per acre for 10 years 1896–1905
	Bushels	*Bushels*	*Bushels*
Wheat	59,091,772	33.66	31.22
Barley	60,553,977	34.58	33.04
Oats	123,383,857	40.55	38.92
Beans	9,970,892	34.73	28.59
Peas	4,515,783	30.21	26.61
	Tons	*Tons*	
Potatoes	3,428,711	6.06	5.78
Turnips and swedes	22,627,840	14.22	12.96
Mangold	8,538,480	19.79	18.70
	Tons	*Cwts.*	*Cwts.*
Hay (clover, sainfoin, etc.)	3,200,969	29.21	29.06
Hay (permanent grass)	5,384,892	22.51	23.49
Hops (cwts.)	245,688	5.26	....

Germany

Number of Farms under Cultivation

Year	Of less than 2 hectares	2–5 hectares	5–20 hectares	20–50 hectares	50–100 hectares	100–500 hectares	More than 500 hectares	Total farms
1895	3,236,367	1,016,318	998,804	239,643	42,124	20,881	4,180	5,558,317
Per cent	58.2	18.3	18.0	4.3	0.7	0.4	0.1	100
1882	3,061,831	981,407	926,605	239,887	41,623	20,847	4,144	5,276,344
Per cent	58.0	18.6	17.6	4.5	0.8	0.4	0.1	100

Land under Cultivation and Its Distribution According to Sizes of Farms

1895 (hectares)	2,415,914	4,142,071	12,537,660	9,459,240	3,697,961	6,571,104	4,460,792	43,284,742
Per cent	5.5	9.6	29.0	21.9	8.5	15.2	10.3	100
1882 (hectares)	2,159,358	3,832,902	11,492,017	9,080,545	3,334,918	6,053,415	4,225,526	40,178,681
Per cent	5.4	9.5	28.6	22.6	8.3	15.1	10.5	100

Of the total number of farms in 1895, 4,626,483 were entirely devoted to agriculture, and the remainder (931,834 farms) to forestry and agriculture combined. The total number of hectares under crops was 32,517,941; under forests, 7,582,276; and under crops and forests combined, 3,184,525.

MAIN CROPS, 1893–1905. (In Tons)

YEAR	Rye	Wheat	Potatoes	Oats
1893	8,941,914	3,405,021	40,724,386	4,180,457
1894	8,343,033	3,336,369	33,608,894	6,580,100
1895	7,724,902	3,171,844	37,786,006	6,244,473
1896	8,534,037	3,419,928	32,329,046	5,969,465
1897	8,170,511	3,263,235	33,776,060	5,718,644
1898	9,032,175	3,607,610	36,720,609	6,754,120
1899	8,675,792	3,847,447	38,486,202	6,882,687
1900	8,550,659	3,841,165	40,585,317	7,091,930
1901	8,162,660	2,498,851	48,687,261	7,050,153
1902	9,494,150	3,900,396	43,402,393	7,467,250
1903	9,904,493	3,555,064	42,901,530	7,873,385
1904	10,060,762	3,804,828	36,287,192	6,936,003
1905	9,606,827	3,699,882	48,323,353	6,546,502

The hay harvest in 1905 was 26,265,411 tons. There were also produced 487,068 tons of spelt and 2,921,953 tons of barley. The following figures show the proportions between the areas of cultivated land under the different crops in 1905: Rye, 15.6; wheat, 19.2; spelt, 14.6; barley, 17.9; potatoes, 145.7; oats, 15.7; hay, 44.1.

In the entire German Empire there were, in 1900, 52,332,000 apple-trees; 25,116,000 pear-trees; 69,436,000 plum-trees, and 21,548,000 cherry-trees. Total fruit-trees, 168,432,000. In 1905 there were 39,511 hectares of land under hops, the total harvest being 58,513,800 pounds. The wine production in 1905 amounted to 3,855,978 hectoliters (about 102,000,000 gallons), to a total value of 109,000,000 marks. The total area of land under tobacco was, in 1904, 15,883 hectares, yielding 68,761,800 pounds of tobacco.

The World

PERSONS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES *

COUNTRY	Year	Persons	Per cent of population
United States	1900	10,512,029	35.9
	1890	8,626,088	38.0
Germany	1895	8,292,692	37.5
	1882	8,236,496	43.4
Austria	1900	8,205,331	58.2
	1890	8,469,223	64.3
Hungary	1900	6,055,390	68.6
	1890	5,425,205	69 9
Russia	1897	18,245,287	58.3
Italy	1901	9,666,467	59.4
	1881	8,580,978	56.7
Switzerland	1888	488,534	37.4
France	1896	8,421,319	44.3
	1891	6,535,599	40.0
Belgium	1900	697,372	21.1
	1890	649,252	22.9
Netherlands	1899	592,774	30.7
	1889	541,274	32.7
Denmark	1901	531,165	48.0
	1890	228,316	27.1
Sweden	1900	982,986	49.8
	1890	944,562	54.0
Norway	1900	359,763	41.0
	1891	384,426	49.6
England and Wales	1901	1,152,495	8.0
	1891	1,336,945	10.4
Scotland	1901	237,311	12.0
	1891	249,124	14.0
Ireland	1901	876,062	44.5
	1891	940,621	44.0
Great Britain	1901	2,265,868	12.4
	1891	2,526,690	15.1

* From the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1906.

The following tables have been compiled from the Year Book of the U. S. Department of Agriculture (1905), except where otherwise stated:

WHEAT CROP OF THE WORLD

COUNTRY	1901	1905	Percentage of world crop (approximate)
	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	748,460,000	692,979,000	20
Ontario	22,118,000	22,195,000	..
Manitoba	52,094,000	57,518,000	..
Northwest Territories	13,212,000	29,309,000	..
Rest of Canada	4,000,000	4,000,000	..
Total Canada	91,424,000	113,022,000	3
Mexico	12,021,000	6,000,000	..
Total N. America	851,905,000	812,001,000	24
South America	87,417,000	171,445,000	5
United Kingdom	55,581,000	62,059,000	2
Norway	300,000	300,000	..
Sweden	4,193,000	5,419,000	..
Denmark	942,000	4,500,000	..
Netherlands	4,231,000	4,400,000	..
Belgium	14,143,000	13,000,000	10
France	310,938,000	338,785,000	..
Spain	136,905,000	83,605,000	..
Portugal	10,000,000	5,000,000	5
Italy	164,587,000	160,000,000	..
Switzerland	4,400,000	4,000,000	..
Germany	91,817,000	135,947,000	4
Austria-Hungary	180,900,000	227,646,000	7
Rumania	72,386,000	100,000,000	..
Bulgaria	24,000,000	39,000,000	..
Servia	8,102,000	12,300,000	..
Montenegro	200,000	200,000	..
Turkey in Europe	22,000,000	20,000,000	..
Greece	6,400,000	6,000,000	..
Russia in Europe	401,772,000	568,532,000	17
Total Europe	1,513,797,000	1,790,693,000	54
Russia in Asia	61,149,000	107,903,000	3
India (British)	264,825,000	281,263,000	9
Asia, other	69,600,000	66,969,000	..
Total Asia	395,574,000	456,135,000	14
Africa	50,672,000	41,500,000	1
Australia	49,877,000	56,215,000	2
New Zealand	6,733,000	9,411,000	..
Total	2,955,975,000	3,337,400,000	..

The wheat crop of the United States for 1906 was approximately 740,000,000 bushels; that of the United Kingdom, 50,091,772.

EXPORTS *

COUNTRY	1900	1904
	Bushels	*Bushels*
Argentina	73,495 142	90,115,115
Australia	14,516,808	38,376,297
Belgium	9,700,854	18,217,597
Bulgaria	5,140,065	20,286,368
Canada	14,773,908	20,646,926
Chile	422,465	3,146,413
Germany †	12,463,765	8,640,465
India (British)	1,632,649	83,128,241
Netherlands	28,487,704	41,268,227
Rumania	27,664,693	26,719,065
Russia	74,140,227	‡173,935,704
Servia	3,641,128	3,098,326
United States	²15,990,073	44,012,910
Other countries	15,658,000	10,268,000
Total	497,727,481	581,859,654

IMPORTS

Belgium	41,846,866	64,160,456
Brazil	§10,800,000	§14,400,000
Denmark	3,171,461	5,735,740
Finland	3,463,811	3,413,760
France	5,809,831	8,625,293
Germany †	49,245,745	75,436,443
Greece	6,873,282	5,878,684
Italy	26,941,158	29,670,497
Japan	3,056,847	6,701,969
Netherlands	44,416,219	58,916,277
Portugal	5,029,092	3,282,298
Spain	8,502,071	8,253,950
Switzerland	14,684,666	19,072,525
United Kingdom	182,099,771	219,713,498
Other countries	33,075,000	37,063,000
Total	439,015,820	560,324,390

* Flour included, being converted into grain at the rate of four and a half bushels to the barrel.
† Not including free ports.
‡ Preliminary figures excluding the trade over the Asiatic frontier (excepting the Black Sea ports of the Caucasus).
§ Estimated.

GENERAL NOTE.—It should not be expected that the world's export and import totals for any year will agree. Among sources of disagreement are these: (1) Different periods of time covered in the "year" of the various countries; (2) imports received in year subsequent to year of export; (3) want of uniformity in classification of goods among countries; (4) different practises and varying degrees of failure in recording countries of origin and ultimate destination; (5) different practises of recording re-exported goods; (6) opposite methods of treating free ports; (7) clerical errors, which, it may be assumed, are not infrequent.

The exports given are domestic exports and the imports given are imports for consumption, as far as it is feasible and consistent so to express the facts; no statement is for net exports or net imports. While there are some inevitable omissions from such a table as this, on the other hand, there are some duplications because of reshipments that do not appear as such in official reports.

INDIAN CORN

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop
	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States*	2,105,103,000	2,467,481,000	79
Canada (Ontario)	27,947,000	20,880,000	..
Mexico	92,204,000	90,000,000	..
Total N. America.	2,225,254,000	2,578,361,000	83
Chile	1,500,000	1,477,000	..
Argentina	55,612,000	175,189,000	..
Uruguay	3,035,000	3,035,000	..
Total S. America.	60,147,000	179,701,000	5
France	22,232,000	23,000,000	..
Spain	26,016,000	21,300,000	..
Portugal	16,000,000	15,000,000	..
Italy	87,969,000	87,000,000	..
Austria-Hungary	161,793,000	83,295,000	..
Rumania	85,047,000	19,598,000	..
Bulgaria and East Rumelia	18,000,000	18,000,000	..
Servia	18,472,000	9,498,000	..
Russia	34,256,000	26,032,000	..
Total Europe	469,785,000	302,723,000	9
Africa	27,350,000	33,391,000	1
Australasia	10,025,000	10,519,000	..

* The corn crop of the United States in 1905 was 2,707,993,590 bushels; that of 1906 (approximately) 2,881,000,000.

OATS

COUNTRY	1901	1905	Per cent of world crop (approximate)
	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	736,809,000	953,216,000	27
Ontario	80,803,000	108,890,000	..
Manitoba	28,673,000	46,917,000	..
Northwest Territory	11,463,000	29,631,000	..
Rest of Canada	50,000,000	50,000,000	..
Total Canada	170,939,000	235,440,000	7
Total N. America.	907,748,000	1,188,656,000	34
United Kingdom	175,816,000	181,706,000	5
France	225,283,000	282,642,000	8
Germany	485,716,000	451,017,000	12
Austria-Hungary	192,088,000	208,351,000	6
Russia in Europe	595,658,000	851,706,000	24
Total Europe	1,884,945,000	2,188,258,000	62
Asia	28,439,000	84,949,000	2
Africa	9,373,000	8,000,000	..
Australia	12,423,000	9,064,000	..
New Zealand	19,687,000	15,012,000	..
Total Australasia.	32,110,000	24,076,000	..
Grand total	2,862,615,000	3,493,939,000	..

BARLEY

	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	109,933,000	136,651,000	11
Canada	28,851,000	46,288,000	4
Mexico	7,727,000	7,500,000	..
Total N. America.	146,511,000	190,439,000	16
United Kingdom	69,841,000	66,541,000	6
France	38,857,000	42,873,000	4
Germany	152,537,000	134,204,000	10
Austria-Hungary	120,213,000	136,151,000	10
Russia in Europe	235,760,000	338,854,000	28
Total Europe	782,326,000	857,284,000	73
Russia in Asia	4,157,000	8,109,000	..
Japan	83,352,000	70,000,000	6
Total Asia	87,509,000	78,109,000	7
Africa	52,919,000	44,850,000	4
Australia	1,870,000	2,116,000	..
New Zealand	1,060,000	1,164,000	..
Grand total	1,072,195,000	1,173,962,000	..

RYE

	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	30,345,000	28,486,000	2
Canada	3,489,000	2,633,000	..
Total N. America.	33,834,000	31,119,000	2
United Kingdom	2,000,000	2,000,000	..
France	58,198,000	60,267,000	4
Germany	321,350,000	378,204,000	26
Austria-Hungary	119,171,000	155,119,000	10
Russia in Europe	738,923,000	708,707,000	50
Total Europe	1,366,186,000	1,415,800,000	96
Russia in Asia	16,002,000	28,733,000	2
Grand total	1,416,022,000	1,475,652,000	..

POTATOES

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (approximate)
	Bushels	*Bushels*	
United States	210,927,000	332,830,000	8
Canada	57,108,000	55,436,000	1
Mexico	269,000	†400,000	..
Newfoundland	1,354,000	*1,350,000	..
Total N. America	269,658,000	390,016,000	10
Chile	10,000,000	6,131,000	..
Austria-Hungary	611,005,000	520,460,000	12
Belgium	87,913,000	91,632,000	2
Denmark	23,332,000	24,214,000	..
Finland	15,367,000	†16,500,000	..
France	426,422,000	451,039,000	10
Germany	1,491,255,000	1,333,326,000	31
Italy	*29,395,000	*29,395,000	..
Malta	901,000	733,000	..
Netherlands	80,415,000	94,421,000	2
Norway	22,924,000	17,253,000	..
Rumania	3,482,000	3,001,000	..
Russia, European	944,215,000	893,908,000	20
Servia	1,047,000	718,000	..
Spain	†84,481,000	†84,481,000	2
Sweden	57,216,000	51,314,000	1
United Kingdom:			
Great Britain	102,106,000	133,961,000	3
Ireland	68,762,000	98,635,000	2
T'l Un'd Kingdom	170,868,000	232,596,000	5
Total Europe	4,050,238,000	3,844,991,000	89
Japan	9,890,000	11,274,000	..
Russia, Asiatic	18,054,000	18,800,000	..
Total Asia	27,944,000	30,074,000	..
Africa	2,678,000	*4,048,000	..
Australia	15,202,000	16,777,000	..
New Zealand	6,311,000	5,025,000	..
Total	4,382,031,000	4,297,062,000	..

* Estimated from returns for census year.
† Average production.

RICE [Cleaned]

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (app.)
	Pounds	*Pounds*	
United States (including Philippine Islands and Hawaii)	964,300,000	1,163,400,000	1
United States (in North America)	*253,100,000	586,000,000	..
Mexico	45,800,000	†48,700,000	..
North America	307,300,000	643,800,000	..
South America	24,600,000	25,000,000	..
Italy	1,614,100,000	†1,644,700,000	2
Spain	431,300,000	394,600,000	2
British India	47,024,800,000	49,682,900,000	50
Ceylon	528,000,000	†558,800,000	..
French Indo-China	8,500,000,000	8,500,000,000	8
Japanese Empire	14,291,900,000	18,658,700,000	19
Java and Madura	10,644,000,000	†10,091,200,000	10
Korea	§3,800,000,000	†3,700,000,000	3
Philippine Islands	‖677,800,000	544,000,000	..
Siam	§3,600,000,000	§4,600,000,000	4
Straits Settlements	‡86,000,000	†95,000,000	1
Total Asia	89,152,500,000	96,430,600,000	98

RICE [Cleaned]—(*Continued*)

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (app.)
	Pounds	*Pounds*	
Egypt	20,000,000	20,000,000	..
Fiji	‡1,000,000	†3,000,000	..
Hawaii	¶33,400,000	¶33,400,000	..
Total Oceania	34,600,000	36,400,000	..
Total	91,584,400,000	99,195,100,000	..

* Commercial movement. † 1903 figures used.
‡ Estimated from official returns for acreage.
§ Estimated from exports of this country, and from per capita consumption of Japan for 1894–1903 (300 pounds per annum). ‖ Census, 1902. ¶ Census, 1899.

SUGAR

COUNTRY	1901-2	1905-6	Per cent of world product (app.)
CANE SUGAR	*Tons**	*Tons**	
United States:			
Louisiana	321,676	330,000	5
Texas	(†)	12,000	..
Porto Rico	85,000	210,000	3
Hawaii	317,509	370,000	5
Cuba	850,181	1,300,000	20
Mexico	103,110	105,000	1
Brazil	349,088	275,000	4
Total America	2,742,191	3,291,308	49
Asia:			
British India‡	2,022,476	1,725,300	26
Java	767,130	993,900	15
Philippine Islands	78,637	135,625	2
Total Asia	2,868,243	2,854,825	42
Oceania	169,858	223,000	3
Africa	278,926	295,000	4
Europe: Spain	28,000	28,000	..
Total cane-sugar production	6,087,218	6,692,133	..
BEET SUGAR			
Europe:			
Germany	2,305,013	2,425,000	33
Austria-Hungary	1,301,548	1,510,000	21
France	1,123,545	1,085,000	15
Russia	1,098,983	1,000,000	14
Belgium	324,960	330,000	4
Netherlands	203,193	210,000	3
Other countries	393,236	410,000	5
Total Europe	6,750,478	6,970,000	96
Total United States	163,126	283,717	4
Canada	.....	11,419	..
Total beet-sugar production	6,913,604	7,265,136	..
Total cane and beet sugar	13,000,822	13,957,269	..

* European beet-sugar production, as estimated by Licht, in metric tons of 2,204,622 pounds; sugar production of India, as officially estimated, in long tons of 2,240 pounds; and other data, as estimated by Willett and Gray, also in long tons of 2,240 pounds.
† Not estimated.
‡ Official estimates for such parts of India as return agricultural statistics.

The beet-sugar product of the United States in 1906 was, approximately, 345,000,000 long tons.

TOBACCO

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (app.)
United States:	*Pounds*	*Pounds*	
Continental	814,345,000	660,461,000	32
Porto Rico	6,000,000	*7,000,000	..
Total United States in North America	820,345,000	667,461,000	32
Total Canada	†11,267,000	‡11,035,000	..
Cuba	§54,400,000	§45,748,000	2
Mexico	20,599,000	*25,000,000	1
Brazil*	55,000,000	55,000,000	3
Austria-Hungary	143,782,000	102,815,000	5
Russia	153,609,000	*174,000,000	8
Total Europe	485,727,000	452,010,000	22
British India*	441,000,000	441,000,000	22
Dutch East Indies	92,918,000	96,100,000	4
Japan	90,473,000	†106,075,000	5
Philippine Islands	§35,100,000	§33,100,000	1
Turkey||	*66,000,000	§90,000,000	4
Total Asia	725,491,000	766,275,000	37
Total Africa	25,582,000	21,487,000	1
Total Australia	1,631,000	760,000	..
Fiji	14,000	58,000	..
Total Oceania	1,645,000	818,000	..
Total	2,201,193,000	2,046,817,000	..

* Average production.
† Census.
‡ Estimated from returns for census year.
§ Unofficial estimate.
|| Including European Turkey.

WINE

The following table shows estimates of wine production in gallons by the principal wine-producing countries according to the French publication *Moniteur Vinicole*, and is for the year 1903:

COUNTRY	Gallons	Per cent of world product (approximate)
France	935,223,510	30
Italy	898,178,000	28
Spain	396,255,000	12
Algeria	157,806,625	5
Austria	124,159,900	4
Portugal	92,459,500	3
Russia	73,967,600	2
Chile	60,759,100	2
Turkey and Cyprus	55,475,700	2
Hungary	55,475,700	2
Bulgaria	52,834,000	1
Germany	50,192,300	1
United States	44,908,900	1
Rumania	34,342,100	1
Greece	34,342,100	1
Argentine Republic	26,417,000	..
Switzerland	15,850,200	..
Servia	11,887,650	..
Brazil	7,264,675	..
Australia	6,604,250	..
Tunis	6,604,250	..
Other countries	21,363,661	..
Total	3,162,371,721	..

HOPS

COUNTRY	1901	1905	Per cent of world crop (approximate)
	Pounds	*Pounds*	
United States	38,800,000	51,200,000	20
Austria-Hungary	33,426,000	40,005,000	15
Belgium	9,149,000	*11,000,000	4
France	7,056,000	*6,800,000	2
Germany	27,599,000	64,500,000	24
Netherlands	137,000	†125,000	..
Russia*	11,000,000	14,500,000	6
United Kingdom	72,731,000	77,946,000	30
Total Europe	161,098,000	214,876,000	80
Total Australasia	2,004,000	2,194,000	..
Total‡	201,902,000	268,270,000	..

* Unofficial estimate.
† Average production.
‡ Excluding Canada, for which the census of 1901 shows a production during the preceding year of 1,001,203 pounds.

WOOL (1904)*

COUNTRY	Pounds	Per cent of world product (approximate)
United States	291,783,032	11
British Provinces	12,000,000	..
Mexico	10,000,000	..
Total North America	313,783,032	12
Central America and West Indies	5,000,000	..
Argentina	370,000,000	14
Brazil	1,500,000	..
Chile	7,500,000	..
Uruguay	96,000,000	4
Venezuela	15,000,000	..
Other South America	20,000,000	..
Total South America	510,000,000	19
Great Britain and Ireland	133,124,762	5
France	91,000,000	3
Spain	102,600,000	4
Portugal	13,410,000	..
Germany	49,590,000	2
Italy	21,451,000	..
Austria-Hungary	64,300,000	1
Russia, including Poland	361,100,000	14
Sweden and Norway	8,200,000	..
Turkey and Balkan Peninsula	67,500,000	2
Other Europe	14,000,000	..
Total Europe	926,275,762	35
Russia	60,000,000	2
Central Asia	46,000,000	1
British India	85,000,000	3
Asiatic Turkey	33,000,000	1
China	35,000,000	1
Other Asia	15,000,000	..
Total Asia	274,000,000	10
Africa	134,425,000	5
Australasia	480,000,000	17
Oceania	50,000	.
Grand total	2,643,533,794	..

* From statistics prepared by W. J. Battison of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers.

EXPORTS OF WOOL

COUNTRY	1900	1903	1904
	Pounds	*Pounds*	*Pounds*
Algeria	12,221,851	16,689,429	21,519,315
Argentina	222,915,944	425,467,795	371,697,065
Australia	335,722,862	324,563,030	395,130,825
Belgium	24,174,749	47,128,185	42,106,322
Cape of Good Hope	27,671,036	65,524,078	38,733,879
France	103,492,296	117,425,271	130,119,445
India (British)	22,148,531	33,326,503	38,602,768
Netherlands	20,139,509	42,214,830	33,032,572
New Zealand	140,706,486	155,128,381	126,834,850
Peru	7,793,334	9,257,920	7,952,000
Russia	30,775,906	30,071,056	*35,137,754
Spain	13,794,481	25,096,103	28,808,285
United Kingdom	24,928,800	35,950,200	37,858,500
Uruguay	58,984,957	92,124,262	‡87,153,504
Other countries	120,434,000	165,342,000	143,228,000
Total	1,165,904,742	1,585,309,043	1,537,915,084

IMPORTS

Belgium	92,500,170	118,802,547	116,471,580
France	418,173,779	523,823,309	465,475,496
Germany§	346,268,073	425,726,618	413,781,976
Netherlands	28,122,934	49,996,876	42,618,842
Russia	39,046,676	71,607,000	†35,354,431
United Kingdom	382,432,027	351,928,151	344,758,631
United States	103,583,505	173,742,834	249,135,746

* Including wool combed, carded, and dyed.
† Preliminary figures excluding the trade over the Asiatic frontier (excepting the Black Sea ports of the Caucasus).
‡ Average of 1900–3. § Not including free ports.

SILK *

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world product (approximate)
Western Europe:	*Pounds*	*Pounds*	
France	1,623,000	1,378,000	3
Italy	10,000,000	10,803,000	24
Spain	185,000	170,000	..
Austria-Hungary	690,000	694,000	1
Total	12,498,000	13,045,000	29
Levant and Central Asia:			
Anatolia	838,000	1,096,000	..
Syria and Cyprus	992,000	1,036,000	..
Salonika and Adrianople	31,000	564,000	..
Balkan States	168,000	337,000	..
Greece and Crete	110,000	143,000	..
Caucasus	772,000	794,000	..
Persia and Turkestan (exports)	683,000	939,000	..
Total	3,894,000	4,909,000	11
Far East:			
China—			
Exports from Shanghai	10,199,000	9,293,000	31
Exports from Canton	4,422,000	4,705,000	
Japan—			
Exports from Yokohama	9,094,000	12,846,000	28
British India —			
Exports from Calcutta	617,000	397,000	..
Total	24,332,000	27,241,000	..
Grand total	40,724,000	45,195,000	..

* Estimate of the Silk Manufacturers' Association of Lyons.

COTTON SPINDLES IN OPERATION

COUNTRY	1906	1901
Great Britain	50,000,000	46,100,000
Continent	35,500,000	33,350,000
United States	24,781,000	20,870,000
East Indies	5,200,000	5,007,000
Total	115,481,000	105,627,000

COTTON

[Bales of 500 pounds, gross weight, or 478 pounds of lint, net]

COUNTRY	1900	1904	Per cent of world crop (app.)
	Bales	*Bales*	
Total United States (including the Philippine Islands)	10,129,125	13,444,946	67
United States:			
Continental*	10,123,027	13,438,012	67
Porto Rico†	.....	836	..
Total United States (in North America)	10,123,027	13,438,848	67
Mexico	100,527	‡119,000	..
Total North America	10,230,168	13,565,992	68
Brazil§	209,000	165,000	..
Total South America	258,200	216,204	1
Total Europe	17,201	17,125	..
British India‖	2,262,467	2,837,166	14
Ceylon†	559	371	..
China	1,192,000	1,192,000	5
Cyprus	2,269	1,118	..
Dutch East Indies†	14,274	§11,000	..
French Indo-China†	5,015	14,000	..
Japan	28,217	16,262	..
Persia	32,000	32,000	..
Philippine Islands	6,098	6,098	..
Asiatic Russia	633,065	579,000	3
Total Asia	4,238,964	4,752,015	24
Egypt	1,124,632	1,316,212	6
Total Africa	1,148,811	1,346,126	6
Oceania	247	137	..
Grand total	15,893,591	19,897,599	..

* "Linters," a by-product, not included; quantity of "linters" produced as follows: 150,105 bales in 1900, 173,667 bales in 1901, 205,254 bales in 1902, 203,437 bales in 1903, and 253,077 bales in 1904.
† Exports.
‡ Average production.
§ Estimated from exports and an assumed annual home consumption of approximately 50,000,000 pounds.
‖ Exports and mill consumption.

IMPORTS

COUNTRY	1900	1903	1904
	Bales	*Bales*	*Bales*
Austria-Hungary	557,548	688,041	700,062
Belgium	160,699	246,879	186,228
Canada	102,646	101,800	118,583
France	891,960	1,167,740	967,710
Germany.*	1,653,606	1,992,090	2,082,693
Italy	505,866	711,035	713,733
Japan	701,760	816,657	733,849
Mexico	43,461	64,680	84,025
Netherlands	193,724	199,729	203,091
Russia	777,353	1,061,822	†907,051
Spain	305,325	368,653	325,157
Sweden	78,727	83,194	80,325
United Kingdom	3,231,087	3,113,890	3,559,028
United States	97,555	102,177	126,587
Other countries	305,600	243,200	247,600
Total	9,666,917	10,961,587	11,035,722

* Not including the free ports.
† Preliminary figures excluding the trade over the Asiatic frontier (excepting the Black Sea ports of the Caucasus).

(See "General Note" to "World's International Trade in Wheat.")

COTTON CONSUMPTION OF THE WORLD*

CONSUMPTION, BALES, 500 POUNDS	Great Britain	Continent	United States	India	Total World
1888–89	3,016,000	3,256,000	2,148,000	697,000	9,267,000
1889–90	3,227,000	3,432,000	2,185,000	791,000	9,795,000
1890–91	3,384,000	3,631,000	2,367,000	924,000	10,511,000
1891–92	3,181,000	3,640,000	2,576,000	914,000	10,586,000
1892–93	2,866,000	3,692,000	2,551,000	918,000	10,422,000
1893–94	3,233,000	3,848,000	2,264,000	959,000	10,601,000
1894–95	3,250,000	4,030,000	2,743,000	1,074,000	11,543,000
1895–96	3,276,000	4,160,000	2,572,000	1,105,000	11,605,000
1896–97	3,224,000	4,368,000	2,738,000	1,004,000	11,880,000
1897–98	3,432,000	4,628,000	2,962,000	1,141,000	12,888,000
1898–99	3,519,000	4,784,000	3,553,000	1,314,000	14,015,000
1899–1900	3,334,000	4,576,000	3,856,000	1,139,000	13,773,000
1900–1	3,269,000	4,576,000	3,727,000	1,060,000	13,416,000
1901–2	3,253,000	4,836,000	4,037,000	1,384,000	14,415,000
1902–3	3,185,000	5,148,000	4,015,000	1,364,000	14,478,000
1903–4	3,017,000	5,148,000	3,909,000	1,368,000	14,311,000
1904–5	3,620,000	5,148,000	4,310,000	1,474,000	15,542,000
1905–6	3,771,000	5,252,000	4,726,000	1,500,000	16,299,000

* From the *World Almanac*, 1907.

LIVE STOCK

COUNTRY	CATTLE		Horses	Sheep	Swine
	Total	Milch cows			
Total United States (including Hawaii and Philippine Islands)	68,968,654	.....	21,871,281	51,001,809	55,174,579
United States:					
Continental—					
On farms	66,861,522	19,793,866	18,718,578	50,631,619	52,102,847
Not on farms	1,616,422	973,033	2,936,881	231,301	1,818,114
Alaska	18	13	5	.....	10
Porto Rico	260,225	73,372	58,664	6,363	66,180
Total United States (in North America)	68,738,187	20,840,284	21,714,128	50,869,283	53,987,151
Canada	5,947,512	.....	1,522,993	2,777,980	2,665,256
Mexico	5,142,457	.....	859,217	3,424,430	616,139
North America	83,945,546	.....	24,596,012	57,312,650	57,931,756
South America	66,679,376	.....	5,905,597	95,851,319	4,881,715
Austria-Hungary	17,533,876	.....	4,264,571	13,974,428	12,675,239
Belgium	1,782,290	873,794	245,781	235,722	1,154,721
Bulgaria	1,596,267	.....	494,557	7,015,385	367,501
Denmark	1,840,466	* 1,089,073	486,935	876,830	1,456,699
Faroe Islands	3,950	.....	632	91,034	15
Finland	1,417,503	* 1,052,564	316,600	919,333	213,867
France	14,136,869	* 7,438,464	3,138,507	17,800,965	7,522,383
Germany	19,331,568	* 10,456,137	4,267,403	7,907,173	18,920,666
Gibraltar	.....	.....	450	.....	.....
Greece	406,744	.....	159,068	4,568,158	.....
Iceland	26,539	.....	46,475	486,347	.....
Italy	5,000,000	.....	741,739	6,900,000	1,800,000
Luxemburg	94,849	.....	19,557	19,689	109,355
Malta	7,851	.....	3,475	18,529	5,078
Montenegro	60,000	* 20,000	3,000	400,000	8,000
Netherlands	1,690,463	973,098	295,277	606,785	861,840
Norway	950,201	* 689,563	172,999	998,819	165,348
Portugal	817,000	.....	90,000	3,064,100	1,200,000
Rumania	2,545,051	380,720	864,324	5,655,444	1,709,205
Russia (Europe)	39,453,556	.....	24,323,294	59,665,801	12,275,731
Servia	956,661	170,329	184,849	3,061,759	959,580
Spain	2,075,142	.....	498,157	13,025,512	1,743,863
Sweden	2,545,583	* 1,763,176	546,943	1,105,903	796,572
Switzerland	1,340,375	* 739,922	124,896	219,438	555,261
Turkey and Crete	1,000,000	* 300,000	600,000	10,000,000	.....
United Kingdom	11,674,026	4,211,917	2,116,798	29,076,738	3,601,665
Total Europe	128,286,830	.....	44,006,287	187,693,802	68,102,589
British India	86,517,184	* 25,412,822	1,423,072	21,577,896	.....
Japanese Empire	1,298,663	.....	1,390,054	2,769	1,168,279
Asia	106,630,174	.....	11,067,766	91,613,884	3,842,740
Africa	8,630,006	.....	863,876	27,693,836	1,170,448
Australia	7,850,520	1,551,206	1,595,256	65,822,918	1,062,703
New Zealand	1,736,850	498,241	314,322	18,280,806	255,320
Oceania	9,786,506	.....	1,928,830	84,216,408	1,330,659
Total	403,958,438	.....	88,308,368	544,382,049	137,259,907

* Cows.

ALADYIN, ALEXIS: Political leader of the Russian peasant party, "the Group of Toil," in the first Russian Duma. Born in 1873 of extremely poor peasant parents, he worked in the fields and attended local schools till he decided to become a physician, when he worked his way into the University of Kazan. He remained there three years, but was finally expelled because of doubtful propensities and free speech. He went at once to the outskirts of Kazan and labored among the workmen, organizing trade-unions. Arrested in 1895 he was liberated on $500 bail pending the delivery of the verdict; but on learning that he was to be sentenced to four years of solitary confinement and eight of exile in Archangel, he managed to cross the frontier, and lived a precarious life in Brussels, Paris, and London, acquiring many languages and much information. He lectured for a while at Toynbee Hall. Upon the issuance of the manifesto of October, 1905, however, Aladyin returned to Russia via Finland. Taking part in a strike in St. Petersburg, he had to leave and went to Sembersk where he found his family. He was obliged to leave this place, but was, nevertheless, elected by the villagers to the Duma. He immediately formed all the peasant and labor deputies into a party of which he became the effective leader. His economic ideas are those of an opportunist socialism adapted to Russian conditions.

ALASKA: A territory of the United States, bought from Russia in 1867. It has an area of 590,889 sq. m. Of the 368,103,680 acres of land, 367,983 are unappropriated and unreserved. The population in 1900 was 63,592, of whom 30,507 were whites (27,307 males); 29,536 natives (Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts, etc.); 3,116 Chinese. It has probably decreased since then. The town of Nome had 12,468 inhabitants; Skagway, 3,117; Juneau, 1,864; Sitka, the seat of administration, 1,396. Alaska has neither legislature nor constitution, but is governed by Congress and administered by a governor and other officials appointed by the president. There are three judicial districts and three courts. Education is directed by an agent of the U. S. Commissioner of Education. In 1903 there were 47 public schools with 2,108 pupils. Numerous missions carry on educational as well as religious work.

The chief industries are seal and salmon fisheries and mining. The gold produced in 1904 was valued at $9,160,500; the silver at $256,900. Gold is found mainly in southeast Alaska (low grade), at Cape Nome, and on the Yukon River. The seal fisheries of the Pribilof or Seal Islands are leased to an American company under restrictions. The number of skins shipped from these islands in 1904 was 14,368. Besides this there is pelagic seal-hunting off the northwest coast and in the Bering Strait by Canadians and Indians who caught 12,791 seals in 1903. But this industry is in danger of being exhausted. The annual catch of the salmon fisheries is valued at over $8,000,000. There are thirty companies with thirty-five canning and twelve salting plants. Agriculture is possible in some parts of the territory during the brief summer, but is little developed. The U. S. government has made some experiments along that line. The exports to the U. S. in 1904 (besides gold) were valued at $10,698,694, and to Canada $1,001,990. The imports from the U. S. amounted to $11,227,698, and from Canada $1,034,401. There is a railway from Skagway (near Sitka) toward the Yukon, of a total length of 112 miles. There are seventy-five post-offices, and telegraphic connection with the U. S. and Canada. Labor conditions are so uncertain as to render it impossible to state them briefly. There has been "claim jumping" and trouble over mining-laws.

ALBRECHT: An early communist and so-called "prophet," who, with WEITLING, spread through Germany the gospel of communism. On account of his utterances he was put in prison for six years, where his only reading was the Bible; but in 1841 he escaped to Switzerland. Thenceforward he devoted himself to preaching, often in Old Testament prophetic language, the gospel of Bible communism. He wrote numerous tracts, among others: "Die Wiederherstellung des Reiches Zion" ("The Restoration of the Kingdom of Zion"); "Das baldige Wiedersehen am Alter der Freiheit"; "Herausforderung der Priesterwelt," etc.

ALBRECHT, THEODOR C.: German privy councilor; chief of the Imperial Geodetic Institute; born in Dresden, Aug. 30, 1843; studied at the technical high school of Dresden, and at the universities of Berlin and Leipsic (Ph.D., 1868). In 1875 he received the title of professor, and in 1898 was appointed privy councilor. He is an authority on housing, settlements, and kindred questions in Germany, and is the author of various scientific works. *Address:* Burggrafenstrasse 25, Potsdam, Germany.

ALCOHOL: See LIQUOR, CONSUMPTION OF.

ALDEN, PERCY: British social reformer, author, and Member of Parliament; born in Oxford, 1865; educated at Baliol College, Oxford. He was warden of the Mansfield House University Settlement from 1891 to 1901, being elected honorary warden upon his retirement. From 1892 to 1901 he was councilor of the borough of West Ham, and in 1898 officiated as deputy mayor. Mr. Alden has lectured on social and labor problems in the United States, New Zealand, and Australia. He was cooptated a member of the London School Board in 1903; and he is a member also of the Fabian Society. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament as a "Liberal," tho in favor of most of the measures adopted by labor and evolutionary socialists; and he is prepared to work with any man proceeding in the right direction. The social problem has become the deep abiding interest in his life. Author of "The Unemployed: A National Question." *Address:* 1 Woburn Square, W. C. London, England.

ALLAN, WILLIAM: Labor organizer; born in Ulster, Ireland, 1813. His father removing to Glasgow, William became a piecer in a cotton factory there, and later was apprenticed to an engineering firm in that city. In 1835 he began working as a journeyman engineer at Liverpool. He became the general secretary of his union in 1847, and retained this office even after the society was merged in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, being reelected annually for more than twenty years. William Allan was the originator of the "new unionism" of his time. Remarkable for executive ability, he built up, out of the fragments of organization in the engineering trade, a great national society. He died in 1874.

ALLEMANE, JEAN: French Socialist; compositor; founder of the Cooperative Printing Association; editor of *Le Parti Ouvrier*; born 1843. He was arrested as a communist in 1871 and suffered penal imprisonment eight and one half years, being released by amnesty in 1880. He has been an active Socialist leader ever since.

ALLEN, CHARLES GRANT BLAIRFINDIE: Novelist; born in Kingston, Canada, 1848; was graduated from Merton College, Oxford; taught in Jamaica. He was the author of popular scientific works on evolution. His first novel was "Philistia" (1884). Allen became a Socialist, and introduced many radical views into his novels: "The Woman Who Did" (1895), and "A Bride from the Desert" (1896). He died in London in 1899.

ALMSHOUSES: See Poorhouses.

ALTGELD, JOHN P.: Governor of Illinois; born in Prussia, 1848, but early emigrated to the United States with his parents, who settled on a farm near Mansfield, O. He attended the district school, but at the age of sixteen enlisted and participated in the closing campaign of the Civil War. The next few years he spent in teaching, studying, and working as a farm-hand. He read law in St. Louis and then opened an office in Savannah, Mo. In 1874 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Andrew County, but in October, 1875, he removed to Chicago. In 1884 he ran for Congress on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated. In 1886 he was nominated for Superior Judge of Cook County, which at that time gave a Republican majority of about 12,000, and was elected by a large majority, the laboring men being especially active in his interests. He was on the bench nearly five years, being Chief Justice of the Superior Court for one year. A multiplicity of private interests compelled him to resign this position in August, 1891. He became wealthy principally by the buying and selling of real estate in Chicago and investments in street-railways. He designed and built a number of the finest business blocks in Chicago. He was nominated for Governor of Illinois in the Democratic Convention of 1892, and was triumphantly elected, to the surprize of even his own party. For over thirty years Illinois had been considered safe for a Republican plurality of 25,000 to 50,000.

Altgeld gained the hostility of many of the wealthy classes through his pardoning, on June, 1893, of the so-called Chicago Anarchists. Whether right or wrong, there was no question among those who knew him that Governor Altgeld acted from conscientious principles and contrary to his political interests. In the great Pullman strike of 1894 he publicly addrest President Cleveland, protesting against the sending of United States troops to keep the peace in Illinois when not requested to do so by the Governor, he believing that Illinois was abundantly able to protect her own citizens, and asserting that such action on the part of the Federal Government overrode the Constitution, and set up what might easily lead to a military absolutism. In politics a Democrat, Altgeld became in his views increasingly radical, and he took active part in various radical political movements. He died March 12, 1902.

ALTRUISM: A term used in sociology and philosophy to denote the benevolent instincts and emotions in general, or action prompted by them; and more specifically used of that theory of life which would make the living for others the central thought of life and the essence of religion. It was first employed by Comte, but has passed into general use. Herbert Spencer says: "If we define *altruism* as being all action, which, in the normal course of things, benefits others instead of benefiting self, then from the dawn of life altruism has been no less essential than egoism." (See Individualism; Socialism.)

ALTRUIST COMMUNITY: A small attempt at community life, with office in St. Louis, Mo. It was first organized in 1868 in Jasper County, Mo., with ten members. Unable to meet its payments for land, it has made various other attempts, and now owns eight and a half acres near Sulphur Springs, and is engaging in the poultry and gardening business. It has also a headquarters in St. Louis, where it publishes a monthly, *The Altruist*, and a book of 424 pages containing a full explanation of its principles and organization. From the beginning Mr. A. Longley has been the organizer and head. *Address:* 2711 Franklin Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON, STEEL, AND TIN WORKERS, THE: An important trade-union of the United States; organized in Pittsburg, 1878, by the amalgamation of the United Sons of Vulcan (organized 1858), the Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers, and Roughers of the United States (organized 1872), and the Iron and Steel Roll Hands Union (organized 1873). Joseph Bishop was the first president of the association, but John Jarrett, who was elected in 1880 and served till 1883, was largely instrumental in shaping it. In 1881 the association took a prominent part in the formation of the American Federation of Labor; but in the following year it left the latter because of the dropping by the federation of its plank favoring protection. The association has always been a fighting organization and has had numerous strikes, notably the great Homestead Strike. The association has opposed arbitration by third parties, but has been a leader in developing a sliding scale and other agreements with employers. The first sliding scale in the United States was formed by conference between the employers and the United Sons of Vulcan in 1865; and wage agreements with employers have been characteristic of the association; tho it has also had, mainly at the times of renewal of agreements, severe industrial struggles, strikes, and lockouts. At the annual meetings the president generally appoints a committee of forty members which meet the committees of manufacturers in conjunction with whom it fixes the rate of wages. The average monthly membership of the association in 1905 was reported as about 10,000.

References: *Report of the U. S. Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii. (1901), pp. 212, 339–345.

AMANA COMMUNITY: A German religious community in Iowa, reached at the station of Homestead, on the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad. The community numbers some 1,800 souls, owns about 25,000 acres, is rated at over $1,000,000 in capital, and is in every way an

economic and industrial success. Mainly agricultural, it has herds of blooded cattle, sheep, hogs, and a large number of fine horses. It also does a growing manufacturing business. The two largest woolen mills in Iowa are owned and operated by the community. The famous colony blue prints are made here; 80 pieces of these, containing 45 yards each, are turned out in a day. The community has, moreover, two large flouring mills, with full roller process and elevators, manufacturing pearl barley and hominy. There are three machine-shops where the machinery used by the community is repaired. Besides these there are dye-shops, blacksmith shops, sawmills, a printing-office, and other lesser industries. Their business is growing, because their patrons are well treated. Their goods are honest goods, the Amana brand telling its own story.

Organization

The community lives in eight villages, two or three miles apart, Amana being the center, and Homestead the most important railroad office. Each village has its own doctor, school, post-office, store, hotel, and place of meeting. The government of the community is vested in a president—now Dr. Jacob Winzenried—and a board of thirteen directors, elected annually by the community. Family life is preserved inviolate, each family living alone, except where two or three prefer to live in the same house. They come together, however, for common meals in little boarding-houses, one for every thirty to forty persons. The fare is simple, but abundant and healthy. The houses are pleasant and homelike, tho unpainted, being covered in summer with vines and surrounded bylittle flower gardens. The communism is absolute, all the necessities of life being provided freely for all, and the industries being operated for the equal advantage of all. The life is simple and quiet, there being few amusements and little variety; national holidays and memorial days, however, are observed. The community is very religious. A prayer-meeting is held in each village every night of the week, where the men sit on one side and the women on the other, and quietly sing their German Lutheran chants, or pray, or read from the Bible or the books of their prophets or leaders. They call their communities True Inspiration Congregations, and believe in the Trinity, justification by faith, the resurrection of the dead, the gradual purification of the impenitent by fire, the communism of all saints as a necessary part of Christianity. They believe that an era of inspiration began in the eighteenth century, the Holy Ghost speaking to their founder, Erasmus Gruber, and other "prophets." They drink wine made by their own labor, formerly brewing the best beer of the state, and deriving quite a profit from this, which practise, however, they quietly ended when Iowa became a prohibition state, doing this out of respect to the law and the opinions of their neighbors. Wine, however, they give to their employees in harvest time as freely and generously as to themselves. The life being so simple and quiet, and without great educational advantages, many of the young people leave, and are allowed to do so, but often are glad to come back to the peace and quiet plenty of the communal home. They do not seek new members, but elect to membership those who come and after trial prove themselves of the right spirit. The universal language is German. The beginning of the sect was in Würtemberg, Germany, where it was founded in 1714 by Erasmus Gruber. Later Christian Metz became their leader, and he brought them to the United States in 1843. First settling in Ebenezer, Erie County, N. Y., they moved to their present site in 1855–64.

Belief

History

References: *Cooperative Communities in the United States*, by Rev. A. Kent; *Bulletin of United States Department of Labor*, No. 35, July, 1901.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION: See Constitution.

AMERICA: See United States, etc.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, THE: An academy organized in Philadelphia, Dec. 14, 1889, with the object of furnishing a platform for the discussion of the various problems of modern life, paying particular attention to those which were not adequately represented in the work of other learned societies. The academy holds four scientific sessions each year, in addition to the annual meeting of two days' duration, which is held in April. The proceedings of the academy are published in the form of a bi-monthly periodical called *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

In earlier years the numbers of *The Annals* contained papers upon many topics, but more recently the policy has been to devote each number to some special topic. Recent issues have been devoted to such subjects as City Life and Progress, Child Labor, Philanthropy and Penology, Insurance and Commercial Organization, and Business Management and Finance. From time to time monographs on special topics have been published as supplements. Among these may be mentioned "Housing Conditions in Jersey City," by Miss Mary B. Sayles. Bound copies of the various numbers are sold at $1.25 each.

Any person interested in the general purposes of the academy may become a member, if approved by the council, by paying the annual membership fee of $5.00 or a life fee of $100.00. Life members are exempt from annual fees. Members receive all the publications of the academy and are entitled to submit papers and communications and to attend and participate in all scientific meetings. The members (1906) number 3,713, of whom 116 are life members. The list embraces a large number of the prominent thinkers and writers on political, economic, and social topics in America, with an increasing representation from Mexico, South America, and Europe.

During the last sixteen years more than 500 of the more important articles appearing in *The Annals* have been reprinted and sold at low price. Among these may be mentioned: "The Development of Park Systems in American Cities," by Andrew W. Crawford; "Principles of Reform and Penal Law," by Charlton T. Lewis; "Recent Tendencies in American Legislation," by Samuel J. Barrows; "Supervision of Charities in New York," by Robert W. Hebberd; "World Currents in Charity, Theory and Practice," by Charles R. Henderson; and "The Theory of Social Forces," by Prof. S. N. Patten.

All meetings of the academy are held in Philadelphia, and the active executive officers are largely connected with the University of Pennsylvania. Secretary, Carl Kelsey, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION, THE: Formed 1906. Objects: (1) To serve as the American branch of the International Association for Labor Legislation (q. v.); (2) to promote the uniformity of labor legislation in the United States; (3) to encourage the study of labor legislation.

Dues: $1.00 annually; $3.00, including receipt of the monthly bulletin of the international association. President, Prof. R. T. Ely, University of Wisconsin. Secretary, A. F. Weber, New York

State Department of Labor, Albany, N. Y. Executive Committee, president, and secretary, *ex-officio*: A. J. Boulton, H. W. Farnam, C. P. Neill, H. R. Seager, and C. R. Woodruff.

AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION, THE: Formed June 10, 1904, by the amalgamation of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association and the American League for Civic Improvement. Object: civic improvement. It represents cooperation on a national scale for the promotion of a more beautiful America in every city, village, and hamlet in the country. It serves as a clearing-house for improvement work, bringing the local workers into helpful contact with one another and placing the experience of all at the command of each. Members, 2,200. Annual meeting, October. Reports and pamphlets. Annual subscription, $3.00. President, J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg, Pa.; secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 703 North American Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded in 1885 "for the encouragement of economic research . . . and of perfect freedom of discussion." It has no creed. Persons of all shades of economic opinion are found among its 1,000 members, and widely different views are given a hearing at its annual meetings and in its publications.

Every member receives all current reports and publications of the association. The publications, begun in 1886, contain nearly a hundred of the most important economic monographs that have been published by American students, besides a large number of papers and discussions by leading experts in practical and in academic life. A list of doctoral dissertations in progress in American universities is now annually prepared by the Publication Committee. Annual dues, $3.00. President, Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University. Secretary, Prof. W. M. Daniels, Princeton, N. J.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, THE: Organized (in its present form), 1886. Prior to the Civil War, and even till 1881, national trade-unions in the United States multiplied without any corresponding success in the formation of enduring alliances.

Labor federations, in so far as they existed, were local in character. Thus, the General Trades Union of the City of New York, active in the labor field as early as 1833, was a federation composed of twenty-one trade societies of that city. The General Trades Union of Boston was organized in 1834 upon the same general lines. A constitution adopted at the convention was later ratified by the sixteen local unions in the federation. Similar unions were formed in other cities, notably Baltimore and Philadelphia. The Industrial Congress of the United States, which met in New York, Oct. 12, 1845, represents a nearer approach to a national federation of labor. The convention was called together mainly through the efforts of the New England Workingmen's League and the National Reform Association of New York, elected officers, and adopted a declaration of principles. The second Industrial Congress, which met in New York, June 10, 1847, included representatives from the states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Illinois, and Kentucky.

Early History

Little was attempted and less achieved in labor federation on a national scale between 1850 and 1864; but as soon as the Civil War had closed, interest in this direction rapidly developed. The twelfth annual session of the National Typographical Union in 1864 adopted a resolution instructing the delegates present to recommend to the local unions of the cities and towns the formation of central federations "for the mutual protection and support of the workingmen of all trades." In 1865 twelve men, independently of any trade-unions to which they belonged, met in Louisville for the purpose of discussing plans to further the interests of the labor movement, and issued a call for a general convention to be held in Baltimore the following year.

On the 26th of March, 1866, the presidents of various national trade-unions met in New York City and decided to hold a national convention in Baltimore during the month of August. This was supplemented a little later by a call address to the workingmen of the United States in the interest of the eight-hour working-day. All trade-unions were invited to participate in the coming convention, with representation upon the basis of two delegates for each trades assembly and one for every local organization.

On Aug. 20, 1866, the National Labor Union, the name given to the new organization, met in Baltimore, elected a full set of officers, and adjourned without adopting a formal platform or making any provision for raising revenue.

The National Labor Union reassembled in 1867 at Chicago, and again in 1868 at New York, displaying considerable vigor in agitating the national eight-hour law. Other important questions discust in the different conventions were labor leagues, apprentices, cooperation, convict labor, public lands, taxing bonds, national banks, money, and political organization. Altho conventions were held in 1869, 1870, and 1871, the membership steadily dwindled until in 1872 a final effort to revive interest resulted in the nomination of an independent candidate for President of the United States. Active participation in the national campaign of that year created internal dissensions which hastened the downfall of the organization.

In response to a call sent out in 1881, delegates from various trade and labor organizations met in Pittsburg, Nov. 15, 1881, and formed the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, with John Jarrett, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, as temporary chairman. The platform of the federation set forth the objects of the organization as follows: The passage of laws in state legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of trade-unions and similar labor organizations; compulsory education of children; prohibition of children from working under the age of fourteen; uniform apprentice laws; an effective national eight-hour law; restriction of the "order" or "truck" system; a mechanics' lien law; repeal of all conspiracy laws against organized labor; a bureau of labor statistics; protection to American industry; a law to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract; and proper representation of all trades and labor organizations in law-making bodies.

A National Federation

For several years after 1881 the history of the general federation movement in the United States centers largely in the struggle between the Knights of Labor and the trade and labor unions, turning mainly on the question of the autonomy of each trade. Keen rivalry developed. The most prominent leaders of the two parties were Mr. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, and Mr. George E. McNeill. That a feeling of antagonism was present from the beginning is suggested by a communication issued by the federation to the trade-unions. In this address the federation declared: "Open trade-unions, national and international, can and ought to work side by side with the Knights of Labor, and this would be the case were it not for men either overzealous or ambitious who busy themselves in attempting the destruction of existing unions to serve their own whims." *The Cigar-Makers' Journal* referred to the federation movement of 1881–82 as in "a chaotic state pulled and dragged in all directions. Some advise us," the article continues, "to adopt new systems of organizations defying practical experience and common sense. If the representatives of the bona-fide trade-unions, not of so-called labor clubs, are true to their mission, they will make a bold stand against all inferior systems of organization."

Struggle with Knights of Labor

The year 1886 marks an important period in the history of labor federation. Not only did the Knights of Labor in that year reach their greatest numerical strength, but at the same time the movement toward the national federation

of trades gained new vigor in the transition of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions into the American Federation of Labor. The Federation of Trades and Labor Unions as then constituted did not satisfy the more energetic and ambitious among the labor leaders of the time, who were desirous of reaching some agreement with the Knights of Labor whereby the friction between that organization and the trade-unions should cease. In response to a call issued by P. J. McGuire (general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners), A. Strasser (president of the Cigar Makers' Union), P. J. Fitzpatrick (president of the Iron Molders' International Union), Josiah Deyer (secretary of the Granite Cutters' International Union), and W. H. Foster (secretary of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions), a trade-unions' conference met in Philadelphia on May 17, 1886, and agreed upon certain proposals to be submitted to the special session of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor soon to be held at Cleveland, O. Contrary to the wishes of the trade-unionists, no definite action on "the treaty" was taken at the meeting of the General Assembly, and a further effort to arrive at a permanent understanding with the Knights of Labor was made later in the year.

When the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor assembled at Richmond in October, 1886, the trade-union officials offered a further protest against the attitude of the Knights toward the unions, and asked for some assurance that the trade-unions thereafter would not be interfered with by the organizers of the order. The response of the General Assembly was to adopt a resolution compelling all employees in the cigar trade, who were members of both the Knights of Labor and the Cigar Makers' International Union, to withdraw from the union or leave the order, and adjourned without making further advances toward a peaceful settlement of the difficulties.

Throughout this controversy between the Knights and the trade-unions, the Federation of Trades had exerted its influence steadily in favor of the latter. Accordingly, when the representatives of various trade-unions arranged to meet in Columbus, O., the first week in December, 1886, the legislative committee of the federation decided to hold its annual convention at the same time and place for the purpose of cooperating with the conference of the trade-union officials.

The two conventions met on Dec. 7th and 8th, respectively, and the members of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions attended the sessions of the trade-union conference in a body. On the third day of the conference, the committee of the whole reported to the federation that its committee had attended the conference and that all the delegates had been admitted as members thereof. The legislative committee also reported that the trade-union conference had formed a new organization known as the American Federation of Labor, with a constitution designed to protect the interests of trade-unions. It was agreed that all moneys, papers, and effects of the old federation should be turned over to the officers of the new organization, and that all per capita tax due the old federation should be collected by the new federation. From this time the Knights of Labor steadily declined in membership and power while the American Federation advanced with rapid strides. At the present time (1907) the Knights play an inconsiderable part in the labor movement, while the American Federation is steadily gaining in influence. The conventions of 1886, 1887, and 1888 were called respectively the first, second, and third convention of the American Federation; but by order of the convention of 1889 the origin of the federation in all official documents is dated from 1881.

Final Organization

The American Federation of Labor, upholding the principle of trade autonomy, favors the local trade-union composed of members following a single vocation, and attached to a national trade-union. Where the local union is not affiliated with a national organization, it receives a charter directly from the American Federation and becomes known, for instance, as "Ship Carpenters' Union, No. 6,976." On the other hand, the organizers of the federation often find it necessary to form into one local union workers of miscellaneous crafts. Hence federal labor-unions exist in those localities where separate trade-unions are impracticable. As soon as a sufficient number of a craft is admitted, a new local trade-union, recruited from the membership of the mixed union, is formed. This trade "local" in turn joins the national union of its craft wherever possible. According to the report for November 1906, there were 27,500 local unions and 759 local trade- and federal labor-unions directly affiliated with the national federation.

Local federations, commonly known as central labor-unions, aim to embrace all local unions in a given area, and at the same time to maintain the strict autonomy of each trade or industry. Altho in general, representation, membership, etc., are left by the American Federation to local regulation, the national constitution provides that "no central body affiliated with the American Federation shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a local union, chartered by a national or international union having affiliation with the American Federation."

Next in gradation to the local federation is the state federation of representatives from the various labor organizations in the state. State branches meet annually and seek to exercise functions analogous to those carried on by the national federation in its larger field of activity.

Form of Organization

As a fourth form of organization, the American Federation recognizes as its most important subdivision the national union of workmen engaged in a single calling. In May, 1904, there were 118 international unions having complete jurisdiction over their own trades, with a membership approximating 2,000,000 work-people affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Structurally, the most important feature of the national federation is the representative convention which meets in annual session. The constitution provides: "The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From national and international unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; and so on. From central bodies, state federations, federal labor-unions, and local unions having no national or international union, one delegate."

In this scheme of representation, a compromise has been sought between equal representation and proportional representation. Proportional representation seemed to give an unfair advantage to the larger unions, and, on the other hand, equal representation placed undue power in the hands of the smaller unions. A system has therefore been adopted by which a part of the membership is represented according to a progressive ratio, and the other part—many of whom

are also represented through their respective national and international unions—by one delegate from each organization.

Strict adherence to this progressive ratio avoids the chief defect of proportional representation; as applied by the American Federation, however, it succeeds in keeping the number of delegates within proper limits rather than in giving each union a measurable weight in legislation. The following law, adopted in 1887, neutralizes any restraint placed on the strong unions by progressive representation: "Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast *one vote for every one hundred members*, or major fraction thereof, he represents, but no city or state federation shall be allowed more than one vote." Thus the power is retained by the large unions with the additional consideration, it is claimed, of harmful centralization in the hands of the few. Where proportional representation prevails, it is difficult to unite the numerous delegates for common action. Under the American Federation's plan of progressive representation, the limited number of men who exercise a controlling voice based on the total membership of their respective unions, are in a position to form a combination at any time to rule the convention.

The chief administrative body of the American Federation is the Executive Council, composed of the national officers: a president, eight vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. The Executive Council supervises the work and decides questions of policy between conventions. The most important single official is the president. He is elected by the annual convention and holds office for one year. Owing to the voluntary nature of the American Federation, its executive head has comparatively slight official power; but as the recognized leader of the American trade-union movement, he exerts considerable influence over the activities of national and international unions. He receives a fixt annual salary of $3,000. The remaining officers are paid as follows: the secretary and the treasurer, an annual salary of $2,500 and $200 respectively; the vice-presidents, $4 per day and expenses when attending council meetings.

The receipts and expenditures of the American Federation from 1881 to 1905 were as follows:

Year	Receipts	Expenditures	Year	Receipts	Expenditures
1881	$174	$136	1894	$15,346	$17,302
1882	125	252	1895	13,751	15,612
1883	690	352	1896	16,290	15,452
1884	357	543	1897	18,639	19,113
1885	584	450	1898	18,894	19,197
1886	474	510	1899	36,757	30,599
1887	1,939	2,074	1900	71,125	68,373
1888	4,512	3,933	1901	115,220	118,708
1889	6,838	6,578	1902	144,498	119,086
1890	23,849	21,070	1903	247,802	196,015
1891	17,702	13,190	1904	220,995	203,991
1892	17,834	18,324	1905	207,417	196,170
1893	20,864	21,383			

Finances

Starting in 1881 with an annual tax of three cents per member of the affiliated unions, the "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions" reduced this sum to one cent per member the following year. In 1883 provision was made that each national union should pay into the central treasury for 1,000 members or less, $10; 1,000 to 4,000, $20; 4,000 to 8,000, $25; 8,000 to 12,000, $30, etc. When the American Federation was formed in 1886, an annual tax of six cents per member was placed on national and local unions. The following year this tax was reduced to three cents a year for national and local organizations, with a tax of $25 a year on central labor-unions and state federations. After various changes from time to time, the present rate was fixt as follows: "From international or national trade-unions a per-capita tax of one half of one cent per member per month; from local trade-unions and federal labor-unions, ten cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; from local unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen years of age, two cents per member per month; from central and state bodies $10 per year, payable quarterly."

The objects of the American Federation, as stated in the Preamble and Article II. of the Constitution, are as follows:

Whereas, a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the opprest of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It therefore behooves the representatives of the trade- and labor-unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough federation, embracing every trade and labor organization in America, organized under the trade-union system.

Article II., Sec. 1. The objects of this federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local trade- and labor-unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of central trade- and labor-unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into state, territorial, or provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of national and international trade-unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American federation of all national and international trade-unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union-label goods; and to secure national legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

Aside from the more general activities involved in the closer association of trades, certain typical activities are displayed by the American Federation in (*a*) the use of the union label, (*b*) boycotts and strikes, (*c*) the introduction of the eight-hour day, and (*d*) politics and legislation.

Union Labels

(*a*) The American Federation has made no attempt to control the labels of its national and international unions, merely indorsing and advocating those already adopted by the different trades. Local and federal unions directly attached to the American Federation, however, receive their labels from national headquarters. The federation calls upon all union men to demand goods bearing the union stamp, and urges the formation of active labor leagues to aid in educating the consuming public to the nature, appearance, and value of trade labels. In order to gain uniformity and more particularly to prevent counterfeiting, a universal label has from time to time been suggested. In 1900 the officials of the American Federation obtained a legal opinion to the effect that counterfeiting could be better punished if all unions would surrender their labels and adopt that of the Federation of Labor. Inasmuch as this would involve the surrender by each union of some part of the very trade autonomy for which the federation has always contended, and the recognition of the federation as one organization, at least for the purpose of "issuing, controlling, protecting, and defending the universal label," the step has not been taken. The secretary reported to the

twenty-fifth convention (1905) that there were fifty-six labels and ten cards issued by national unions which had received the indorsement of the American Federation.

(*b*) The federation has paid considerable attention to the exercise of the boycott as a national function. The method usually employed is as follows: Local or national unions with grievances against certain firms send resolutions to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. The committee of the Federation whose duty it is to investigate the justice of the complaint, reports to the executive council, or to the annual convention if in session.

Strike Policy

In case the complaint is deemed just, a boycott is declared on the products of the firm or firms involved, and the names of the manufacturers are published monthly in the "unfair list" of *The American Federationist*, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor. In addition to placing the firms on the "unfair list," circulars are sent to the unions in the federation, requesting all union men to cease purchasing the products of the boycotted firms. At the present time the national officials exercise considerable care in the use of the boycott, and concentrate attention upon a small number of firms.

The American Federation of Labor has regarded the strike as the best means to gain trade-union ends under a system of capitalistic production, and has advocated thorough organization along trade lines as the strongest protection to labor. Being merely an advisory center, and depending upon the voluntary loyalty of trade-unionists working through their respective nationals, the federation has been unable to act positively or directly with respect to strikes. It can recommend and urge certain policies, but it lacks the centralized control, and has in consequence followed a conservative course through the various conflicts between employer and employee. The secretary of the American Federation before the fifteenth annual convention, 1895, declared that sympathetic strikes were not opposed and assistance would be given wherever it was needed; nevertheless, he added, as there is a limit to the assistance exacted of one union in support of another union, the safest plan is to allow the individual organization itself to be the judge. This position, when strictly adhered to, limits the federation in its activity to a convenient center from which moral and financial aid may be distributed.

(*c*) In 1882 the platform of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions declared: "The National Eight-Hour Law is one intended to benefit labor and relieve it partly of its burdens. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers."

Eight-Hour Movement

A resolution of the third session in 1883 stated that the federation "considers the question of shortening the hours as paramount to all other questions at present"; and in the secretary's report to the convention of 1884, a plan to shorten the hours of labor was strongly urged. In consequence of this agitation it was suggested that the unions be canvassed as to the desirability of a universal strike not later than May 1, 1886, at which time all branches should simultaneously demand the eight-hour day. Realizing that the federation was weak in authority and numerical strength, the officials asked the cooperation of the Knights of Labor. The latter organization failed to support the movement, and the plan did not reach serious proportions. The next attempt came in 1888, when a resolution passed the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, fixing May 1, 1890, as the day for a general strike, and arranging for preparatory mass-meetings to be held in various cities and towns. Renewed efforts to form a temporary alliance with the Knights of Labor failed, but circulars and pamphlets were scattered widely, and prominent speakers were sent by the American Federation to different parts of the country to prepare trade-union members for the proposed universal strike.

Warned by the complete failure of previous general strikes, the more advanced leaders agreed that the struggle could be carried on more successfully if certain trades were selected to make the fight, supported by the combined strength of the other unions working through the federation. Consequently a series of individual trade strikes was determined upon, in which one trade after the other would be selected to strike for shorter hours until all trades had obtained the eight-hour day. In the eight-hour strike of 1890, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was selected by the federation to make the fight. A special assessment was levied, and every effort made to win the strike, with the result that the carpenters and joiners established the eight-hour day in several large cities. Finally, at the twenty-fourth annual convention, the American Federation indorsed the eight-hour movement of the International Typographical Union, and promised to levy the constitutional assessment on the membership if, at any time after Jan. 1, 1906, the Typographical Union needed further assistance.

(*d*) The American Federation thus far has successfully resisted all attempts to engage the organization in political activity. Freedom from political affiliation has not been maintained without a struggle on the part of the more conservative element in the federation.

Political Attitude

The first convention held in Pittsburg declared, "that we recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all lawmaking bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished." At almost every convention of the American Federation, and invariably at meetings of local, state, and national unions, the same question has arisen in some form or other. Particularly have the political Socialists endeavored to commit the federation to political socialism, but thus far without success. So long as the pressure upon the federation to declare for independent action did not become annoying, a positive declaration of principles was withheld. But when the Socialist Labor Party as a member of the Central Labor Federation of New York City sought admission into the Federation of Labor, the application was rejected on the ground that no political party as a party has the right to be represented in the councils of trade-unions. With most immediate socialistic proposals, the federation, however, is in sympathy.

Among the important subjects before the convention of 1893 was the following "political program," which was referred to the affiliated unions to be voted upon during the year:

WHEREAS, the trade-unionists of Great Britain have, by the light of experience and the logic of progress, adopted the

principle of independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action; and

WHEREAS, such action has resulted in the most gratifying success; and

WHEREAS, such independent labor politics are based upon the following program, to wit:

1. Compulsory education.
2. Direct legislation.
3. A legal eight-hour work-day.
4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine, and home.
5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body, or life.
6. The abolition of the contract system in all public work.
7. The abolition of the sweating system.
8. The municipal ownership of street-cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat, and power.
9. The nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines.
10. The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution.
11. The principle of the referendum in all legislation.

Therefore, RESOLVED, that this convention hereby indorses this political action of our British comrades; and

RESOLVED, that this program and basis of a political labor movement be, and is hereby, submitted for the consideration of the labor organizations of America, with the request that their delegates to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed on this most important subject.

At the fourteenth convention, 1894, the first nine planks of this political platform were adopted with little discussion and with substantially no change. Plank 11 was incorporated with plank 2, making that plank read: "Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum." Plank 3 was made to read "a legal work-day of not more than eight hours." In plank 8 the words "water-works" were substituted after the words "street-cars." The great discussion came on plank 10. After a long debate it was defeated, and three resolutions substituted for it, as follows: (1) The abolition of the monopoly system of landholding, and the substitution therefor of a title of occupancy and use only (carried by a vote of 1,217 to 913). (2) The repeal of all conspiracy and penal laws affecting seamen and other workmen, incorporated in the federal and state laws of the United States. (3) The abolition of the monopoly privilege of issuing money, and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people. Subsequent efforts on the part of radical trade organizations became so persistent that the New York convention of 1895 declared: "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor." Succeeding attempts to commit the organization to a definite political program have been defeated, so that at the present time the American Federation stands independent of party affiliation.

As the American Federation wields little authority over the national unions, and has no way to secure unity of sentiment on any political issue, the probable result of independent political action would be internal strife with danger of complete disruption. Accordingly, the federation has chosen to advocate labor legislation and to take an active part in any move leading to the betterment of labor conditions rather than to participate as an organization in national and state elections. Each convention directs attention to special reforms, whereupon the executive council frames a bill embodying the necessary provisions, and champions its course. The legislative committee maintained at Washington is especially helpful in promoting this work. Among the chief reforms so advocated in recent years have been: The national eight-hour law, Chinese exclusion, the initiative and referendum, trust legislation, anti-injunction laws, and the abolition of convict and imported contract labor. In addition to these efforts, the federation has sought to prevent legislation considered harmful to the working classes in general, such as anti-scalping laws, compulsory arbitration, and compulsory union incorporation.

Thus in the general activities of the American Federation are reflected something of that prudence and moderation which characterize the present industrial life of the East. It has advocated the individual trade strike in preference to the general or sympathetic strike; it has repeatedly placed itself on record as opposed to political action; it has advanced the principle of organization according to trades; and lastly, by guaranteeing to each national or international union complete jurisdiction over its own trade, has gained to a large extent the good-will of the individual members. So long as efficient leadership maintains this traditional conservatism there is every reason to predict that the American Federation will remain an important factor in the American labor movement. Much credit for this must be given to its president, Mr. Samuel GOMPERS, one of its founders, elected its first president, and so continuing with the exception of one year (1895) down to the present time.

The organization in October, 1906, had an enrolment of 119 international unions consisting of approximately 27,500 local unions, 36 state federations, 538 central labor-unions, and 759 local trade- and federal labor-unions. It is claimed that the unions represent a membership of over 2,000,000.

Some 250 monthly or weekly periodicals are published by the unions, but *The Federationist*, edited by Mr. Gompers and published monthly, is the official organ.

The officers of the federation are: President, Samuel Gompers, Washington, D. C.; secretary, Frank Morrison, Washington, D. C.; treasurer, John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.; first vice-president, James Duncan, Boston, Mass.; second, John Mitchell, Indianapolis, Ind.; third, James O'Connell, Washington, D. C.; fourth, Max Morris, Denver, Col.; fifth, Denis A. Hayes, Philadelphia, Pa.; sixth, Daniel J. Keefe, Detroit, Mich.; seventh, William D. Huber, Indianapolis, Ind.; eighth, Joseph F. Valentine, Cincinnati, O.

The headquarters of the organization are at 423 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM J. KIRK.

REFERENCES: Annual Reports of the Federation Conventions; Files of *The Federationist;* Pamphlets published by the Federation, particularly, *What Does Labor Want?* Samuel Gompers, *The Philosophy of the Labor Movement*, George E. McNeill; *The Safety of the Future Lies in Organized Labor*, Henry D. Lloyd; *Why We Unite: Philosophy of Trade Unions*, Dyer D. Lum; *Has the Non-Unionist a Moral Right to Work, How, When and Where He Pleases?* Frank K. Foster; *History of Trade Unions*, William Trant; *The Philosophy of the Eight-Hour Movement*, Lemuel Danryed; *The Eight-Hour Day*, Samuel Gompers; *No Compulsory Arbitration*, Samuel Gompers; *Organized Labor, Its Struggles, Its Enemies and Fool Friends*, Samuel Gompers; *Condition of Women Workers*, Ida M. Van Etten (all these can be obtained from the Federation headquarters); *Labor Problems*, Adams, Th. S., and Sumner, Helen S. (1905); *Studies in American Trade-Unionism* (Jacob H. Hollander, ed.), chap. xii.; *The Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor*, Wm. Keep (1906); *Organized Self-Help*, H. N. Casson (1901); *The Labor Movement*, George E. McNeill (1886).

The growth of the central organization of the principal national trade-unions since 1896 is set forth in the following table compiled from the secretary's report to the convention of 1904 :

Year	Charters Issued				Gains in Membership	Net Gain in Membership	Total Membership	National Unions affiliated	Receipts	Expenditures.
	National Unions	State and City Federations	Local Unions	All Organizations						
1897	8	20	189	217	62,292	7,490	264,825	55	$18,640	$19,114
1898	9	12	182	203	34,280	14,791	278,016	67	18,894	19,197
1899	9	36	405	450	141,390	71,406	349,422	73	36,757	30,591
1900	14	101	734	849	300,446	198,899	548,321	82	71,126	68,373
1901	7	127	782	916	361,410	239,216	787,537	87	115,221	118,708
1902	14	138	877	1,024	283,827	236,862	1,024,399	97	144,498	119,087
1903	20	174	1,139	1,333	615,731	441,401	1,465,800	113	247,803	196,016
1904	11	104	328	443	253,485	209,600	1,675,400	120	220,996	203,991

In 1906 the executive council of the federation, moved somewhat by the political successes of the English Labor Party (see GREAT BRITAIN), determined, not indeed to change the non-partizan policy of the federation, but to urge upon all unions and members affiliated with it to make a strenuous political effort, irrespective of party, to defeat candidates for Congress and others who were opposed to the views of labor, and to elect those friendly thereto. A committee of the federation reported a list of those candidates for Congress who should be supported, as well as a list of those who were to be defeated, and Mr. Gompers and others undertook a strenuous campaign against the latter. The council embodied its demands in the following Bill of Grievances:

HONORABLE THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *President of the United States;*

HONORABLE WILLIAM P. FRYE, *President pro tempore, United States Senate;*

HONORABLE JOSEPH G. CANNON, *Speaker, House of Representatives, United States.*

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and those accompanying us in the presentation of this document, submit to you the subject-matter of the grievances which the workmen of our country feel by reason of the indifferent position which the Congress of the United States has manifested toward the just, reasonable, and necessary measures which have been before it these past several years, and which particularly affect the interests of the working people, as well as by reason of the administrative acts of the executive branches of the government and the legislation of the Congress relating to these interests. For convenience the matters of which we complain are briefly stated, and are as follows:

Bill of Grievances

Eight-Hour Law.—The law commonly known as the Eight-Hour Law has been found ineffective and insufficient to accomplish the purpose of its designers and framers. Labor has, since 1894, urged the passage of a law so as to remedy the defects, and for its extension to all work done for or on behalf of the government. Our efforts have been in vain.

Without hearing of any kind granted to those who are the advocates of the Eight-Hour Law and principle, Congress passed, and the president signed, an appropriation bill containing a rider nullifying the Eight-Hour Law and principle in its application to the greatest public work ever undertaken by our government, the construction of the Panama Canal.

The Eight-Hour Law in terms provides that those intrusted with the supervision of government work shall neither require nor permit any violations thereof. The law has been grievously and frequently violated. The violations have been reported to the heads of several departments, who have refused to take the necessary step for its enforcement.

Convict Labor.—While recognizing the necessity for the employment of inmates of our penal institutions, so that they may be self-supporting, labor has urged in vain the enactment of a law that shall safeguard it from the competition of the labor of convicts.

Immigration.—In the interest of all of our people, and in consonance with their almost general demand, we have urged Congress for some tangible relief from the constantly growing evil of induced and undesirable immigration, but without result.

Chinese Exclusion.—Recognizing the danger of Chinese immigration, and responsive to the demands of the people, Congress years ago enacted an effective Chinese exclusion law; yet, despite the experience of the people of our own country, as well as those of other countries, the present law is flagrantly violated, and now, by act of Congress, it is seriously proposed to invalidate that law and reverse the policy.

Seamen's Rights.—The partial relief secured by the laws of 1895 and 1898, providing that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, has been seriously threatened at each succeeding Congress. The petitions to secure for the seamen equal right with all others have been denied, and a disposition shown to extend to other workmen the system of compulsory labor.

Ship Subsidy.—Under the guise of a bill to subsidize the shipping industry, a provision is incorporated, and has already passed the Senate, providing for a form of conscription, which would make compulsory naval service a condition precedent to employment on privately owned vessels.

Having in mind the terrible and unnecessary loss of life attending the burning of the *Slocum* in the harbor of New York, the wreck of the *Rio de Janeiro* at the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, and other disasters on the waters too numerous to mention—in nearly every case the great loss of life was due to the undermanning and the unskilled manning of such vessels—we presented to Congress measures that would, if enacted, so far as human law could do, make impossible the awful loss of life. We have sought this remedy more in the interests of the traveling public than in that of the seamen, but in vain.

Having in mind the constantly increasing evil growing out of the parsimony of corporations, of towing several undermanned and unequipped vessels, called barges, on the high seas, where, in case of storm or stress, they are cut loose to drift or sink, and their crews to perish, we have urged the passage of a law that shall forbid the towing of more than one such vessel unless they shall have an equipment and a crew sufficient to manage them when cut loose and set adrift; but in vain.

Trusts and Interstate Commerce.—The antitrust and interstate commerce laws enacted to protect the people against monopoly in the products of labor, and against discrimination in the transportation thereof, have been perverted, so far as the laborers are concerned, so as to invade and violate their personal liberty as guaranteed by the Constitution. Our repeated efforts to obtain redress from Congress have been in vain.

Anti-Injunction Bill.—The beneficent writ of injunction, intended to protect property rights, has, as used in labor disputes, been perverted so as to attack and destroy personal freedom, and in a manner to hold that the employer has some property rights in the labor of the workmen. Instead of obtaining the relief which labor has sought, it is seriously threatened with statutory authority for existing judicial usurpation.

Committee on Labor.—The Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives was instituted at the demand of labor to voice its sentiments, to advocate its rights, and to protect its interests. In the past two Congresses this committee has been so organized as to make ineffectual any attempt labor has made for redress. This being the fact in the last Congress, labor requested the speaker to appoint on the Committee on Labor members who, from their experience, knowledge, and sympathy, would render in this Congress such service as the committee was originally designed to perform. Not only was labor's request ignored, but the hostile make-up of the committee was accentuated.

Right of Petition Denied Government Employees.—Recently the president issued an order forbidding any and all government employees, upon the pain of instant dismissal from the government service, to petition Congress for any redress of grievances or for any improvement in their condition. Thus the constitutional right of citizens to petition must be surrendered by the government employee in order that he may obtain or retain his employment.

Redress for Grievances.—We present these grievances to your attention because we have long, patiently, and in vain waited for redress. There is not any matter of which we have complained but for which we have, in an honorable and lawful manner, submitted remedies. The remedies for these grievances proposed by labor are in line with fundamental

law, and with the progress and development made necessary by changed industrial conditions.

Labor brings these, its grievances, to your attention because you are the representatives responsible for legislation and for failure of legislation. The toilers come to you as, your fellow-citizens, who, by reason of their position in life have not only with all other citizens an equal interest in our country, but the further interest of being the burden bearers, the wage-earners of America. As labor's representatives we ask you to redress these grievances, for it is in your power so to do.

Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain. But if, perchance, you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow-citizens.

(Signed) *Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.*

AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION, THE: Organized 1882; incorporated 1897. Objects: (1) The promotion of a business-like and conservative use and treatment of the forest resources of this country. (2) The advancement of legislation tending to this end both by the states and the Congress of the United States, the inauguration of forest administration by the Federal Government and by the states, and the extension of sound forestry by all proper methods. (3) The diffusion of knowledge regarding the conservation, management, and renewal of forests, the proper utilization of their products, methods of reforestation of waste lands, and the planting of trees.

The association enrols all who realize the importance of the preservation of forests, and in particular appeals to owners of woodlands, to lumbermen and foresters, as well as to engineers, professional and business men who have to do with wood and its manifold uses, and to persons concerned in the conservation of water supplies for irrigation and other purposes. The dues are $2 per year. The association has more than 5,000 members, residents of every state in the Union, Canada, and foreign countries. It has its own organ, *Forestry and Irrigation*, which is sent free to all members each month. President, Hon. James Wilson, United States Secretary of Agriculture. Secretary, Prof. Thos. E. Will, 1311 G Street, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL SERVICE, THE: Organized in New York City in 1902, as the outgrowth of the League for Social Service, which was founded in 1898 by Drs. Josiah Strong and Tolman. Objects: (1) To gather from all possible sources facts of every kind which bear on social and industrial betterment. (2) To interpret these facts by ascertaining their causes and effects, thus gaining their real significance; and (3) To disseminate the resulting knowledge for the education of public opinion, which is the generic social reform.

The membership is limited to forty, but the constitution provides that men and women distinguished for public service or deeply interested in industrial and social betterment may be elected associates. Distinguished students of social subjects are elected collaborators.

The institute has a large number of foreign collaborators, and has been influential in starting similar institutes in Great Britain, Sweden, and elsewhere; while it is in active communication with societies of a similar nature in other countries. In this way a considerable international exchange of information has resulted, and has been published in *Social Progress*, edited by Dr. Strong and others. The institute has made noteworthy sociological exhibits at the expositions of Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904), Liège (1905), and Milan (1906); and it arranged for an Exposition of Safety Devices in New York (December, 1906). Out of this has grown a movement for a permanent museum of Safety Devices in New York City. See Museums of Security. The institute is now specially active in establishing classes in Social Christianity in churches, societies, etc. The institute makes special investigations, at cost only, for students and others desiring such services; and it disseminates the information it collects to its members in all countries. Annual dues: Members, $2; Societies, $5. President, Josiah Strong, Bible House, Fourth Avenue, New York City.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, THE: The oldest and strongest of the associations in this country devoted exclusively to the promotion of international peace; organized in New York in 1828. Through the influence of William Ladd, the American "Apostle of Peace," the various state and local peace societies, which had been at work since 1815, were induced to unite and thus establish a national organization.

The society moved to Hartford, Conn., in 1835, and then to Boston in 1827, where its headquarters have been ever since. As early as the "thirties" the society advocated the general adoption of arbitration, and the establishment of a permanent congress and court of nations. The monthly journal of the society, *The Advocate of Peace*, first published at Hartford by William Watson, for the Connecticut Peace Society, has appeared since 1834. The society, before taking over this paper, had previously published *The Harbinger of Peace* and *The Calumet*.

The purpose of the society was from the first declared to be to "diffuse light respecting the evils of war and the best means of effecting its abolition." This twofold aim has been its object ever since. It has been among the foremost of the agencies advocating a permanent system of arbitration for the settlement of all international controversies. In 1840 the Society published, in a book of 700 pages, "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations." It has since published and distributed many millions of pages of books and pamphlets, on all phases of the subjects of peace and war. Through its agency many valuable contributions have been made to the literature of international peace, including Sumner's oration on the "War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," Emerson's "Essay on War," Channing's "Lecture on War," Judge Jay's "Review of the Mexican War," etc.

The society was the first to take up, at the suggestion of Joseph Sturge of England, in 1841, the idea of holding international peace congresses. The result was the first great congress held in Exeter Hall, London, in 1843, organized by the London Peace Society. Out of this first congress grew the remarkable series of congresses from 1848 to 1851, in which the American Peace Society had large delegations. In 1872, through the efforts of Dr. James B. Miles, then secretary of the society, the International Law Association was organized, and held its first meeting in Brussels the following year. Twenty-three conferences of this association have been held, the last of which was at Berlin in October, 1906. This association has done much for the promotion of arbitration, the improvement of international law, and better relations in general between the nations.

Beginning in 1837 with a petition to the Legislature of Massachusetts, the society has been active with both the state and national governments with a view to practical legislative action toward permanent international arbitration and peace. It was the first to suggest, in the "eighties," the holding of a Pan-American conference, for the purpose of promoting greater friendship and better trade relations between the American states.

The American Peace Society has been represented in nearly all of the international peace congresses held since 1889, as well as in the national arbitration conferences held at Washington; and many of its members have been prominent in the work of the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, organized in 1895 by Mr. Albert K. Smiley.

In the spring of 1903 a resolution, prepared by the secretary of the society, and supported by a considerable number of individuals outside, was unanimously voted by the Massachusetts Legislature, urging the Congress and Government

of the United States to take steps toward the establishment of a periodic congress of nations. This proposal has met with unexpectedly strong and wide approval, has been made a leading feature of the program of the INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, and will probably be one of the foremost subjects of discussion at the second Hague conference.

The society is stronger, more active, and more influential to-day than ever before in its history. It has a growing membership in all parts of the United States. By means of committees it is promoting interest in the peace movement among business men, among workingmen, among ministers and churches, etc. President, Hon. Robert Treat Paine. Secretary, Benjamin F. Trueblood, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded 1903. Object: The encouragement of the scientific study of politics, public law, administration, and diplomacy. It meets annually in December. Dues, $3. President, Albert Shaw, New York. Vice-presidents: Albert Bushnell Hart; F. N. Judson; H. A. Garfield. Secretary and treasurer, W. W. Willoughby, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE, THE: Organized (1893) to promote the reform of legislative assemblies, by abandoning the present system of electing single representatives on a majority or plurality vote in limited territorial districts, and by substituting the following provisions:

(1) That all representatives be elected "at large," on a general ticket either without district divisions or in districts as large as practicable.

(2) That the election be in such form that the several parties or political groups shall secure representation in proportion to the respective number of votes cast by each. President, William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind. Secretary, Robert Tyson, 10 Harbord Street, Toronto, Can.

AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, THE: A secret association, commonly called the A. P. A. It was organized in 1887 against the asserted attack of Roman Catholicism upon the American public school and other American institutions. In 1890 or thereabouts it became very active, published an outspoken organ in Boston, Mass., and created widespread agitation and excitement. The association was organized by H. F. Bower, and rapidly grew in strength, claiming in 1895 a membership of 2,000,000, and extending into Canada, Great Britain, and Australia. Its influence, however, soon disappeared, and has now practically passed away.

The reasons given for the existence of the order were stated by one of its members to be as follows:

(1) The Roman Catholic attack on our public-school system. (2) The attempted foreignizing, by force, of whole communities, in language and religion, by Romish priests. (3) The complete control of our great cities by Romanism. (4) The fact that our army and navy are almost wholly Romanized. (5) The remarkable increase of untaxed church property. (6) The frequent desecration of the American flag by priests. (7) The Jesuit control of the heads of the government at Washington. (8) The well-known public declaration of the Pope that the United States is his one bright hope for the future.

As a proof of the need of the order, the Rev. James B. Dunn, secretary of the Committee of One Hundred, of Boston, in a tract published by the committee, quotes from the papal encyclical of Jan. 10, 1890, where the Pope states that Roman Catholics are:

Papal Encyclicals

Even in politics, always to serve first the interests of Catholicism, and to submit themselves in obedience to the will of the pontiff as to God himself, and that the civil laws are binding on them only so long as they are conformable to the Roman Catholic religion. In that same encyclical the Pope says it is a duty to resist all civil laws hostile to anything ordered by the Church, and a crime to obey them. These being the facts, is it not quite certain that whatever his private or personal opinion and feelings may be as an American citizen, every good Roman Catholic must support the Church as against the State? . . .

That cases happen in which the State demands one thing from the citizen, and religion the opposite from Christians, and this undoubtedly *for no other reason* than that the heads of the State pay no regard to the sacred power of the Church, or desire to make it subject to them. No one, however, can doubt which is to receive their preference. . . . It is an impious deed to break the laws of Jesus Christ for the purpose of obeying the magistrates, or *to transgress the laws of the church* under the pretext of observing the civil law. . . .

If the laws of the State are in open contradiction with the divine law, if they command anything *prejudicial to the Church*, or are hostile to the duties imposed by religion, or violate *in the person* of the supreme pontiff the authority of Jesus Christ, then indeed it is a duty to *resist* them and a *crime* to obey them—a crime fraught with injury to the State itself. . . .

Furthermore, in politics, which are inseparably bound up with the laws of morality and religious duties, men ought *always* and in the *first place to serve*, as *far as possible*, the *interests of Catholicism*. As soon as they are seen to be in danger, all differences should cease between Catholics. Since the fate of states depends principally on the disposition of those who are at the head of the government, the Church cannot grant its patronage or favor to men whom it knows to be hostile to it, who openly refuse to respect its rights, who seek to break the alliance established by the nature of things between religious interests and the interests of the civil order. On the contrary, its duty is to favor those who, *having sound ideas as to the relations between Church and State, wish to* make them both harmonize for the common good. These principles contain the rule according to which every Catholic *ought to model his public life.*

Dr. Dunn also quotes one of Cardinal Manning's sermons, representing the Pope as saying:

I acknowledge no civil superior; I am the subject of no prince; and I claim more than this. I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole last supreme judge on earth of what is right and wrong.

Of these and other similar quotations Dr. Dunn says:

In view of such declarations and teachings, we ask, Can a good Romanist be at the same time a loyal American citizen? Many Romanists, no doubt, mean to be loyal citizens of the republic, and honestly think they are; yea, we are quite willing to believe that the great body of them have no wish to interfere with the liberties and institutions of America, and that if called upon to choose between serving our government and the power at Rome, think they would abjure Rome. But it must be remembered that they belong to a system in which free agency is impossible. As we have seen, the Vatican claims absolute and supreme authority in all things, civil as well as spiritual, and every member of that Church is bound to render to the pontiff absolute and unquestioning obedience. . . . Can any person who is loyal to Romanism be true to republicanism? Can a Romanist be a good citizen of America? . . .

(For an answer from the Roman Catholic standpoint to the statements of the A. P. A., see ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Arguments against the A. P. A.

But Romanists are by no means the only ones who criticize and oppose the attitude of the A. P. A. H. K. Carroll wrote in *The Methodist Review*, 1895, a plea for Protestants to conquer their prejudices and to be reasonable in the matter. Concerning the assertion

that Roman Catholics cannot be good citizens, Dr. Carroll says:

Are Catholics disloyal? I do not remember ever to have seen the affirmative of this question supported by the citation of any act. It is commonly argued from the doctrine of papal supremacy. Catholics, it is urged, know no higher law than obedience. The people obey the priests implicitly, the priests are in complete subjection to the bishops, and the bishops are bound to do whatever the Pope tells them. This Pope is a foreign potentate who assumes to be superior to kings and governments; and he would, if he could, subordinate the State to the Church. In answer let me ask, Is it not obvious that he could not if he would? Where is there a state over which he exercises even a shadow of sovereignty?"

Concerning the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to our public schools, Dr. Carroll says:

Does the Church of Rome desire to destroy our public-school system? "Destroy" is a strong word. I doubt whether it is right to apply it even to the most hostile opinion that prevails among the hierarchy. The most any Catholic has asked for is exemption from payment of the public-school tax or division of the school funds. In neither case would the system be destroyed. If the first alternative were adopted it would impair the integrity of the system and limit it. It would not be for all the people as it is now, but only for the larger part of them. If the second proposal were accepted we should have in this country the conditions that prevail in England and elsewhere. We should have both the secular and religious elements represented in our public schools. The system would be greatly changed and impaired, but it would not be destroyed. It would not be fair, I think, to say that the hierarchy would destroy our public school; but it is fair to say that they are not satisfied with it as it is.

REFERENCES: *North American*, clix., 67; clxvii., 658; *American Journal of Politics*, v., 504.

AMERICAN PURITY ALLIANCE, THE: Incorporated under this name in 1895, as the continuation of the New York Committee for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice, which commenced its work in 1876 and has held thirty annual meetings.

Objects: The repression of vice, the prevention of its regulation by the State, the better protection of the young, the rescue of the fallen, the extension of the White Cross among men, and to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women.

The chief present work of the alliance consists in organizing methods for the instruction of the young in schools and colleges, for the information of teachers, parents, and physicians in sexual hygiene; the distribution of purity literature, of which a supply of thirty-four pamphlets is kept on hand at its headquarters; and the publication of *The Philanthropist*. It is the American branch of the International Federation for the Suppression of State Regulation of Vice, and is actively interested in the suppression of the "White Slave" traffic. It is constantly at work to prevent attempts at state or city regulation of prostitution. Annual dues, $1. President, O. Edward Janney, M.D., Baltimore, Md. Recording Secretary, Percy Russell; Office Secretary, Elizabeth Storer. Office, 207 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION, THE: A union organized in Chicago in 1893 under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs. It played a large part in the PULLMAN STRIKE, and virtually ceased to exist after the failure of that strike. The report of the Commission on the Pullman Strike said of this union:

The theory underlying this movement is that the organization of different classes of railroad employees (to the number of about 140,000) upon the trade-union idea has ceased to be useful or adequate; that pride of organization, petty jealousies, and the conflict of views into which men are trained in separate organizations under different leaders, tend to defeat the common object of all, and enable railroads to use such organizations against each other in contentions over wages, etc.; that the rapid concentration of railroad capital and management demands a like union of their employees for the purpose of mutual protection; that the interests of each of the 850,000 or more railroad employees of the United States, as to wages, treatment, hours of labor, legislation, insurance, mutual aid, etc., are common to all, and hence all ought to belong to one organization that shall assert its united strength in the protection of the rights of every member.

AMERICAN SECULAR UNION AND FREE-THOUGHT FEDERATION, THE: Organized 1876. Object: "To propagate the nine demands of liberalism as specified in our constitution. To effect a total separation of Church and State, not only in name as it now is, but as an actual fact. Taxation of church property, the elimination of all religious teaching in the public schools, and the abolition of all those clearly unconstitutional measures which are wrongly called Sunday laws." Annual report, $1. Secretary, E. C. Reichwald, 141 South Water Street, Chicago.

NINE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM

(1) We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall be no longer exempt from taxation.

(2) We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in the legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by the public money, shall be discontinued.

(3) We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

(4) We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

(5) We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the governors of the various states, of all the religious festivals and feasts shall wholly cease.

(6) We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

(7) We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

(8) We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

(9) We demand that not only in the Constitution of the United States and of the several states, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded 1865 in Boston, Mass., at a meeting called by Drs. S. G. Howe, Nathan Allen, R. T. Davis, and F. B. Sanborn, and presided over by Gov. John A. Andrew. Its first president was Prof. W. B. Rogers, founder of the Boston Institute of Technology; and its first secretaries Dr. Samuel Eliot and F. B. Sanborn. Ensuing presidents have been Dr. Samuel Eliot, George William Curtis, Prof. B. Peirce, President Gilman of Baltimore, President A. D. White of Cornell, Gen. John Eaton, Carroll D. Wright, Prof. Francis Wayland, F. J. Kingsbury, Oscar S. Straus, and other eminent scholars and publicists. It conducts its work under the five departments of Education, Finance, Health, Jurisprudence, and Social Economy. Heads of these departments have been David A. Wells, Dr. Francis Lieber, George S. Boutwell, President Woolsey, Charles L. Brace, Robert Treat Paine, John Graham Brooks, Edward Atkinson, Dr. Walter Channing, Dr. Stephen Smith, Judge S. E. Baldwin, Rev. H. L. Wayland, Robert C. Winthrop, Judge

Emory Washburn, and many others. Mr. Sanborn remained secretary from 1865 until 1898, and was succeeded by Rev. F. S. Root, who died in 1906, and was succeeded by Prof. I. F. Russell of New York, the present secretary. Meetings have been held annually for forty-two years, and hundreds of addresses and papers have been read, many of them afterward published in *The Journal of Social Science*, edited in turn by S. Eliot, Henry Villard, F. B. Sanborn, and F. S. Root. From the Social Science Association have sprung the National Prison Association, the National Conference of Charities, and numerous branch societies, clubs, etc. Its main office was for years in Boston, then in New Haven, Conn., and is now in New York. It numbers some 600 members in all parts of the United States, but chiefly in New York and New England. Secretary, Prof. I. F. Russell, 120 Broadway, New York City.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, THE: This association was organized in 1839, and has a membership of about 600. A quarterly publication was begun in 1888, by means of which special statistical monographs are being presented to the public, and in addition this journal contains a record of current statistical literature, which is intended to inform the members concerning the most important and recent statistical inquiries made in foreign countries. This publication has reached (March, 1906), its seventy-third number, and is recognized as a valuable record of statistical work. The present constitution of the association is as follows:

ART. I. This association shall be denominated the American Statistical Association.

ART. II. The objects of the association shall be to collect, preserve, and diffuse statistical information in the different departments of human knowledge.

ART. III. The association shall be composed of fellows and honorary members.

ART. IV. All members shall be chosen by the board of directors, the affirmative votes of four-fifths of the members of said board being necessary to a choice. Each fellow shall pay annually $2, or $20 at some one time.

ART. V. Fellows only shall be entitled to vote, but honorary members shall have the right to sit and deliberate in all the meetings of the association.

(ARTS. VI., VII., and VIII. omitted.)

NOTE.—Each member shall be entitled to receive all reports and publications of the association.

The association's presidents have been: Hon. Richard Fletcher, A.M., LL.D.; George C. Shattuck, M.D., LL.D.; Edward Jarvis, A.M., M.D., and Francis A. Walker, Ph.D., LL.D. Its present officers are: President, Carroll D. Wright, LL.D. Vice-presidents, Horace G. Wadlin, Litt.D.; Henry C. Adams, Ph.D.; Henry Gannett; S. N. D. North, LL.D.; Walter F. Willcox, Ph.D. Corresponding secretary and librarian, Horace G. Wadlin, Litt.D., Public Library, Boston, Mass. Treasurer, S. B. Pearmain, 53 State Street, Boston, Mass. Recording Secretary, Carroll W. Doten, A.M., Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. Councilors, Cressy L. Wilbur, M.D.; F. L. Hoffman; Chas. Edward A. Winslow. Committee on Publication, Davis R. Dewey, Ph.D.; John Koren; Edward M. Hartwell, M.D. Committee on Finance, Osborne Howes; Walter C. Wright; S. B. Pearmain. Committee on Library, Hon. Julius L. Clarke; Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL.D.; W. Z. Ripley, Ph.D. (See also AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION and INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTION.)

ANABAPTISTS: A religious community that arose principally in Germany in the sixteenth century, opposing the baptizing of infants (whence their name), but better known for their revolutionary and communistic social efforts. Thomas Munzer (1520), the leader of a set of enthusiasts called the prophets of Zwickau, did much to spread the beliefs of Anabaptism through Saxony and Switzerland. Waldshut became one of their centers of propagation. Revolting from the rigid rule of the state and from the false formalism of the Church, they carried their principles too far, and it is certain that in some places the movement, guided by ambitious and licentious men, broke into lawlessness and lust. But for the most part the Anabaptists have been a maligned and misrepresented class of people, who earnestly desired and sought for a greater fulness of truth and brotherhood than any institutions under the then existing conditions provided. Their doctrines were: The equality of all Christians, the community of goods, the baptism of the Spirit, adult baptism, and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on earth. About 1525 the "Peasant War" broke out, partially caused and largely supported by these doctrines. The laboring classes were at this time cruelly opprest by the government, and the teachings of Anabaptism spread rapidly through Holstein, Westphalia, and the Netherlands. Again and again they were checked, and scattered, and persecuted even to death; but traveling preachers continued the agitation, and organizations sprang up wherever persecution turned its back.

History

In 1534 they became masters of Münster; they destroyed churches and appointed twelve judges to rule over the city. A tailor named Jan van Leiden had himself crowned king, and for a year the city was given over to every kind of madness and licentiousness. At the end of that time several Protestant princes conquered the city and restored peace and order by executing the ringleaders of the uproar. In Amsterdam and other cities, however, Anabaptists, who had little in common with the lustful fanaticism of Buckhold, spread their doctrines. The Revelations of St. John was their chief source of doctrine; and their main desire was to found a new kingdom of pure and primitive Christianity. David Joris (1501–56), one of the chief of these, united liberalism with anabaptism, introduced much mystical theology, and strove to unite the different Christian sects. Another prominent leader was Menno Simons. In spite of dangers and persecutions he gathered together the scattered and disheartened Anabaptists of Germany and the Netherlands, known in the United States as "Mennonites." He explained his belief in a book published in 1556, "Elements of the True Christian Faith," which is still an authoritative book among the Mennonites. His adherents believe in strictly following the teachings of Scripture, in rejecting the taking of oaths, every kind of revenge, war, divorce (except for adultery), infant baptism, and the undertaking the work of a magistrate. Their belief is that while magistracy is necessary for the present time, it is foreign to the kingdom of Christ. The education and theology of the colleges they set very little value upon. Menno called his adherents "God's congregation; poor, unarmed Christian brothers." In Germany the Mennonites are called *Taufgesinnte*, and in Holland, *Doopsgezinden*.

The church is a literal communion of the saints, which must be kept pure by strict discipline.

They celebrate the rite of feet-washing. Their bishops, elders, and teachers serve gratis. They are split into many divisions, mainly the strict and the mild Mennonites. The latter are known as Wäterlanders, from a place in Holland. Some of their divisions take names from the peculiarities of their dress—Buttoners, Hook-and-eye-ers, etc. The purity of their lives, however, commands respect, and their industry makes them prosperous.

REFERENCES: *The Social Side of the Reformation*, by E. B. Bax; *A Valuable Chapter in Ethic of Free Thought*, by Karl Pearson; *Anabaptism*, by Richard Heath; also Ranke and other writers on the Reformation.

ANARCHISM (Gr. *αν*, privative, and *ἀρχή*, government): The social doctrine of the abolition of government of man by man, and the constitution of society without government. In this article the subject is considered under three heads: (1) Individualist or Philosophical Anarchism; (2) Anarchist Communism; and (3) Arguments against Anarchism.

Under the general definition there are two schools of anarchists, totally distinct and even opposed in their doctrines, methods, and in their general characteristics. The two schools are those of the individualist anarchists (often called in this country philosophical anarchists), and, secondly, the school of anarchist communists, a school which, however, is gradually dying out, and which the more thoughtful anarchists deny to be anarchism at all. The individualist anarchists, tho the fewer in number, are, in this country especially, the abler body of thinkers, and carry to their fullest logical results the principles which a great many individualists accept but do not carry out. Individualist anarchists do not believe in the use of force—not because they hold that it is wrong to use it, but because they are aware that the use of force never truly liberates, while their aim is absolute liberty—their motto being "Liberty, not the daughter, but the mother of order." They start from the philosophy of individual sovereignty, and apply it to the problems of social science with relentless logic. By no means objecting to organization and cooperation, provided it be voluntary, they would have all organization spring from the individual.

Anarchist communists, on the other hand, form a wholly different school of thought. They do not believe in government, and they do believe in overthrowing it by force. On its ruins they would plant a communal life, whose ideal is very little different from that of the Socialists, except that it is not to be realized through the state. Most of the men who are called anarchists in the press, particularly of Europe, and almost all the bomb-throwers and dynamiters of recent years on either continent have been anarchist communists. This school is mainly European, while individualist anarchism is mainly American. Anarchist-communism counts among its followers names favorably known to science and letters, such as Krapotkin and Réclus, while many, even of the dynamitards, have been men of education and sometimes refinement. Nevertheless, it is mainly a movement among the working classes, particularly of France, Italy, Spain, and to a less extent, Germany and Austria. In England there are but few anarchist communists. In America they are found only in a few cities. The so-called Chicago anarchists were anarchist communists. Individualist anarchism, on the other hand, is not a class movement, but almost purely intellectual, naturally drawing its strength largely from the classes possessed to-day of intellectual advantages. It will thus be seen that in philosophy, method, and general characteristics the two classes of anarchists are carefully to be distinguished. Both are distinctly revolutionary and opposed to the state; but the one starts from the individual, and advocates a revolution through ideas; the other starts from the community, and advocates a revolution through force. We print a statement of individualist anarchism by Victor S. Yarros, former associate editor of *Liberty*, and a statement of anarchist communism by Pierre Krapotkin, perhaps its most distinguished representative. Mr Yarros writes:

I.—Individualist or Philosophical Anarchism

Definition and Statement

The individualistic or philosophical anarchists favor the abolition of "the state" and government of man by man. They seek to bring about a state of political freedom—of anarchy. To comprehend the precise import of this statement it is essential to grasp and bear in mind the definitions given by the anarchists to the terms employed in their expositions. The current misconceptions of the anarchistic doctrines are chiefly due to the persistent, tho largely unconscious, habit of interpreting them in the light of the popular definitions of the terms "state," "government," etc., instead of in the light of their own technical use of these terms. The average man on being told that the anarchist would abolish all governmental restraints, not unnaturally concludes that the proposition involves the removal of the restrictions upon *criminal* conduct, the relinquishment of organized defense of life, liberty, and property. Those who are familiar with the doctrine of non-resistance to evil, preached by the early Christians and by the modern Tolstoïans, generally identify anarchism with it. But such interpretations are without any foundation. The anarchists are emphatically in favor of resistance to and organized protection against crime and aggression of every kind; it is not greater freedom for the criminal, but greater freedom for the non-criminal, that they aim to secure; and by the abolition of government they mean the removal of restrictions upon conduct intrinsically ethical and legitimate, but which ignorant legislation has interdicted as criminal. The anarchistic principle of personal liberty is absolutely coincident with the famous Spencerian "first principle of human happiness," the principle of "equal freedom," which Mr. Spencer has exprest in the formula, "Every man is free to do what he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." It is, in fact, precisely *because* the anarchist accepts this principle without reservation, and insists on the suppression and elimination of *all* aggression or invasion—all conduct incompatible with equality of liberty—that he declares war upon the "state" and "government." He defines "state" as "the embodiment of the principle of invasion in an individual or band of individuals, assuming to act as representatives or masters of the entire people within a given area." * Government he

* The definitions here given are those formed and consistently used by Benjamin R. Tucker, the editor of *Liberty*, the organ of the philosophical anarchistic movement.

defines as "the subjection of the non-invasive individual to an external will"; and "invasion" as conduct violative of equal freedom.

Program

Perhaps the clearest way of stating the political program of the anarchists will be to indicate its relation to other and better-known theories of government. The anarchists, agreeing with the view of the true Jeffersonian Democrats, that the best government is that which governs least, sympathizing with the position of the old Manchester individualists and *laissez-faire-ists*, who believed in a minimum of government interference, as well as with the less vague doctrines of the more radical modern individualists of the Spencerian school, who would limit the state to the sole function of protecting men against external and internal invaders, go a step farther and demand the dissolution of what remains of "government" —viz., compulsory taxation and compulsory military service. It is no more necessary, contend the anarchists, that government should assume the protective military and police functions, and *compel* men to accept its services, than it is that government should meddle with production, trade, banking, education, and other lines of human activity. By voluntary organization and voluntary taxation it is perfectly possible to protect liberty and property and to restrain crime. It is doubtless easy to imagine a society in which government concerns itself with nothing save preservation of order and punishment of crime, in which there are no public schools supported by compulsory taxation, no government interference with the issue of currency and banking, no custom-houses or duties on foreign imports, no government postal service, no censorship of literature and the stage, no attempt to enforce Sunday laws, etc. The *laissez-faire-ists* of the various schools have familiarized the thinking public with such a type of social organization. The anarchists simply propose to do away with the compulsory feature of the single function reserved for government by the radical *laissez-faire-ists*. In other words, they insist on the right of the non-aggressive individual to "ignore the state," to dispense with the protective services of the defensive organization and remain outside of it. This would not prevent those who might desire systematic and organized protection from combining to maintain a defensive institution, but such an institution would not be a government, since no one would be compelled to join it and pay toward its support. Anarchy, therefore, may be defined as a state of society in which the non-invasive individual is not coerced into cooperation even for the defense of his neighbors, and in which each enjoys the highest degree of liberty compatible with equality of liberty.

With regard to the question of putting down aggression, the jurisdiction of the voluntary defensive organization would of course extend to outsiders, and not be limited by its membership. The criminal are not to secure immunity by declining to join defensive associations. As the freedom of each is to be bounded by the equal freedom of all, the invader would be liable to punishment under anarchism no less than under government. Criminals would still be tried by juries and punished by executive officers. They would not be allowed to set up ethical standards for themselves and to do what is right in their own eyes. Such a doctrine involves not the *abolition* of government, but the widest possible extension of it. It repudiates all ethical principles and abandons all attempts at enforcing justice and protecting rights. Every man is allowed under it to govern his fellows, if he has the will and the power, and the struggle for existence in the simplest and crudest form is revived. Anarchism, on the other hand, posits the principle of equal liberty as binding upon all, and only insists that those who refrain from violating it should not be interfered with in any way, either by individual governors or combinations of would-be rulers.

Arguments for Anarchism

Anarchists reject governmentalism because they find no ethical warrant and no practical necessity for it. It appears to them self-evident that society, or the community, can have no greater claims upon the individual than the component members of it have. The metaphysical and misleading analogies between society and organism, upon which is usually founded the governmentalist's theory of the prerogatives of the state, anarchists reject with undisguised contempt. "The community," or "the state," is an abstraction, and an abstraction has neither rights nor duties. Individuals, and individuals only, have rights. This proposition is the corner-stone of the anarchistic doctrine, and those who accept it are bound to go the full length of anarchism. For if the community cannot rightfully compel a man to do or refrain from doing that which private and individual members thereof cannot legitimately force him to do or forego, then compulsory taxation and compulsory cooperation for any purpose whatever are wrong in principle, and government is merely another name for aggression. It will not be pretended that one private individual has the right to tax another private individual without his consent; how, then, does the majority of the members of a community obtain the right to tax the minority without its consent? Having outgrown the dogma of the divine right of kings, democratic countries are unconsciously erecting the dogma of the divine right of majorities to rule. The absurdity of such a belief is apparent. Majorities, minorities, and any other combinations of individuals are entitled to insist on respect of their rights, but not on violating the rights of others. There is one ethical standard, not two; and it cannot be right for government to do that which would be criminal or immoral when committed by individuals. Laws of social life are not made at the polls or in legislative assemblies; they have to be discovered in the same way in which laws of other sciences are discovered. Once discovered, majorities are bound to observe them no less than individuals.

No Ethical Warrant for Government

As already stated, the anarchists hold that the law of equal freedom, formulated positively by Spencer and negatively by Kant, is a scientific social law which ought to guide men in their various activities and mutual relations. The logical deductions or corollaries of this law show us at once our rights and our duties. Government violates this great law not only by the fact of its very existence, but in a thousand other ways. Government means the coercion of the non-invasive, the taxation of those who protest against being forced to join the political organization set up by the majority. It enacts statutes and imposes restraints which find no sanction in

the law of equal freedom, and punishes men for disobeying such arbitrary provisions. It is true that governments profess to have the public welfare in view, and to enforce nothing save what morality and justice dictate. Justice, however, is invariably confounded by governments with legalism, and by the enforcement of justice they often mean the enforcement of the very laws which they enact in violation of justice. Thus laws in restraint of trade and of exchange are enforced in the name of justice, whereas justice demands the fullest freedom of trade and exchange. Strictly speaking, the enforcement of justice cannot be undertaken by government at all, since a government that should attempt to enforce justice would have to begin by signing its own death-warrant. A government that would enforce equal freedom and let the inoffensive alone would be, not a government, but a voluntary association for the protection of rights.

In republican countries men loosely speak of their "free government," their "government by consent." In reality there is no such thing as government by consent. Majorities rule, and the minorities are forced to acquiesce. The principle of consent is clearly fatal to governmentalism, for it implies the right of the non-invasive to ignore the state and decline to accept its services. Ethically a man has a perfect right to do this, for the mere refusal to join the political organization (which is merely an insurance association) is not a breach of the principle of equal freedom. Our "free governments" deny this right, hence they are immoral. They cannot become moral except by ceasing to be governments and becoming purely voluntary associations for defense.

Apart from the question of compulsory taxation and compulsory military service, on the abolition of which anarchists alone lay stress (altho they readily admit that the police functions of government will be the last to disappear), there is little, if any, difference between anarchists and Spencerian individualists, on the question of government interference. The cessation of such interference with economic relations —with the issue of money, banking, wages, trade, production, etc.—is advocated on the ground that the solution of the social problems is to be found in liberty rather than in regulation, in free competition rather than in state monopoly. Anarchists are opposed to trusts and monopolies, but they would not substitute public for private monopoly. All monopoly rests on legal privilege, on injustice, on violations of equal opportunity, and therefore the anarchist demands equality of opportunity and free competition rather than restrictive, paternalistic regulation of industry and commerce. On the subject of public education, postal service, poor laws, sanitary supervision, etc., anarchists, in common with advanced individualists, hold that government interference is as pernicious practically as it is unwarranted ethically. Corruption and inefficiency are evils inseparable from government management, and there is nothing which government does that could not be done better by private enterprise under free competition.

In short, the anarchists object to governmentalism because it is unethical, as well as unnecessary and inexpedient. Government is either the will of one man or the will of a number of men, large or small. Now, the will of one or many is not a criterion of right and justice, while for the adjustment of the conflicting interests of the members of society such a criterion is an absolute necessity. Majority rule, and even the rule of a despot, may be, under certain conditions, preferable to a state of civil chaos; but as men advance and study the facts of their own development, they begin to realize the truth that there is no relation whatever between right and numbers, justice and force. Majority rule is discredited along with despotic rule, and ethical science becomes the sole guide and authority. The social laws need to be applied and enforced as long as predatory instincts and invasive tendencies continue to manifest themselves in human relations, and this necessitates the maintenance of associations for the protection of freedom and the punishment of aggression. But the governmental method is not adapted to the promotion of this end. Government begins by coercing the non-invasive individual into cooperation for defense and offense, regardless of the fact that a benevolent despotism is not a whit more defensible than a selfish despotism.

Majority Rule Discredited

In general, it may be stated that any methods not in themselves invasive are regarded as legitimate by the anarchists in the furtherance of their cause. But they rely chiefly, if not entirely, on the methods of education—theoretical propaganda of their views—and of passive resistance to government. In violence, so-called propaganda by deed and subterranean plotting against existing institutions, they do not believe. Political changes may be brought about by revolutions, and possibly also such economic changes as are contemplated by the state Socialists. But freedom can rest only on ideas and sentiments favorable to it, and revolutionary demonstrations can never abolish ignorance and the spirit of tyranny. Freedom cannot be forced on those who are not fit for it. The emancipation of the people from the aggression of government must come through their own deliberate choice and effort. Anarchists can but disseminate true political teachings and expose the nature and essence of governmentalism. Anarchists, however, do not believe that it is necessary to convert the whole people in order to carry their principles into practise. A strong and determined minority could, while remaining passive, successfully resist the attempt of government to tax them and otherwise impose its will upon them. Public opinion would not approve of a government campaign of violence against a number of intelligent and perfectly honest individuals banded together for the sole purpose of carrying on their legitimate activities and asserting their right to ignore injunctions and prohibitions having no authority from an ethical point of view.

Methods

Even if anarchists believed in the use of violent methods—and if they thought that violent resistance to government would hasten their emancipation, they would certainly resort to it, since it is not immoral or invasive to use force *against* invaders—there would be one important difference between them and other schools of reformers. Anarchists would not prevent others from living under government side by side with them, while other reformers seek to impose their schemes on the whole community in which they live. Thus the state Socialists, in pursuance of their program of state monopoly of capital, intend to suppress all competition and all rivalry on the part of individual owners of

capital. The anarchists, on the other hand, if allowed to remain outside of the governmental organization, would force no one to join them or follow their example. Still, as a matter of fact, anarchists abjure violence even in their own interests, vividly realizing the truth that the progress of justice and freedom is arrested in a state of war. Peace is an essential condition to the spread of rational ideas and the growth of the sentiment of toleration. Appealing as they do to the ideas and feelings of justice, it would be suicidal for anarchists to encourage violence and excite the lowest passions of men by revolutionary tactics.

To reform by ordinary political methods the anarchists are also opposed, at least under present conditions. As they do not seek any new positive legislation, they can expect nothing from politics. They demand the repeal of the legislation which improperly restricts men's freedom of action, and such repeal they cannot secure while being in a minority. Whether they would cooperate with other parties in attempting to carry specific measures of repeal, would depend largely on circumstances. It is to be remembered that, while the anarchists are strenuous in their opposition to every vestige of government, they do not expect to realize their entire program at one stroke. They are prepared for very slow and gradual reform, and would welcome the success of any single libertarian proposal. They would rejoice in the triumph of the free-trade idea, the repeal of the laws perpetuating land monopoly and monetary monopoly, and the abolition of special privileges. If they do not form themselves into a political party for the purpose of attaining one or more of these objects, it is because they can do more by other methods. Moreover, to enter into the political arena is to recognize, by implication, the principle of government. To vote is to coerce or to threaten coercion. Behind the ballot is the bullet of the soldier, ready to force the defeated minority into submission. The voter does not merely assert his right to self-government; he sets up a claim to govern others. The anarchist cannot employ a method which would put him in such a false light.

Thus the anarchist is neither a government bomb-thrower nor a revolutionary bomb-thrower. He objects to the use of violence by the government as well as against it. He restricts himself to the method of education and such passive resistance as is exemplified by a refusal to pay taxes or rent or import duties on commodities purchased in foreign countries.

Historical Sketch of Individualist Anarchism

Philosophical anarchists usually regard Proudhon as the founder of their school of social science; but there were in America, altho far less widely known, men entertaining anarchistic views before Proudhon's time. We will, therefore, first notice the anarchist movement in America, and then consider it in other countries. America, or at least the United States, with its early extreme individualism and fear of the state (see Centralization), was the fitting birthplace of anarchistic thought.

Josiah Warren

Josiah Warren, a plain and only moderately educated New Englander, but a man of unusually independent and earnest spirit, was probably the first to enunciate precise anarchistic conceptions. He had become interested in the social views and plans of Robert Owen, at this time first taking root in the land; had joined the Owenite community at New Harmony; had carefully studied its principles and mused upon its failure, till finally, about 1828, he reached the conclusion that its principles were exactly the opposite of the true ones, and that instead of the communistic idea of each working for all, as Owen taught, the true way to produce order, harmony, and well-being was for each to live, in his own way, absolutely untrammeled by others, so far as he did not intrude upon the similar privileges of others. His thoughts took especially a financial turn, and he came to the conclusion that cost was the true limit of price; that usury and profit in all their forms were, therefore, economically wrong, and, moreover, that they would disappear under perfectly free competition. He sought to put his ideas into practise, to actually test them before giving them to the world, and therefore started, and for two years successfully carried on, a store in Cincinnati, where cost was the limit of price, and where usury and profit were eliminated. Finding that he was doing a business of $150,000 a year—a large amount for Cincinnati in those days—he was convinced of the practicality and correctness of his idea, and therefore closed his business to devote his life to the propagation of his ideas. His main writings were "True Civilization," a short work, first published in 1846, and "Equitable Commerce," in which he elaborated his ideas of cost as the limit of price. These books found at least a few thoughtful readers. Stephen Pearl Andrews declared at a later day that the "True Civilization" was the text and basis of all his own writings, and John Stuart Mill refers to Warren with expressions of deepest interest and respect.

Other Americans

Others, however, were thinking in the same line. Lysander Spooner may be called the Nestor of anarchism, of the extreme individualistic school. Commencing public life as a young lawyer in Worcester, Mass., he first showed strong analytic and argumentative powers in several pamphlets defending Deism against Christianity, but soon passed more and more into sociological studies and controversy, coming to hold and defend extreme views as to individual sovereignty and the tyranny of the state. As early as 1844 he established a private mail between Boston and New York, and later extended it to Philadelphia and Baltimore, achieving success, until at last compelled to stop, owing to petty and constant persecution and annoyance from the government. From that time he devoted his great abilities to the promulgation of his ideas. During the antislavery contest he did good work as an abolitionist, and incorporated his views in "The Unconstitutionality of Slavery." His legal acumen appears in his "Trial by Jury," in which he reverts to the early and true meaning of the phrase—a trial by one's peers; and protests against the absurd and monstrous system (as he claims it to be) of ignorance and injustice now passing under that name. How far he carried his ideas appears in an unsigned monograph from his pen, entitled "Revolution."

Stephen Pearl Andrews was a disciple of Warren. As Warren especially studied economic questions, so Andrews studied the family and marriage. His "Science of Society," published in 1850, is still considered by philosophical anarchists a classic on the subject. Warren himself declared it a better statement of his own ideas than he himself could write. (For further account, see Andrews.)

We now first come to the influence of Proudhon in America. Col. William B. Greene, of Boston, being the first in this country known to have declared himself a follower of the great Frenchman. Colonel Greene's book on "Mutual Banking" is one of the most acute and searching inquiries into the monetary problems to be found in the literature on the subject. Colonel Greene was a keen, logical thinker and a profound scholar. He was a remarkably witty speaker and writer, and his book, entitled "Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments," shows his power and versatility. E. H. Heywood, a writer on various subjects, was another disciple of Warren. He is the author of a number of very able pamphlets. Charles T. Fowler, also a disciple of Warren, was a Unitarian minister when he first fell under the influence of Warren. He studied Proudhon, and after leaving the church devoted himself to the propaganda of anarchistic doctrines. He died leaving an admirable series of pamphlets on social and economic problems.

Present Writers

These men, however, while holding essentially anarchist views, and contributing, severally, to the development of anarchism in the United States, did not adopt the name anarchist, and did not really start the movement which has taken such definite shape under that distinctive denomination. The man who, assimilating and profiting by the teachings of Proudhon Warren, Greene, and the American and English individualists, formulated a consistent and comprehensive anarchistic philosophy, and started the practical anarchistic movement is Benjamin R. Tucker, the editor of *Liberty*, the organ of anarchism. Mr. Tucker was a young man, a student of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, when he, becoming interested in social reform, sought the acquaintance of Warren and Greene. The latter called his attention to Proudhon's "What is Property?" and so impressed was he with the originality and value of that revolutionary (in an intellectual sense) and epoch-making work, that he set himself the task of translating it into English. No work has ever enjoyed the privilege of a more competent rendering into another language. The vigor and eloquence of Proudhon's style was fully preserved in the translation, and to this is due a large share of the influence exerted by Proudhon's work in America and England. A few years later Mr. Tucker started his periodical, *Liberty*, which has been for more than two

decades the recognized authority on anarchism. Mr. Tucker does not strictly follow Proudhon, any more than he strictly follows Warren. He rejects the inconsistencies of the former as he does the crudities of the latter. He may be said to have *organized* the various anarchistic ideas—economic, political, etc.—into a coherent and systematic whole. Where Proudhon was vague and Warren inadequate, Mr. Tucker is clear, logical, consistent, and scientific. Mr. Tucker has influenced a considerable number of able men in journalism and other professions, as well as some of the prominent men in the labor movement. We will only mention here the name of Dyer D. Lum, one of the leaders of the early Greenback movement. Mr. Lum, while sympathizing to some extent with the methods of revolutionary reformers, was for several years before his death a vigorous and scholarly champion of the economic and political ideas of anarchism.

The growth of anarchism has not been rapid, and its history is not eventful or sensational. Its indirect influences, however, have wrought great changes in social science and in the intellectual attitude of sociologists and reformers.

In Europe, the real history of philosophic anarchism begins with PROUDHON. We study him here but in brief, in relation to the movement of anarchism. Born in 1809, after a bitter personal experience with poverty and ill-paid work, he published in 1840 his great work, "What is Property?" Of this an admirer says: "He first with genius, and with learning and acumen rarely equaled, pleaded for absolute liberty of the individual and the doing away with all government. Property in its modern sense he showed to be, not the product of individual labor on the part of the owner of the property, but the product of the labor of others, taken from them by legalized wrong, or by aid of monopolies and class legislation created by the State. Hence the truth of his celebrated sentence, 'Property is theft.' The cure, he argued, was to do away with all government, and then each individual could retain that which he had produced, so that justice and order and well-being would be the result of liberty."

Europe

The book exposed him to new persecution from the government and learned societies, which continued more or less to his death in 1865. He passed much of his life in Belgium, banished from France. Yet he was ever active and at times popular in France. He was elected in 1848 to the Constituent Assembly by 77,000 votes, which, together with his frequent imprisonments and banishments, as well as the suppression of his books, shows his power and influence in his generation. Yet few followed him understandingly. Proudhon himself declared that even those who voted for him did not understand his views. He believed that in America (as seems to be the case) his thoughts would first take root. His principal writings besides the above-named are: "The Creation of Order in Humanity" (1843); "A System of Economical Contradictions" (1848); "Justice in the Revolution and in the Church" (1858); "Justice" (revised edition, 1859–60).

Proudhon was right; few followed him understandingly. The movement that sprang from his teachings has in the main, in Europe, been anarchist communism, which is no more like philosophic anarchism than Proudhon was like Bakounin. The real followers of Proudhon and philosophical anarchism, in Europe, can almost be counted on one's fingers, tho their influence has been more marked than this might seem to indicate.

In Germany Caspar Schmidt, better known under his *nom de plume* of Max Stirner, laid what some regard as the ethical foundations of anarchism in his "Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum" (1845). John Henry Mackay, a Scotchman by birth, but with a German mother, and brought up in Germany from boyhood, has developed philosophic anarchism in poems, a novel ("The Anarchists," translated into English, 1891), and other works. In England philosophic anarchism under this name has had scarcely any development at all; but perhaps this is only because so much of its individualism, of which there has been considerable development, has come so near to philosophic anarchism in such writers as Herbert Spencer, Auberon Herbert, Wordsworth Donisthorpe, Thomas Mackay, Frederick Millar, and others.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

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II.—Anarchist Communism

The following statement of anarchist communism is abridged from a tract on "The Place of Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution," by Pierre A. Kropotkin:

"All things belong to all, and provided that men and women contribute their share of labor for the production of necessary objects, they are entitled to their share of all that is produced by the community at large. 'But this is communism,' you may say. Yes, it is communism, but it is the communism which no longer speaks in the name of religion or of the State, but in the name of the people. . . . The tendency of this closing century is toward communism, not the monastic or barrack-room communism formerly advocated, but the free communism which places the products reaped or manufactured in common at the disposal of all, leaving to each the liberty to consume them as he pleases in his own home.

"This is the solution of which the mass of the people can most readily take hold, and it is the solution which the people demand at the most solemn epochs. In 1848 the formula 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs' was the one which went straight to the heart of the masses, and if they acclaimed the republic and universal suffrage, it was because they hoped to attain to communism through them. In 1871, also, when the people besieged in Paris desired to make a supreme effort to resist the invader, what was their demand? That free rations should be served out to every one. Let all articles be put into one common stock and let them be distributed according to the requirements of each. Let each one take freely of all that is abundant, and let those objects which are less plentiful be distributed more sparingly and in due proportions—this is the solution which the mass of the workers understand best. This is also the system which is commonly practised in the rural districts (of France). So long as the common lands afford abundant pasture, what commune seeks to restrict their use? When brushwood and chestnuts are plentiful, what commune forbids its members to take as much as they want? And when the larger wood begins to grow scarce, what course does the peasant adopt? The allowancing of individuals.

France

"Let us take from the common stock the articles which are abundant, and let those objects whose production is more restricted be served out in allowances according to requirements, giving preference to children and old persons—that is to say, to the weak. And, moreover, let all be consumed not in public, but at home, according to individual tastes and in company with one's family and friends. This is the ideal of the masses.

"But it is not enough to argue about 'communism' and 'expropriation'; it is furthermore necessary to know who should have the management of the common patrimony, and it is especially on this question that different schools of Socialists are opposed to one another, some desiring authoritarian communism, and others, like ourselves, declaring unreservedly in favor of anarchist communism. In order to judge between these two, let us return once again to our starting point, the revolution of the last century.

"In overturning royalty the Revolution proclaimed the sovereignty of the people; but, by

an inconsistency which was very natural at that time, it proclaimed not a permanent sovereignty, but an intermittent one, to be exercised at certain intervals only, for the nomination of deputies supposed to represent the people. In reality it copied its institutions from the representative government of England. The Revolution was drowned in blood, and, nevertheless, representative government became the watchword of Europe. All Europe, with the exception of Russia, has tried it, under all possible forms, from government based on a property qualification to the direct government of the little Swiss republics. But, strange to say, just in proportion as we have approached nearer to the ideal of a representative government, elected by a perfectly free universal suffrage, in that same proportion have its essential vices become manifest to us, till we have clearly seen that this mode of government is radically defective. Is it not, indeed, absurd to take a certain number of men from out the mass, and to intrust them with the management of *all* public affairs, saying to them, 'Attend to these matters; we exonerate ourselves from the task by laying it upon you; it is for you to make laws on all manner of subjects—armaments and mad dogs, observatories and chimneys, instruction and street-sweeping; arrange these things as you please and make laws about them, since you are the chosen ones whom the people have voted capable of doing everything'? It appears to me that if a thoughtful and honest man were offered such a post he would answer somewhat in this fashion:

"'You intrust me with a task which I am unable to fulfil. I am unacquainted with most of the questions upon which I shall be called on to legislate. I shall either have to work to some extent in the dark, which will not be to your advantage, or I shall appeal to you and summon meetings in which you will yourselves seek to come to an understanding on the questions at issue, in which case my office will be unnecessary. If you have formed an opinion and have formulated it, and if you are anxious to come to an understanding with others who have also formed an opinion on the same subject, then all you need do is to communicate with your neighbors and send a delegate to come to an understanding with other delegates on this specific question; but you will certainly reserve to yourselves the right of taking an ultimate decision; you will not intrust your delegate with the making of laws for you. This is how scientists and business men act each time that they have to come to an agreement.'

Argument

"But the above reply would be a repudiation of the representative system, and nevertheless it is a faithful expression of the idea which is growing everywhere since the vices of representative government have been exposed in all their nakedness. Our age, however, has gone still further, for it has begun to discuss the rights of the State and of society in relation to the individual; people now ask to what point the interference of the State is necessary in the multitudinous functions of society.

"Do we require a government to educate our children? Only let the worker have leisure to instruct himself, and you will see that, through the free initiative of parents and of persons fond of tuition, thousands of educational societies and schools of all kinds will spring up, rivaling one another in the excellence of their teaching. If we were not crusht by taxation and exploited by employers, as we now are, could we not ourselves do much better than is now done for us? The great centers would initiate progress and set the example, and you may be sure that the progress realized would be incomparably superior to what we now attain through our ministries. Is the State even necessary for the defense of a territory? If armed brigands attack a people, is not that same people armed with good weapons the surest rampart to oppose to the foreign aggressor? Standing armies are always beaten by invaders, and history teaches that the latter are to be repulsed by a popular rising alone. While government is an excellent machine to protect monopoly, has it ever been able to protect us against ill-disposed persons? Does it not, by creating misery, increase the number of crimes instead of diminishing them? In establishing prisons into which multitudes of men, women, and children are thrown for a time, in order to come forth infinitely worse than when they went in, does not the State maintain nurseries of vice at the expense of the taxpayers? In obliging us to commit to others the care of our affairs, does it not create the most terrible vice of societies—indifference to public matters? . . .

No Need of the State

"Let others, if they will, advocate industrial barracks or the monastery of authoritarian communism, we declare that the tendency of society is in an opposite direction. We foresee millions and millions of groups freely constituting themselves for the satisfaction of all the varied needs of human beings—some of these groups organized by quarter, street, and house; others extending hands across the walls of cities over frontiers and oceans. All of these will be composed of human beings who will combine freely, and after having performed their share of productive labor will meet together, either for the purpose of consumption, or to produce objects of art or luxury, or to advance science in a new direction. This is the tendency of the nineteenth century, and we follow it; we only ask to develop it freely without any governmental interference. Individual liberty! 'Take pebbles,' said Fourrier, 'put them into a box and shake them, and they will arrange themselves in a mosaic that you could never get by intrusting to any one the work of arranging them harmoniously.

"Now let me pass to another part of my subject—the most important with respect to the future.

"There is no more room for doubting that religions are going; the nineteenth century has given them their death-blow. But religions—all religions—have a double composition. They contain, in the first place, a primitive cosmogony, a rude attempt at explaining nature, and they furthermore contain a statement of the public morality born and developed within the mass of the people. But when we throw religions overboard or store them among our public records as historical curiosities, shall we also relegate to museums the moral principles which they contain? This has sometimes been done, and we have seen people declare that as they no longer believed in the various religions, so they despised morality and boldly proclaimed the maxim of *bourgeois* selfishness, 'Every one for himself.' But a society, human or animal, cannot exist without certain rules and moral habits springing up within it; religion may go, morality remains.

If we were to come to consider that a man did well in lying, deceiving his neighbors, or plundering them when possible (this is the middle-class business morality), we should come to such a pass that we could no longer live together. You might assure me of your friendship, but perhaps you might only do so in order to rob me more easily; you might promise to do a certain thing for me, only to deceive me; you might promise to forward a letter for me, and you might steal it, just like an ordinary governor of a jail. Under such conditions society would become impossible, and this is so generally understood that the repudiation of religions in no way prevents public morality from being maintained, developed, and raised to a higher and ever higher standard. This fact is so striking that philosophers seek to explain it by the principles of utilitarianism, and recently Spencer sought to base the morality which exists among us upon physiological causes and the needs connected with the preservation of the race.

Ethical Side

"Let me give you an example in order to explain to you what *we* think on the matter.

"A child is drowning, and four men who stand upon the bank see it struggling in the water. One of them does not stir; he is a partizan of 'Each one for himself,' the maxim of the commercial middle class; this one is a brute, and we need not speak of him further. The next one reasons thus: 'If I save the child, a good report of my action will be made to the Ruler of heaven, and the Creator will reward me by increasing my flocks and my serfs,' and thereupon he plunges into the water. Is he, therefore, a moral man? Clearly not! He is a shrewd calculator, that is all. The third, who is a utilitarian, reflects thus (or at least utilitarian philosophers represent him as so reasoning): 'Pleasures can be classed in two categories, inferior pleasures and higher ones. To save the life of any one is a superior pleasure, infinitely more intense and more durable than others; therefore, I will save the child.' Admitting that any man ever reasoned thus, would he not be a terrible egotist? and, moreover, could we ever be sure that his sophistical brain would not at some given moment cause his will to incline toward an inferior pleasure—that is to say, toward refraining from troubling himself? There remains the fourth individual. This man has been brought up from his childhood to feel himself *one* with the rest of humanity; from his childhood he has always regarded men as possessing interests in common; he has accustomed himself to suffer when his neighbors suffer, and to feel happy when every one around him is happy. Directly he hears the heartrending cry of the mother, he leaps into the water, not through reflection, but by instinct; and when she thanks him for saving her child, he says, 'What have I done to deserve thanks, my good woman? I am happy to see you happy; I have acted from natural impulse, and could not do otherwise!'

"You recognize in this case the truly moral man, and feel that the others are only egotists in comparison with him. The whole anarchist morality is represented in this example. It is the morality of a people which does not look for the sun at midnight—a morality without compulsion or authority, a morality of habit. Let us create circumstances in which man shall not be led to deceive nor exploit others, and then by the very force of things the moral level of humanity will rise to a height hitherto unknown. Men are certainly not to be moralized by teaching them a moral catechism; tribunals and prisons do not diminish vice—they pour it over society in floods. Men are to be moralized only by placing them in a position which shall contribute to develop in them those habits which are social, and to weaken those which are not so. A morality which has become instinctive is the true morality, the only morality which endures while religions and systems of philosophy pass away.

"Let us now combine the three preceding elements, and we shall have anarchy and its place in socialistic evolution.

"Emancipation of the producer from the yoke of capital; production in common and free consumption of all the products of the common labor.

"Emancipation from the governmental yoke; free development of individuals in groups and federations; free organization ascending from the simple to the complex, according to mutual needs and tendencies.

"Emancipation from religious morality; free morality, without compulsion or authority, developing itself from social life and becoming habitual.

"The above is no dream of students, it is a conclusion which results from an analysis of the tendencies of modern society; anarchist communism is the union of the two fundamental tendencies of our society—a tendency toward economic equality and a tendency toward political liberty. So long as communism presented itself under an authoritarian form, which necessarily implies government, armed with much greater power than that which it possesses to-day, inasmuch as it implies economic in addition to political power—so long as this was the case communism met with no sufficient response. Before 1848 it could, indeed, sometimes excite for a moment the enthusiasm of the worker who was prepared to submit to any all-powerful government, provided it would release him from the terrible situation in which he was placed, but it left the true friends of liberty indifferent.

Fundamental Tendencies

"Anarchist communism maintains that most valuable of all conquests—individual liberty—and moreover extends it and gives it a solid basis—economic liberty—without which political liberty is delusive; it does not ask the individual who has rejected God, the universal tyrant, God the king, and God the Parliament, to give unto himself a god more terrible than any of the preceding—God the community, or to abdicate upon its altar his independence, his will, his tastes, and to renew the vow of asceticism which he formerly made before the crucified God. It says to him, on the contrary, 'No society is free so long as the individual is not so! Do not seek to modify society by imposing upon it an authority which shall make everything right; if you do, you will fail as popes and emperors have failed. Modify society so that your fellows may not be any longer your enemies by the force of circumstances; abolish the conditions which allow some to monopolize the fruit of the labor of others; and instead of attempting to construct society from top to bottom, or from the center to the circumference, let it develop itself freely from the simple to the composite, by the free union of free groups. This course, which is so much obstructed at present, is the true, forward march of society;

do not seek to hinder it, do not turn your back on progress, but march along with it! Then the sentiment of sociability which is common to human beings, as it is to all animals living in society, will be able to develop itself freely, because our fellows will no longer be our enemies, and we shall thus arrive at a state of things in which each individual will be able to give free rein to his inclinations, and even to his passions, without any other restraint than the love and respect of those who surround him.'

"This is our ideal, and it is the ideal which lies deep in the hearts of peoples—of all peoples. We know full well that this ideal will not be attained without violent shocks; the close of this century has a formidable revolution in store for us; whether it begins in France, Germany, Spain, or Russia, it will be a European one, and spreading with the same rapidity as that of our fathers, the heroes of 1848, it will set all Europe in a blaze. This coming revolution will not aim at a mere change of government, but will have a social character; the work of expropriation will commence, and exploiters will be driven out. Whether we like it or not, this will be done independently of the will of individuals, and when hands are laid on private property we shall arrive at communism, because we shall be forced to do so. Communism, however, cannot be either authoritarian or parliamentary, it must either be anarchist or non-existent; the mass of the people does not desire to trust itself again to any savior, but will seek to organize itself by itself."

History and Methods of Anarchist Communism

Anarchist-communism, tho more or less indebted to the thoughts of Rousseau, Proudhon, Ruge and others, owes its origin as a movement to the Russian Bakounin. Born of aristocratic and even princely parentage, Michael Bakounin, at first an officer in the Russian army, threw up his commission at the age of twenty-one, disgusted by the oppression of the government and the consequent sufferings of the poor, and studied philosophy, reading Hegel and Schopenhauer in St. Petersburg and Berlin. Coming into revolutionary circles mainly under the influence of Arnold Ruge, who represented the extreme Hegelian left, Bakounin took part in the Dresden insurrection of 1848, and was arrested and condemned to death, but eventually handed over to the Russians and imprisoned in Schlüsselberg and in 1852 sent to Siberia, whence, however, he eventually escaped through Japan and the United States, and in 1861 appeared in London, a revolutionist, declared by his enemies to be half crazed by his years of suffering and imprisonment. Be this as it may, he threw himself into revolutionary propaganda of every kind, mainly as an Internationalist, but sometimes as a Panslavist, and occasionally as a Nihilist. Switzerland, Italy, and southern France were the main scenes of his efforts, but he contrived to fill all Europe with his spirit of revolution. Gradually his utterances became wilder and his position more extreme. He commenced to preach the gospel of pan-destruction. When the International was founded in London under the presidency of Marx in 1864, Bakounin did not at first connect himself with it. But later, realizing what capital could be made of it, he threw himself into the movement, and almost captured the International for anarchism. He did capture it in Italy, Spain, southern France, Belgium, and to a large extent in Switzerland and other countries. In 1872, however, Marx as president contrived to have the congress of the International called at The Hague, where Bakounin could not come, since he was only secure in Switzerland, and would have been arrested in traversing any country through which he could have reached The Hague. At this congress, therefore, the adherents of Bakounin were defeated, and the General Council of the International was transferred to New York City. It resulted in the death of the International; but out of the split came the modern movements of democratic socialism and anarchist-communism, economic schools which, altho previous to 1872 more or less confounded, are now utterly distinct and even opposed. The ultimate ideals of the followers of Marx and Bakounin were not, however, so different. They both believed in communism, and communism was the early name for all socialism as well as for anarchist-communism; the split came in methods. The followers of Bakounin believed in destroying the State; Marx stood for capturing the State by legitimate political means, and through the State establishing the Social Democracy or communism. Both opposed the present State; but one sought to overturn it at once by force, the other sought to capture it and use it.

Origin

For a considerable time the anarchist-communists, especially in the southern countries, were stronger than the Socialists. The working classes did not see the strength of the Socialist program. Anarchist-communism appealed to revolutionary deed. Words, its advocates declared, were cheap. The propaganda by deed has ever been the favorite policy among anarchist-communists, being defended, tho not practised, even by such men as Krapotkin and Réclus. But organization among anarchists has never prospered. Their policy lends itself to individual deed. Bakounin did not quietly accept his defeat by Marx at The Hague. He and his adherents called another congress in Switzerland, and declared that they were the true International. From this time anarchist-communism had an organized existence. (For further details as to the preceding period, see Bakounin; International.)

In 1876 Bakounin died, Elisée Réclus, Paul Brousse, and others gathering around his grave, ready to carry on his work. In October of the same year a congress was held at Bern and enunciated the principles of anarchist-communism, altho still under the name of Socialism. It denounced even the Paris Commune, as not having entirely eliminated the principle of authority. At this congress were present two Italian delegates, Carlo Cafiero and Enrico Malatesta, who in April, 1877, went home to head a revolution in the Italian province of Benevento. They burnt archives, and laid their hands on what arms and money they could find, distributing them among the people. The same year a congress was held at Verviers, where Krapotkin first appeared on the scene under the name of Scrachoff. In 1878, Brousse and Krapotkin commenced publishing the *Avant-Garde*, the first anarchist organ. The same year, Nobeling and Hodel made their attack upon Kaiser Wilhelm at Niederwald; the cooper Broncasi attempted the life of Alphonso XII., and Passanante the life of King Humbert I. of Italy. At a congress at Freiburg that year, a letter from Réclus made the following succinct statement of anarchist-communism: "We are revolutionaries," he said, "because we desire justice. . . . Progress has never resulted from mere peaceful evolution; it has always been an outcome of a sudden revolution. The necessary preliminary preparation of the minds of men may be a gradual process, but the realization of their hopes comes abruptly. . . . We are anarchists, who recognize no one as our master, as we are ourselves the masters of nobody. There is no morality without liberty. . . . We are also international collectivists, for we are aware that the very existence of human beings necessarily implies a certain social grouping." The congress voted for the appropriation by the community of all wealth, the abolition of the State, and even of any central administrative agency; and as regards means of propaganda, the congress favored the dissemination of anarchist ideas, and even rebellion and revolutionary deed. In 1879 the *Avant-Garde* ceased to appear, and Krapotkin and others started a new paper, the *Révolté*, at Geneva (later moved to Paris). The same year Johann Most, expelled from Germany and driven from the Socialist meetings, arrived in London, Dec., 1878, and in Jan., 1879, began publishing his paper, *Freiheit*.

Organization

In 1880 Otero Gonzales attempted the life of Alphonso XII. At a congress held in Switzerland in this year, Krapotkin advised the adoption of the name "Anarchist-Communism" in the place of "Collectivism." In 1881 the French anarchists and Socialists finally separated, and a congress of anarchists was held at London. Krapotkin was banished from Switzerland for his utterances; Most, in London, was sentenced to sixteen months' hard labor for his words concerning the assassination of the czar. At the close of the sixteen months he removed, with his paper, to the United States. There were outbreaks in southeast France, and many discoveries of dynamite plots were reported. Anarchists were arrested all through southern France. In the north, Louise Michel delivered a series of lectures. The daughters of Elisée Réclus ostentatiously contracted "free marriages." Krapotkin himself was arrested. In 1883 the anarchist trials in France took place, and forty-seven were sentenced, among them Louise Michel. All through Europe at this time anarchists were being arrested and sentenced. In Spain a campaign was undertaken against the Black Band. In December Cyvoct was tried at Lyons for having caused the explosion at Bellecour Theater, and was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted by President Grévy. The year 1884 was comparatively calm, tho dynamite was found laid against the Federal Palace at Bern, and led to the expulsion of anarchists from Switzerland. In 1885 German anarchists were tried. Krapotkin published this year his "Paroles d'un Révolté" and Réclus his "The Products of the Earth." An attempt was also made to blow up the English House of Parliament. In 1886 there were several riots in Europe, especially at Charleroi, and the great strike at Chicago took place, with the famous Haymarket meeting, the arrest of eight anarchists, and the condemnation of seven of them to death (in 1887). (See Chicago Anarchists.) In 1887 *L'Idée Ouvrière* was started at Havre. In 1888 the *Père Peinard* began to appear in Paris, a paper written in the slang of the

streets. In 1890 the first international May-day demonstration took place, and the anarchists took advantage of it in incendiary speeches and gatherings. Merlino, Malato, and Louise Michel were imprisoned. *The International*, an anarchist paper, was started in London. In 1891 French anarchists agitated chiefly against the army and the police. At Levallois the black flag was unfurled. Several anarchist papers were started, among them the *Pot à colle* and the *En-dehors*. In 1892 bombs were exploded in France in private houses of deputies and at cafés, among others at the Café Rich. In June one of the dynamiters, Ravachol, was condemned to death, and executed in July. In 1893 there was more violence in Spain. Pallas was tried and executed for throwing a bomb at Marshal Campos at Barcelona, and there was also a terrible bomb explosion at the El Liceo Theatre in Barcelona. On Dec. 9th, Vaillant threw a bomb in the French Chamber of Deputies. In 1894 severe laws against anarchists were passed in France and other countries; 100 anarchists were arrested in France alone and several deported. The papers *Révolté* and *Père Peinard* were seized and compelled to discontinue. Jean Grave, the leading anarchist-communist after Krapotkin and Réclus, was imprisoned. Vaillant was executed. Émile Henry threw a bomb in the Café Terminus. Bombs were exploded also in the Hôtel St. Jacques and other houses. An attempt was made to murder the prefect of Barcelona. An Italian anarchist, Cesario Santo, assassinated the French President, Carnot, at Lyons. Restrictive legislation in Italy sought not only to arrest all anarchists, but to close all trade-union meetings. In Germany the kaiser introduced severe measures against both anarchism and socialism, which, however, were rejected by the Reichstag.

History

In 1893 an attempt was made to hold an anarchist-communist congress in connection with the World's Fair at Chicago, but it had to meet surreptitiously on account of the police, and when it met its members could agree upon no program nor declaration of principles, tho it is said that an international committee was chosen. In America anarchist communism has held on to the name of the old International longer than in Europe. In 1872, as we have seen, the general council of the International was transferred at Marx's suggestion to New York City. But in this country it never thrived. The fundamental differences between the Socialists and the anarchists soon showed themselves here, as in Europe. In 1877, the Socialist wing, in a meeting at Newark, took the name of the Socialist Labor Party (see SOCIALISM), and practically left the International to the anarchists. The split, however, was not at once complete. In 1883 the Socialists met at Baltimore and the anarchists at Pittsburg, and these took the old name of the International Working People's Association. By 1885 the split with the Socialists was complete, and since then in America, as in Europe, anarchists and Socialists have had nothing in common. The congress at Pittsburg adopted unanimously a manifesto or declaration of motives and principles, often called the Pittsburg proclamation, in which they describe their ultimate goal in these words:

America

"What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

1. Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

2. Establishment of a free society based upon cooperative organization of production.

3. Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

4. Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

5. Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

6. Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations resting on a federalistic basis."

In 1881, however, another association was formed, designated by the initials I. W. A., or International Workmen's Association, differing in a few particulars only from the I. W. P. A. It lays greater stress on education and is somewhat less inclined to favor violence in the present, holding that a revolution in the minds of men must precede the political revolution. The following explanation of its principles and methods is taken from the "First Report of the Kansas Bureau of Labor Statistics":

"To print and publish and circulate labor literature; to hold mass-meetings; to systematize agitation; to establish labor libraries, labor halls, and lyceums for discussing social science; to maintain the labor press; to protect members and all producers from wrong; to aid all labor organizations; to aid the establishment of unity and the maintenance of fraternity between all labor organizations; to bring about an alliance between the manufacturing and the agricultural producers; to encourage the spirit of brotherhood and interdependence among all producers of every state and country; to ascertain, segregate, classify, and study the habits and acts of their enemies; to secure information of the wrongs perpetrated against them, and to record and circulate the same; to arouse a spirit of hostility against and ostracism of the capitalistic press; to prepare the means for directing the coming social revolution by enlightening public opinion on the wrongs perpetrated against the producers of the world; to obliterate national boundary lines and sectional prejudices, with a view to the international unification of the producers of all lands; and to eradicate the impression that redress can be obtained by the ballot. The organization is formed on the 'group' system—that is, any person who subscribes to these principles may become an organizer. He organizes a group of eight besides himself. When this group becomes thoroughly conversant with the principles and methods of the organization, each member becomes an organizer and forms a group of his own; and this goes on indefinitely. North America is divided into ten divisions—the Canadian, the British Columbia, the Eastern States, the Middle States, the Western States, the Rocky Mountains, the Pacific Coast, the Southern States, the Mexican, and the Missouri Valley. Each division is presided over by a division executive of nine persons. The International was organized on its present basis on July 15, 1881, with fifty-four delegates, representing 320 'divisions,' or groups, composed of 600,000 members. The countries represented were France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, Siberia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Turkey, Egypt, England, Mexico, and the United States."

It is the agitation of these groups of the I. W. A. and the I. W. P. A. which produced what popular anarchistic communism there is in this country. But the movement has come to naught. The I. W. A. and the I. W. P. A. no longer exist save in the minds of a few half-crazed persons, and the only recent activity has been the publication of a paper and the occasional delivery of speeches by Most and others, which make "good copy" for the newspapers. There have been also a few attempts of devoted but fanatical men to assassinate men of wealth and influence, like Frick and Russell Sage; but these acts have been very rare. When an agitator like Most speaks, he will often get a large audience, who will cheer his utterances, but the movement has no power.

Among English workingmen, too, there is little, if any, anarchism. The head of Oxford House, in East London, testified that there were no anarchists among the English working people, and that the last place possible for a man to arrive with a bomb was East London. Among the foreign residents in London there are some anarchist clubs, and there is some anarchist-communism among the intellectual radicals, but it has little force.

During the last decade a marked change has taken place in the anarchist-communist field. Heretofore the line between it and individualist (or philosophic) anarchism has been clearly drawn, and the former was almost identical with the revolutionary movement—that is to say, with the party or organization that both preached and practised the so-called "propaganda by deed." The assassination of the Spanish minister Canovas (1897) did not attract much attention; but when the unoffending, really liberal and unhappy Empress of Austria was assassinated in Switzerland (1898) a decided reaction against indiscriminate murder took place among those who, by simple acquiescence, had permitted themselves to become identified with the revolutionary movement. Large numbers of these withdrew altogether, denouncing the last killing as wanton and unjustifiable, while others, led by their individualistic and pacific tendencies, came more and more to consider the egoist-anarchist (or Tuckerian) movement the most congenial atmosphere. Of course, open adhesion to this latter was not in many cases given, because the antipathy existing in the ranks of the communists against anything individualistic was so great and so deep-seated that it could not be quickly or very generally overcome. The result, therefore, was that many ceased their open allegiance to the cause of the dynamiters, without affiliating themselves formally with any other movement, altho quietly expressed sympathy with individualism became quite common.

Recent Developments

It cannot be denied, too, that the tremendous advance of socialism in late years, apparently offering an immediate opportunity to overthrow the existing political *régime*, has attracted many of the more opportunist of the communists. These latter, however, were not displeased with the assassination, in 1900, of the King of Italy by Bresci, since Humbert was the responsible head of the repressive movement that was then being vigorously carried on by the Italian Government against all the open manifestations by labor-unions as well as those by the more radical reformers. Even the assassination of President McKinley at Buffalo by Leon Czolgosz in 1901, tho the act of one who was not actually affiliated with any definite movement, and who, so far as is known, acted wholly of his own volition, was not a particularly unwelcome deed to those communists who had been shocked by the killing of the Empress of Austria. Open and almost unqualified approval by the American press and public of the recent political assassinations in Russia has been pointed to by revolutionists as showing that it is not assassination of rulers *per se* that conservative people object to, but that they consider it reprehensible in other countries than those with an autocratic form of government merely because they feel that oppression by rulers has not yet reached a point where such tactics are justifiable. It becomes, therefore, merely a question of difference in opinion as to the quantitative valuation of the denial of liberty in countries having a more representative form of government. The individualist anarchists, as a rule, believe that assassination of rulers is

not justifiable where free speech and free press are not wholly denied; and this has come to be the real dividing line between them and the communists on the question of methods of propaganda.

Literature

Anarchist-communism in America now has no specific organ in English. *The Firebrand*, started on the Pacific coast some years ago, was moved to San Francisco and its name changed to *Free Society*; afterward it was moved successively to Chicago and to New York, and finally went out of existence in 1905. Since then *The Demonstrator*, published at Lakebay, Washington, by a group of colonists, is the principal organ in English which at the present time shows any sympathy for communism, tho, as a matter of fact, the colony is founded upon individualistic principles, and probably a majority of the colonists are individualists. It is, moreover, about the only really successful colony of radical reformers, which many attribute to the fact that the utmost freedom in every direction is accorded to the colonists by their by-laws. The communists have organs in French and Italian in New York, San Francisco, Paterson, N. J., and Charleroi, Pa., tho they are usually feebly supported and lead a precarious existence. *Mother Earth* is a small magazine recently founded in New York, and, altho having on its staff such revolutionists and communists as Emma Goldman and Max Baginsky, is not distinctively a communist organ, as some of its writers, present and prospective, are of individualist tendencies. The chief organ in German in America is *Freiheit*, edited for many years by John Most. In his death the militant revolutionists lost their most vigorous propagandist, altho his work was of such a nature that there was always a group who dissented violently from his methods as well as from his ideas. Voltairine de Cleyre is one of the most rational of the exponents of the doctrine that is now before the public, tho in recent years she has been prevented by ill health from being as active on the lecture platform as formerly. Her poems, are among the most effective of the literature of communism, but they are not collected in book form.

In France, Italy, and Spain the movement, tho not so vigorous as formerly, is still far from dormant, and has demonstrated its vitality by the continued publication of several newspapers, such as *L'Ere Nouvelle* and *Les Temps Nouveaux* (France), *Il Pensiero* (Italy), *El Progreso* (Spain), and a number of others. In England *The Freedom* is about the only paper to sustain the movement. The most prominent English anarchist communist is John Turner, who was detained under the immigration laws upon a recent visit to this country, and afterward ordered deported to England. He was imprisoned for more than three months at Ellis Island, pending an appeal of his case to the Supreme Court of the United States, but before the final decision was rendered he was released on bail, delivered a number of lectures in different parts of the country, and eventually returned voluntarily to England before the decision ordering his deportation was handed down. The recent release of Alexander Berkman, upon the expiration of his fifteen-year sentence in the penitentiary at Pittsburg, where he was incarcerated for an attempt upon the life of H. C. Frick, one of the steel magnates, has passed without any particular demonstration on the part of the communists, altho he is now doing some lecturing. Krapotkin, tho now quite old, is still the leading anarchist-communist of the world, tho the learned Elisée Réclus, recently deceased, was about his equal in popularity.

C. L. Swartz.

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III.—Arguments against Anarchism

1. The argument against individualist anarchism is, first, that it starts from a false basis. The individual, say the philosophical opponents of anarchism, is not sovereign; he does not even exist. Man is not born to and never attains, nor can attain, individual sovereignty. From his birth to his death he is dependent upon his fellowman, and ever must be so long as he is a social being. Society is not made up of units, but is one; and the sooner this is realized, and man no longer attempts an impossible individual sovereignty, the sooner will the individual find his true freedom in developing his inmost personality in the unity of a perfect state. Anarchism is opposed thus, first, because it misreads the *facts* of individual life. Second, the opponents of anarchism assert that for anarchists to define the State as *necessarily* invasive, because states always have been more or less invasive, is to be illogical. The State, according to the anarchist's own admission, is a power, and has been, as at least most anarchists admit, in the past a necessary power. Why, then, throw away that power? Why—since some cooperative organization for defense and other purposes anarchists themselves declare necessary—not use the State, making it non-invasive? To say that the State cannot be harnessed to do the will of the people, because it never has been wholly so harnessed in the past, is as if a man before the discovery of the uses of electricity should declare that electricity always *must be* harmful, since it always had done harm. The fact is, say these critics, that the State, with all its evils—and they are to be admitted, every one—has in the past been immeasurably useful and beneficial, and should not be thrown away, but captured and improved and made to do the will of freemen.

2. As to the anarchist assertion that states have no right, for example, to compel any man to pay a tax, since no individual has a right to tax another, and the mere multiplying individuals into a majority cannot make that right in many persons which is wrong in one, it is said that this is purely a doctrinaire position of unproven ethics. That it seems axiomatic and convincing to a certain class of minds by no means proves its truth. The opposite assertion that the individual is born in society, and has as his only right to take his place in society, which is a natural unit, and not made up of individual units, and has rights and duties of its own, among others that of ordering the conditions of society according to the will of the majority, and compelling others to support it, is, it is claimed, as plausible a dogma as the anarchist dogma, and a good deal more deducible from facts. The truth is, that the science of social ethics is as yet so utterly undeveloped that to talk of what is ethically right in society is to say nothing. One man holds this opinion; another that; and neither can convince the other. The only possible way out of social problems, unless one take the religious ground of theism, and find in that a law of procedure, is to slowly learn by experience; believers in government, therefore, base their main arguments against anarchism on the facts of experience.

3. It will not work. Said President Andrews in a discussion with Mr. Tucker at Salem:

Impracticable, say its Opponents

Suppose the citizens of Salem to constitute an anarchistic group under the beautiful social compact which Mr. Tucker describes. Not many days will elapse before some of the parties to that compact will show how useless it is. Let some rioters from Beverly or Beverly Farms invade the Salem group. The foreman of the town calls all hands to turn out and put them down. One man replies that he does not care to come out; he has the rheumatism, or he is reading a book, or engaged in some other work, and says, "I pray you, have me excused." What is going to be done? I know of no way in which the anarchistic group named Salem can defend itself—as Mr. Tucker says is legitimate—except by coercing Meroz to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. The anarchist must here renounce his theory and resort to some of those species of action which Mr. Tucker denounces as not permissible because of the nature of coercion, aggression upon individual rights.

Says another writer: "Some rule there must be under any theory. You cannot escape law.

If it is not the rule of brotherhood, it must be the rule of might. You do not escape rule by flying to anarchy. Says Mr. Donisthorpe, in his 'Individualism: A System of Politics': 'It is a mistake to suppose that anarchism is lawless. Nothing of the kind. Where there is no ruling body; where there is no governmental authority, as in San Francisco within the memory of many of us, what happens? Did the marauders and pests of society carry all before them? Not a bit of it. Those who had inherited the habits of a social and methodical mode of life, owing to its greater average economy, banded themselves together and straightway lynched those who were desirous of violating the principles of order and method.' This, says Mr. Donisthorpe, was anarchism. Exactly; and most people prefer Uncle Sam, with all his faults, to Judge Lynch."

Concerning the economic impossibilities of anarchism, G. Bernard Shaw says:

> The full economic detail of individualist anarchism may be inferred with sufficient completeness from an article entitled "State Socialism and Anarchism; How Far They Agree, and wherein They Differ," which appeared in March, 1888, in *Liberty*.
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> "The economic principles of modern socialism," says Mr. Tucker, "are a logical deduction from the principle laid down by Adam Smith in the early chapters of his 'Wealth of Nations'—viz., that labor is the true measure of price. From this principle these three men [Josiah Warren, Proudhon, and Marx] deduced 'that the natural wage of labor is its product.'"
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> Now the Socialist who is unwary enough to accept this economic position will presently find himself logically committed to the Whig doctrine of *laissez-faire*. And here Mr. Tucker will cry, "Why not? *Laissez-faire* is exactly what we want. Destroy the money monopoly, the tariff monopoly, and the patent monopoly. Enforce then only those land titles which rest on personal occupancy or cultivation;* and the social problem of how to secure to each worker the product of his own labor will be solved simply by every one minding his own business."
>
> Let us see whether it will or not. Suppose we decree that henceforth no more rent shall be paid in England, and that each man shall privately own his house and hold his shop, factory, or place of business jointly with those who work with him in it. Let every one be free to issue money from his own mint without tax or stamp. Let all taxes on commodities be abolished, and patents and copyrights be things of the past. Try to imagine yourself under these promising conditions with life before you. You may start in business as a crossing-sweeper, shopkeeper, collier, farmer, miller, banker, or what not. Whatever your choice may be, the first thing you find is that the reward of your labor depends far more on the situation in which you exercise it than on yourself. If you sweep the crossing between St. James' and Albemarle streets you prosper greatly. But if you are forestalled not only there, but at every point more central than, say, the corner of Holford Square, Islington, you may sweep twice as hard as your rival in Piccadilly, and not take a fifth of his toll. At such a pass you may well curse Adam Smith and his principle that labor is the measure of price, and either advocate a democratically constituted state Socialist municipality, paying all its crossing-sweepers equally, or else cast your broom upon the Thames and turn shopkeeper. Yet here again the same difficulty crops up. Your takings depend not on yourself, but on the number of people who pass your window per hour. . . .
>
> It is useless to multiply instances. There is only one country in which any square foot of land is as favorably situated for conducting exchanges, or as richly endowed by nature for production as any other square foot; and the name of that country is Utopia. In Utopia alone, therefore, would occupying ownership be just. In England, America, and other places, rashly created without consulting the anarchists, Nature is all caprice and injustice in dealing with labor. Here you scratch her with a spade; and earth's increase and foison plenty are added to you. On the other side of the hedge twenty steam-diggers will not extort a turnip from her. Still less adapted to anarchism than the fields and mines is the crowded city. . . . "

Such, in brief, is Mr. Shaw's argument. Anarchism aims to establish individual liberty; but as long as any occupier can have the best lands in agriculture and the best building lots, he can, under free competition, receive enormous gains over his competitor—can with these gains buy machinery that others cannot afford, and run his competitors out of business, reenacting under anarchism all or most of the industrial evils that we have to-day—the development of great monopolies, the oppression of the small producer, wage slavery, the unemployed, etc. It is not government, but the natural inequalities of land and of human ability that are the fundamental source of the economic differences, and under competition the under dog must always serve the upper. The only way to individual freedom for all men is, then, to pool the difference of land and talent and have all work for all, which is collectivism. Such is, in brief, the "Socialist" argument against anarchism.

4. As to the anarchist communists, who are collectivists, it is said that for the poor, ignorant, and downtrodden to attempt to overthrow the state by force is but folly, no matter what the aim. To appeal to force will simply call out force, and the strong and rich and powerful will surely win. Moreover, to appeal to force without organization, as anarchist communists do, is to appeal to force in the weakest possible way. It may kill a few kings; it can never overthrow kingdoms. If it could overthrow the state it would simply produce a chaos, in which the strongest would rule and enact anything but equality on earth.

* See Mr. Tucker's article entitled "A Singular Misunderstanding" in *Liberty* of Sept. 10, 1892. "Regarding land," writes Mr. Tucker, "it has been steadily maintained in these columns that protection should be withdrawn from all land titles except those based on personal occupancy and use."

ANDREWS, ELISHA BENJAMIN: Chancellor of the University of Nebraska since 1900; born at Hinsdale, N. H., 1844. He served in the United States army, 1861–64, and was wounded at Petersburg (1864), losing an eye. Andrews studied at Brown University, Providence, R. I., and at Newton Theological Institution, Newton, Mass. (D.D., LL.D.). He was principal of the Connecticut Literary Institution, Suffield, Conn., 1870–72; pastor of the First Baptist Church, Beverly, Mass., 1874–75; president of Denison University, Granville, O., 1875–79; professor of homiletics in Newton Theological Institution, 1879–82; professor of history and political economy at Brown University, 1882–88; professor of political economy and finance in Cornell University, 1888–89; president of Brown University, 1889–98; superintendent of schools, Chicago, 1898–1900. Andrews was appointed one of the commissioners sent by the United States to the monetary conference at Brussels in 1892. In political economy he is of the historical school. On the question of the tariff, he believes in the infant-industry argument, and would carry it further than Mill. With regard to currency he is an ardent bimetalist; and on questions of industry he would neither nationalize nor municipalize any industry, monopoly or otherwise, till every available resource in the way of regulation had been tried in vain; he would then nationalize or municipalize, tho with care. Author: "Institutes of Our Constitutional History, English and American" (1887); "Institutes of General History" (1889); "Institutes of Economics" (1889); "An Honest Dollar" (1893); "Wealth and Moral Law" (1893); "History of the United States" (1894); "History of the United States in Our Own Time" (1904). *Address*, Lincoln, Neb.

ANDREWS, STEPHEN PEARL: Author; born in Templeton, Mass., 1812; studied at Amherst College; practised law in New Orleans. In 1839

he went to Texas where, becoming an abolitionist, he converted many of the slave owners, who were also landowners, by showing them that they would become rapidly rich from the sale of land if immigration were induced by throwing the country open to free labor. In 1843 he went to England in the hope of raising money to pay for the slaves and make Texas a free state. He was well received; but the plan was finally abandoned through fear that it would lead to war with the United States. Returning to America, he went to Boston and took part in the antislavery movement there.

While in England he learned of phonography, and after his return wrote and published extensively on that subject and on the philosophy of language in general. He was the founder of the present system of phonographic reporting, and is said to have been familiar with thirty languages. In later life he wrote more on sociology, especially on the family, taking an extremely individualistic position. He is claimed by the American philosophical anarchists as one of their great writers. (See ANARCHISM.) His most important works on that subject are: "Cost the Limit of Price" (New York, 1851); "The Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual" (1851); "Love, Marriage, and Divorce and the Sovereignty of the Individual": a discussion by Henry James, Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews, edited by the latter (1853). Andrews died in New York City in 1886.

ANIKIN, STEPAN VASILIEVICH: Representative in the first Russian Duma from the province of Saratof; born 1869, of peasant parents. He attended a mechanical school at Saratof, and later was a zemstvo teacher in the county schools at Athar and Petrovsk. After numerous difficulties with the local authorities he was twice imprisoned. In the Duma he became a leader in the "Group of Toil." He died in Kief prison in 1907.

ANSEELE, EDOUARD: A leading Belgian Socialist and founder of the Socialist cooperative movement in Ghent. Born in Ghent, 1856; son of a shoemaker; studied at the royal atheneum of that city; became a notary and later a typesetter. Founded (1879) the "Vooruit," a Socialist cooperative club, with which was connected a cooperative bakery. This was the beginning of the great Socialist cooperative movement. (See BELGIUM.) Anseele is editor of the *Vooruit*, and treasurer of the International Socialist Committee. He was elected deputy from Liège in 1894 and 1898, and from Ghent, 1900; and was common councilor in Ghent in 1895. He is the author of various Socialist tracts, and of a Flemish socialistic novel for which he suffered six months' imprisonment.

ANTHONY, SUSAN BROWNELL: Lecturer, abolitionist, woman suffragist; born at South Adams, Mass., 1820. After completing her education, Miss Anthony taught in New York State from 1835–50. She first spoke in public in 1849, and from that time took part in the temperance movement, organizing societies and lecturing. Through her exertions and those of Mrs. E. C. STANTON, women came to be admitted to educational and other conventions, with the right to speak, vote, and serve on committees. This, however, was only gained after great opposition and public ridicule. About 1857 she became prominent among the agitators for the abolition of slavery. In 1858 she advocated the coeducation of the sexes. Since then her energies were chiefly directed to securing equal civil rights for women. In 1854–55 she held conferences in each county of New York in the cause of female suffrage. She was active in finally securing the passage of the act of the New York Legislature of 1860, giving to married women the possession of their earnings, the guardianship of their children, etc. During the war she devoted herself to the Women's Loyal League, and obtained 400,000 signatures to a petition in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment. In 1860 she started a petition in favor of leaving out the word "male" in the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1867 she went to Kansas with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone, and there obtained 9,000 votes in favor of woman suffrage. In 1868, with the cooperation of Mrs. Stanton, Parker Pillsbury, and George F. Train, she began in New York City the publication of a weekly paper called *The Revolution*, devoted to the emancipation of women. In 1869, with Mrs. Stanton, she organized the National Woman's Suffrage Association. In 1872 she cast ballots at the state and congressional election in Rochester, in order to test the application of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution. She was indicted for illegal voting, and was fined by Justice Hunt; but in accordance with her defiant declaration, she never paid the penalty. Between 1870 and 1880 she lectured in all the Northern and several of the Southern States more than 100 times a year. In 1881 she wrote, with the assistance of her coeditors, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage, "The History of Woman Suffrage," in two volumes. In 1883, with Mrs. Stanton, she began in Europe the movement which led to the International Council of Women, held in Washington, 1888. In 1904, in her eighty-fourth year, she attended the International Council of Women in Berlin. She died in 1906, honored and loved.

ANTI-CIGARET LEAGUE, THE NATIONAL: Incorporated in 1901 as the outgrowth of the work of Miss Lucy Page Gaston, in 1897, as editor of *The Christian Citizen*, the organ of the National Christian Citizenship League, and as national superintendent of Christian citizenship in the W. C. T. U. The object of the National Anti-Cigaret League is to organize a national movement for the purpose of combating by all legitimate means the cigaret habit, and the use of tobacco in any form by boys. In furtherance of this object the National Anti-Cigaret League proposes to bring into cooperation all forces honestly working toward the same end in all countries; to hold public meetings; publish and circulate literature; to organize and maintain anti-cigaret leagues, and in every way possible to make sentiment against the manufacture, sale, and use of cigarets, giving special attention to needed legislation and to the enforcement of existing laws on this subject.

The league works by having anti-cigaret bills introduced in legislatures, by organizing anti-cigaret clubs in schools and elsewhere, by holding meetings, and by circulating pledges and literature, especially its monthly organ, *The Boy Magazine*, edited by Miss Gaston. A very large agitation on the subject has been created, and bills introduced in many state legislatures. President, David Paulman, M.D.; superintendent,

Miss Gaston; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Caroline F. Grow, 1119 Woman's Temple, 184 La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

In England also there has been considerable agitation of the subject. An International Anti-Cigaret League was formed in 1901, the founder and secretary being Rev. Frank Johnson, 57-59 Ludgate Hill, London.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE, THE: Formed 1898. Its constitution says: "This league was organized to aid in holding the United States true to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It believes that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and holds self-government to be fundamental, and good government but incidental. It demands for all people under the United States government the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Its object is by all proper means to oppose as inconsistent with American ideals the forcible extension of the sovereignty of the United States over foreign peoples and in particular to work constantly for the early and complete independence of the Philippine Islands." The league has enrolled a very large number of influential men as vice-presidents, and for several years after its organization was very active in holding meetings and issuing tracts and circulating literature. President, Moorfield Story; secretary, Erving Winslow, 20 Central Street, Boston, Mass.

ANTIMONOPOLY PARTY: Organized at Chicago, May 14, 1884. It nominated Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, for the presidency. Its platform demanded economical government, the passage and enforcement of equitable laws, including an interstate commerce law, labor bureaus, industrial arbitration, a direct vote for senators, a graduated income tax, payment of the national debt as it matures, and "fostering care" for agriculture. It denounced the tariff and the grant of land to corporations. Its nominee was also indorsed by the GREENBACK PARTY, and polled 130,000 votes.

ANTIPOVERTY SOCIETY, THE: Founded in New York City in connection with the Henry George movement of 1885–87. It was formed as a society, under the auspices of which "Father McGlynn" could conduct his work for land reform, which was then assuming large proportions.

> The object of the society was "to spread, by such peaceable and lawful means as may be found most desirable and efficient, a knowledge of the truth that God has made ample provision for the needs of all men during their residence upon earth, and that poverty is the result of the human laws that allow individuals to claim as private property that which the Creator has provided for the use of all."

The president was Dr. McGlynn. The first public meeting was held May 1, 1887, in Chickering Hall, and public meetings were continued for many months amid intense excitement. This was largely due to the personal interest taken in Dr. MCGLYNN and in his contest with his archbishop and the papal authorities. As that passed away the excitement of the movement gradually dwindled, and the meetings ceased. (See GEORGE, HENRY; LAND; MCGLYNN; SINGLE TAX.)

ANTIPURITAN LEAGUE, THE: Formed in London with the object of fighting against "Puritanism." It seeks to enrol those who resent Puritan domination, so that they may become as potent a force at elections as the Puritans are at the present time. The league stands for the recognition of the right of every citizen to decent and humane recreation. It advocates temperance in pleasures, instead of abstinence from them, and a rational use of the Sunday, instead of Sabbatarianism. It views with alarm the growing power of what may be called the Puritan party in English national and municipal politics. Those who regard half of human life as inherently vile, who look upon a dance or the drinking of a glass of beer as a mortal sin, are a small minority of the people of England. But they are admirably organized, and are consequently able to get their representatives elected to municipal bodies, and to frighten timid candidates into pledging themselves to their policy.

The league aims at organizing the forces which can be directed against coercive Puritanism, at bringing home to the mind of the ordinary citizen the dangers which its domination involves, and at educating the public mind to a saner view of public enjoyment. Its manifesto, from which this account is taken, is signed by such men as Hubert Bland, G. K. Chesterton, Stewart D. Headlam, Conrad Noel, and Cecil Chesterton, who is the honorary secretary. *Address:* 11 Warwick Gardens, Kensington, W., London, England.

ANTIRENTERS: An organization which from 1839 to 1849 resisted the collection of rent on certain manorial estates in New York State. Large portions of Columbia, Rensselaer, Greene, Delaware, and Albany counties, in the State of New York, belonged to manors, the original grants of which were made to "patroons" by the Dutch Company and renewed by James II. The tenants had deeds for their farms, but paid annual rental in kind, instead of a principal sum. After 1790 this arrangement caused growing dissatisfaction among the tenants, and in 1839 they refused to pay rent and began a reign of terror. In 1847 and 1849 the Antirenters "adopted" a part of each state ticket, and showed a voting strength of about 5,000. In 1850 the legislature directed the attorney-general to bring suit to try title. The suit was decided in 1850, but both parties were then ready to compromise—the owners by selling the farms at fair rates, and the tenants by paying for them.

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, THE: The Ohio branch, formed in Oberlin in 1893, was the first state league organized. Rev. Howard H. Russell was the chief factor in its formation, and the first state superintendent. In 1895, at a meeting called in Washington, D. C., he was chosen national superintendent and organizer. There are now forty-three states and territories organized. About 350 people, including stenographers and mailing-clerks, are giving their entire time to the work of the league. The league publishes thirty-six state papers (thirty-two monthlies and four weeklies), with an aggregate circulation of nearly a quarter of a million.

The object of the league is the most radical repression and ultimate suppression of the liquor traffic. Its method is the federation of existing agencies—especially the churches. Its departments of activity are agitation, legislation, and law enforcement. It is interdenominational and

omnipartizan. Each state league is busily engaged in securing advanced legislation in harmony with the growing public sentiment, and in putting into operation such legislation wherever possible. Hundreds of towns and cities, townships and counties, are abolishing the saloons under the local option laws that have been secured through the efforts of the league in different states.

The national league, with offices at Washington, D. C., and Columbus, Ohio, is seeking advanced legislation in Congress, in harmony with the legislation that is being secured in the several states. General superintendent, Rev. P. A. Baker, Columbus, Ohio; assistant general superintendent, Rev. G. W. Young, D.D., Louisville, Ky.; superintendent of the legislative department, Rev. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, Washington, D. C.; attorney of the national league, Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, Columbus, Ohio.

ANTISLAVERY: For the American Antislavery Society, see ABOLITION MOVEMENT; for foreign societies, see BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTISLAVERY SOCIETIES.

ANTITUBERCULOSIS: See TUBERCULOSIS.

APPLEGARTH, ROBERT: Manufacturer, trade-unionist; born at Hull, England, 1833. Unapprenticed, he picked up the trade of a joiner and cabinet-maker, moved to Sheffield in 1852, and soon became the most prominent member of the local Carpenters' Union, inducing it to unite with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in 1861. From 1862 to 1871 he held the office of general secretary of this organization, voluntarily resigning at last. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the London School Board from Lambeth in 1870; and was invited to be a candidate for Parliament at Maidstone, but retired in favor of Sir John Lubbock. In 1871 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Contagious Diseases Act. Resigning his secretaryship he entered journalism for a time, but before long became foreman to a firm manufacturing engineering and diving apparatus, eventually becoming proprietor of the business. He always retained his interest in trade-unionism. Mr. Applegarth sought to win for the trade-union organization a social and political status, and was, in his day, an ideal representative of the labor movement in the political world.

APPONYI, ALBERT G. A.: Austro-Hungarian count; born in Vienna, 1846; leader (since 1891) of the National Hungarian Party; hereditary member of the House of Magnates; from 1900 to 1903 President of the House of Representatives; reconstituted his party in 1904. He is an active worker for international arbitration and in the movement for the International Parliament. *Address*: Schloss Eberhard, Presburg, Hungary.

APPRENTICESHIP: A system whereby a person, usually a minor, is bound by law or trade regulations to work for another in consideration of maintenance or money wages, and for the purpose of receiving instruction in some trade or art. The question of apprentices and the apprenticeship system has always been of more or less importance in the United States. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century it was the cause of a large number of strikes among the workers who were suffering from the effects of an overcrowding of the trades by half-instructed apprentices and child laborers. It was partly for the purpose of correcting these abuses that the first national unions were organized in this country. Of late years, however, the question has again become prominent because of the agitation of the employers, who claim that the restrictions of the unions upon the number of apprentices allowed in each trade have caused a shortage of skilled labor, seriously interfered with the development of industry, and prevented the American boy from learning a trade.

The apprenticeship system is of comparatively recent origin, beginning as it did with the gild system of the Middle Ages. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations' (I. x. 2), states that "Apprenticeships were altogether unknown to the ancients. Roman law is perfectly silent in regard to them. I know no Greek or Latin word (I might venture, I believe, to assert that there is none) which expresses the idea we now annex to the word apprentice."

Gild System

The gild system, with its handicraft methods, its production solely for local markets, its steady employment, uniform wages, and lack of business depressions and panics, made an ideal setting for a very complete and thorough system of apprenticeship. The youth was bound out, or indentured, by his parents to a master with whom he lived and in whose shop the trade was learned, the master agreeing to furnish the apprentice with food, clothing, and shelter, and to teach him the trade; the latter agreeing to obey the orders of the master, keep all business affairs secret; and behave himself properly under all conditions. In England the usual period of apprenticeship was about seven years; in France, from three or four years to six, and in Germany, from two to four years, after which the apprentice became a journeyman with all the rights and privileges of the latter. In 1513 an indenture fee of 2s. 6d. was charged in England by the masters, and under James I. this was increased.

The Statute of Apprentices (1562) legalized the practises and customs of the gild system. It declared that no person could engage in any trade without having served an apprenticeship of seven years; that the master must hire one journeyman for every three apprentices, and for every apprentice above this number, still another journeyman; that the hours of labor should be twelve in summer and from daybreak until nightfall in the winter; and that wages should be fixed by magistrates who were also empowered to settle all disputes arising between master and apprentice. This law was of the greatest value to the journeymen. It made their condition secure, and practically guaranteed steady employment at wages "sufficient for the hired person in times of need as well as in times of abundance."

With the development of industry, following closely upon the invention of the steam-engine, these regulations seriously interfered with the *laissez-faire* ideas of the employers, who chafed at the restrictions placed upon industry, at the fixation of the hours and wages of labor, and at the limitations to the freedom of competition. Consequently it is natural to expect that they should fight (as they did) the enforcement of the Statute of Apprentices as bitterly as the gilds, and that the unions should stanchly support it. With the passage of years, however, the law was practically nullified by being flagrantly disregarded by the employers. Skilled laborers were dismissed and their places filled with hundreds of child-workers and apprentices. Instances are recorded in which "manufacturers employed as many as a hundred apprentices for every two skilled workmen," with the result that many of the skilled trades were ruined because of the ignorance of the workers. At the same time child and woman labor appeared in its most horrible aspects. Wages, no longer fixed by magistrates but by the employers, were reduced again and again, while the hours of labor were correspondingly increased. In an attempt at satisfying the demands of the employers the courts then interpreted the law as applying only to towns and cities, and to those industries in existence at the time of its passage. In 1809 the woolen industry was freed from the restrictions, and in 1814 the law was repealed in toto. From that time to the present, apprenticeship in England has remained untouched by governmental regulations.

In the United States, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the matter of apprenticeship was a troublesome one for the workers. As early as June, 1803, we find the Philadelphia Typographical Society passing resolutions to the effect that "No member of this society shall be permitted to work at presswork with any person who is not a regularly bred, bound apprentice till twenty-one years of age, except under penalty of expulsion." In 1807 the same organization considered it advisable to hold a conference with the master printers and ask that none but its members or "at least men who have served a reg-

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ular apprenticeship" be employed by them. In 1808 it fixed eighteen years as the age at which a person could be apprenticed, and in 1809 it set the period of apprenticeship for pressman or compositor at three years. No attempt, however, was made to limit the number of apprentices in this trade until 1835, in which year such a resolution was adopted by the New Orleans Typographical Society.

At that time the same struggle against the abuses of the apprenticeship system is to be noted in all lines of industry. T. V. Powderly, speaking of the latter portion of the first half of the nineteenth century, said that "The time of every session of the convention of every trade organization was taken up in discussing two measures, the question of wages and the regulation of the number of apprentices, other matters being of secondary importance." Employers considered it their unquestioned right and privilege to hire as many apprentices as they saw fit. With the use of labor-saving machinery the latter could produce as much as and at a lower price than could the skilled mechanics. It was in order to correct these abuses that several unions were formed at this time among the better class of workmen. The National Association of Hat Finishers (1854) was among the first of those formed for this purpose, and was followed in 1859 by the Iron Molders Union of America. Each of the journeymen molders had been compelled to accept two apprentices to be hired and taught by them, and it was only by means of their organization that they were able to put an end to this obnoxious system. The short-lived National Labor Union of 1860 declared for "a more rigid enforcement of the apprenticeship system as a preventive against filling the shops with botch mechanics." The Industrial Brotherhood followed it in 1874 by declaring in its preamble that it stood for the advancement of "the standard of American mechanics by the enactment and enforcement of equitable apprentice laws." Declarations of other unions at this time were to the same effect.

In the succeeding years the regulations and restrictions of the unions were so successful in removing the more flagrant abuses of the system, that for years this question has received comparatively little attention either from the public or from the workers themselves. Its decreasing importance is readily shown by the small number of strikes declared each year for the purpose of enforcing apprenticeship regulations, this number comprising but $1\frac{1}{10}$ per cent of all strikes during the period 1881–86, and further decreasing to $\frac{7}{100}$ of 1 per cent during the period 1881–1900. It is further evidenced by the fact that the census for the year 1900 returned but 81,482 apprentices and helpers in sixteen trades and other miscellaneous industries, or 2.45 per cent of all workers engaged in those occupations.

The immediate cause of the lately renewed agitation concerning the apprenticeship question is the claim of the employers that the unions have restricted the number of apprentices to such an extent that it is impossible to obtain enough skilled mechanics to meet the industrial demands.

Present Agitation

They are reiterating the arguments of the earlier unionists, that "the shops are being filled with botch mechanics" and that the "trade will be ruined unless a higher grade of labor is assured." The sources from which the larger factories formerly drew their supply of skilled workmen—i. e., (1) the small general shop, and (2) immigration—have practically disappeared. The large factory has absorbed the smaller, while the greater number of immigrants no longer come from the manufacturing countries of northern Europe. These conditions have resulted in demands for the establishment of manual training schools and trade-schools, and for the adoption of Industrial Education. The sincerity of the employers in their demand for a better grade of mechanics is seriously questioned by the unionists, who note that this demand is linked with agitation for the "open shop" and the destruction of organized labor. The workers also feel that such schools would greatly add to the number of workmen in the trades, thus increasing competition, lowering wages, and making employment less continuous. They also fear that if a person learn his trade in a school, rather than by working with union men "upon the job," he will acquire ideas and opinions different from those of the laborers, and will be taught the tenets of non-unionism by his instructors, thus rendering impossible the united action of the workers for their general betterment. It is impossible to predict the outcome of the agitation for industrial education and trade-schools, bitterly opposed as it is by the unions; yet, the permanent agreement between the Mason Builders' Association and the bricklayers' unions of Boston and vicinity, presents a very unique solution of the matter, as is shown by the following quotation taken from that agreement:

> The parties to this agreement (the employing masons and the bricklayers' unions) agree that they will join in an effort to establish an institution in this city where all the trades shall be systematically taught, and that when such a school is established they will unite in the oversight and care of the same.

Just as the evolution of industry and the development of society made impossible the enforcement of gild regulations concerning apprentices, so the same causes have practically abolished the necessity for, and the practicability of, the further application or retention of the old system of apprentices in most trades and occupations. A few trades remain, however, in which handicraft still retains an important place, such as in stone-cutting, carpentry, bricklaying, jewelry repairing, etc.; and it is in these scattered trades that an apprenticeship system can be retained to advantage. But under the large-scale production of to-day, specialization, the minute division of labor, and the extended use of machinery have made it unnecessary that a worker serve an apprenticeship and thus be skilled in all branches of his trade. In an ordinary factory but one or two all-around mechanics are required, the remainder of the workers being machine hands, mere automatons, who feed the material into the machine and make but a small portion of the finished product. In the majority of cases the worker cannot learn all the branches of the trade even tho he desired to do so, because of the fact that it is seldom that they are to be found under the roof of one establishment.

To learn all branches would thus necessitate a change of employers, and under such conditions a regular apprenticeship is impossible. Besides this, owing to our policy of standardization, the American factory turns out but a limited number of patterns or styles, and no necessity arises for the cultivation of individual skill or craft. Then, too, the employer seldom knows his trade well

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enough to teach it to his apprentices if he have any. He is engaged with the administrative side of the business, and knows but little of its mechanical processes. The workers, not being paid for teaching the apprentices, do not care to bother with them. The result is that the latter are usually left to pick up what they can of a trade by watching others, and sooner or later become what are known as "monkey-wrench mechanics." Many of the boys who enter a factory do not wish to spend three or four years in learning a trade. They desire to make money, and a job operating a machine will pay them higher wages and is more easily learned than a trade. This is also satisfactory to the employer, who desires that his workmen acquire speed and turn out a large product, rather than that they be taught all the branches of the trade as the unions require under an apprenticeship system. Even tho the employer attempt to teach the trade to his apprentices, he realizes that in a short time after the completion of their

instruction they would undoubtedly leave his employ and enter that of another, perhaps his competitor. Another consideration which makes the retention of the old apprenticeship system impossible is the fact that employment in the United States is at the best an uncertain matter. Panics, strikes, business failures, etc., force the laborer to travel from shop to shop and from city to city in search of work. Such unstable conditions of industry make the serving of an apprenticeship in almost any trade a practical impossibility.

Several of the large corporations, especially in the metal trades, have established carefully worked-out systems of apprenticeship in connection with their factories, the most notable of these, perhaps, being that of the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Some of these corporations apprentice a youth for four years, some for three. Some use a form of indenture or agreement, while others demand a money deposit on the part of the apprentice, as evidence of his intention to complete the course of instruction, the deposit being returned at the close of the term, with an additional sum given as a reward for good behavior and faithfulness. The wages of the apprentice vary considerably, both with the practises of the firm with whom he is working and with the extent to which he has completed his term.

Union Regulations

It is impossible to review here with any degree of thoroughness the various regulations placed by organized labor upon the hiring of apprentices. Only a general résumé of the situation, supplemented with a few specific examples, can be given. Apprentice regulations are fixt to a greater or less extent by the national union of the trade, but it seldom happens that these regulations are followed very closely by the local organizations. The latter may, and often do, make and enforce rules which differ greatly from those established by the national association, local conditions being the determining factor in each case.

The usual term of apprenticeship is three or four years, altho in some cases a shorter or longer period is demanded, as, for example, in the case of the watch-case engravers who require five years, and the New York electrical workers who only require two years. It is an almost generally established rule that apprentices must begin their trade before the age of sixteen or seventeen, the upper limit to the apprenticeship period usually being twenty-one years. It is customary for the unions to limit the number of apprentices that may be hired by an employer. In some trades this number is very low, as is the case with the stone-cutters, who forbid the employment of more than one apprentice to fifteen cutters, or more than two to any number less than a hundred cutters. In other trades, however, the number is very much greater, the pressmen, as also the trunk and bag workers, allowing one apprentice for every four journeymen. In some cases apprentices are affiliated with the union of the journeymen of their craft, and are classed as "auxiliaries"; in others, they support separate organizations, altho in a very large number of cases they belong to no organization whatsoever. In some trades the apprentices are forced to work longer hours than the journeymen, but as a rule they are taught all the branches of the trade.

According to the New York Electrical Workers' Union, an apprentice is "a boy registered by the union, who is employed to do errands, carry material to or on the job, attend lockers, and assist the journeymen in testing, but for no other purpose. Apprentices must not encroach on the work of helpers, or work with tools." They must be under nineteen years of age and must serve for two years. A shop can have one apprentice for the first ten journeymen or part thereof, and one more for every additional ten journeymen above the first ten. The United Association of Journeymen Plumbers allows one apprentice to a shop; the International Association of Machinists restricts the employer to one apprentice per shop and one for every five journeymen; the Iron Molders' Union permits one apprentice to eight workmen; the Typographical Union, one to seven; and the Cigar Makers' Union one to five.

The system of apprenticeship adopted by the Mason Builders' Association and the bricklayers' unions of Boston and vicinity is so unique that it deserves detailed mention in this place. By its terms no limit is placed upon the number of apprentices which may be hired by an employer, altho it is required that an apprentice shall be not less than sixteen years of age nor more than twenty-one, that he shall serve for three years, and that he shall be able to read and write the English language. A joint committee of the employers and the unions can be appealed to either by apprentice or employer in cases of disputes and failure to keep the agreement. The agreement fixes the pay of the apprentices at the rate of "eleven cents per hour during the first year, twelve cents per hour during the second year, thirteen cents per hour during the third year, and fifteen cents per hour for any additional years which they may be forced to serve under these rules; these sums to be paid weekly." In addition to this the apprentice receives an allowance of $50 the first year and $75 for every additional year, payable in quarterly instalments. An apprentice shall not be eligible to membership in the bricklayers' union of that locality unless he carries a card showing that he has completed the required term of instruction as laid down by the clauses of this agreement.

As typical of existing conditions, the recent investigation of the apprenticeship system in California by the labor commissioner of that state may be of interest ("Eleventh Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of California," 1904). In 1904 it was found that, of all the trades investigated, 13.41 per cent had no apprenticeship system, and that 30.9 per cent of the remainder imposed no restrictions upon the employers. "Generally the period of apprenticeship varied from two to five years, three and four years being the more common." Sixteen to eighteen years seemed to be the average age at which apprentices were taken.

All the states of the Union, excepting Idaho, Wyoming, and Nebraska, have elaborate apprenticeship laws upon their statute books, permitting and regulating the binding out of apprentices to employers and masters. These laws are practically obsolete, however, having been replaced by the regulations of the unions. The United States statutes permit the public printer to employ any number of apprentices less than twenty-five which he considers to be consistent with the economical operation of the office. So far as could be ascertained, no court in the United States has ever decided any case relating to the matter of regulating or restricting the terms of apprenticeship.

In Foreign Countries

In foreign countries, England excepted, the apprenticeship system is governed to a greater or less extent by statutory provisions. In some instances very "elaborate regulations exist, and the system holds absolute sway as far as the training of mechanics is concerned." The situation in England is similar to that in the United States, the terms of the apprenticeship being regulated by the respective unions. In this regard it is interesting to note that in 1897 Mr. and Mrs. Webb claimed that but 90,000 of the 1,490,000 trade-unionists of England belonged to unions which were strong enough to enforce apprenticeship regulations.

In France, during the period 1890–99, but $\frac{15}{100}$ of 1 per cent of all the strikes concerned the enforcement of apprenticeship rules. In that country, the terms of the apprenticeship contract are provided for by the laws of 1851 and 1892. No limit is placed upon the number of apprentices permitted each employer; but the latter is obliged to educate an apprentice if he be sixteen years of age and illiterate. For apprentices under fourteen years of age, and for those between fourteen and sixteen, the hours of labor are limited to ten and twelve per day respectively. Persons convicted of crime or of certain misdemeanors cannot hire apprentices unless they obtain a permit from the mayor of the town.

The labor unions of the cantons of Switzerland supervise the regulation of apprentices provided the unions contain a majority of the workers

in the trade. The apprentice is indentured by means of a written contract, and must not be made to work more than ten hours per day if he is between thirteen and fifteen years of age, nor more than eleven hours if he is over fifteen years of age. Night and Sunday work is generally forbidden. Every apprentice must be examined by a public board before he is admitted to the trade as a journeyman.

In Germany the law of 1897 provides for the regulation of apprentices. Only those persons enjoying all their civil rights can employ apprentices, and then only on the condition that the agreement with the apprentice be in writing four weeks prior to the commencement of the term. Three years is the average length of the term, altho chambers of commerce and trade are given the right by the government to "fix the duration of apprenticeship in each trade" as well as the maximum number of apprentices which may be employed in those trades, provided that the government has not already taken some action in regard to the matter.

In Austria "much attention is being given to perfecting the apprenticeship system." In non-manufacturing trades the terms of service are from two to four years, and in manufacturing trades not more than three years. No apprentices may be hired by any person previously convicted of a crime.

Belgium has no apprenticeship laws.

Arguments

The employers claim that in restricting the number of apprentices the unions are trying to obtain monopoly of the trades, are preventing hundreds of boys from learning a trade, and are seriously hindering the development of industry. The unions, however, argue that they have no desire to obtain any monopolies. They claim that if there were no regulations fixing the number of apprentices allowed an employer, the skilled mechanics would soon be replaced by ignorant and unskilled apprentices, and that the standards of the trade would deteriorate, wages decrease, and employment become less steady and continuous. In support of their arguments they point to the conditions which existed in the various trades before the unions were strong enough to enforce restrictions and regulations. They also claim that it is the employer who is to be blamed for the shortage of skilled labor, inasmuch as he often refuses to take as many apprentices as the unions permit, because he dislikes to be bothered with their instruction, and will not teach them all the branches of the trade. In short, he has brought about a shortage of skilled labor because he has been more anxious to have his workers acquire speed—which means a greater output, and consequently greater profits to him—than to have them acquire a thorough knowledge of the trade. The unions further state that it is only by means of the trade-unions that conditions can be maintained which make it worth a boy's efforts to learn a trade.

Under ordinary conditions of trade, with a period of apprenticeship fixed at three years, and one apprentice to every five workers, the present force of journeymen in all trades could be doubled once in every fifteen years. However, there is no necessity for fixing the limit at one apprentice for so small a number of journeymen, since there are few trades in which it would be requisite to have the number of skilled workers doubled every fifteen years.

IRA CROSS.

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AQUINAS, ST. THOMAS: The chief representative of the theology, philosophy, and economic teaching of the medieval Church; born in 1225 or 1227, at the castle of his father, the Count of Aquino, in the territories of Naples; received his education at Monte Cassino and the University of Naples. When but seventeen years old, in spite of the opposition of his family, he took the habit of the Dominican order at Naples, and was afterward sent away to study theology and philosophy under the famous Albertus Magnus at Cologne and Paris. Aquinas early gained distinction as a student of theology, and began his lectures, which were given at Paris, Rome, Bologna, and other places. He was on familiar terms with many princes of his time, and especially honored by the kings of France and of Naples, who frequently sought advice from him. Clement IV. offered him the archbishopric of Naples and the abbacy of Monte Cassino, both of which were declined. It was on the route to the Council of Lyons, whither he had been specially summoned by Gregory X., that Aquinas died, March 7, 1274. He was canonized in 1323 by Pope John XXII. In his life there was a union of simple piety with the greatest philosophical power. He fulfilled the ecclesiastical ideal of a saint and a father of the church. As a theologian his name stands with that of Augustine.

Aquinas represents scholasticism, the philosophy of the Middle Ages. Scotus Erigena, the earliest schoolman, said: "There are not two studies, one of philosophy and one of religion; true philosophy is true religion, and true religion is true philosophy." Hence the greatest work of Aquinas, the "Summa Theologiæ," aimed to give a summary of all the science of the time. This work is divided into three principal parts which may be said to treat respectively of God, man, and the God-Man. The latter part of the third division was added after the death of the author. With regard to the other works of Aquinas, it may be said that all his writings lead up to the "Summa."

Economics

To Aquinas theology is the sum of all science, and hence he is little interested in economics. But since the scope of the "Summa" was so wide, he was obliged to deal to a certain extent with both politics and economics. His statements have great value to students of social questions, because he so thoroughly represented medieval Church thought. In regard to private property, Aquinas justified individual ownership. He argued that the results of private ownership were beneficial, and he adopted Aristotle's theory that property should be owned separately, but used for the common good. In dealing with the subject of property as it concerned the monastic orders, or as it affected the highest sort of Christian living, Aquinas takes the conservative view. He holds, in opposition to many in the monastic orders who wished for absolute poverty, not only individual, but corporate, that property is only injurious when it hinders the spiritual life. A moderate property, especially if possest by a religious order, is not necessarily an evil.

In regard to the bestowal of charity, Aquinas does not unduly exalt almsgiving. The practise is obligatory; but at the same time alms need only be given, as a general thing, after a man has provided for himself and his family in a proper way. The giving should usually be from the superfluity—what remained after legitimate expenses.

Right of Taxation

One example of Aquinas's teaching on politics may be referred to. On the question of the right of government to tax its subjects, he favors the subjects rather than the prince. He says that rulers should seek the common good of the people in preference to their own advantage. Hence they should not take from their subjects by taxation save when some public need arises. Their revenues should be derived from their own special possessions.

In treating of commercial ethics, Aquinas follows generally the teaching of the earlier church fathers, and stands firm for the application of Christian principles to trade. He agrees with the old views as to usury, and especially with those of his instructor, Albertus Magnus. Usury is wrong. Money is consumable; the borrower has a natural right to make use of it when loaned, and the lender should not ask a payment for its use in addition to the return of the original sum, as this would be a double charge.

Trade was, in Aquinas's view, a base thing, and even sinful when carried on for the sake of gain. But it was not so when the trader pursued it as a means of livelihood, and was contented with a moderate profit, which he used for good purposes. Further, trade was also right when it served the public interest and provided a country with the necessities of life. The civil law was wholly imperfect, then as now, from a Christian standpoint, in its provisions regarding business. The Christian principle was, according to Aquinas, that no one should ever demand or pay more than a just price. He was conscious of the opposition between his teaching and the civil law, but he explains that human law has its necessary limitations, and does not prohibit everything that is wrong. Divine law is higher, and must forbid all things that are opposed to justice and virtue.

Divine Law

The scholastic philosophy reaches its culmination in Aquinas, and no medieval writer has had more influence than he. His "Summa Theologiæ" is even now, to a great extent, a recognized manual of the theology of the Roman Catholic Church.

REFERENCES: There is no adequate account of the economic teaching of Aquinas, which may be best collected from his own works. See the *Summa Theologiæ* as to private property, Secunda Secundæ, Quæstio 77, Articulus 3; Q. 66, Art. 1, 2; as to voluntary poverty, Q. 188, Art. 7; as to alms, Q. 32, Art. 5, 6; as to slavery, Pars Prima, Q. 96, Art. 3; Prima Secundæ, Q. 94, Art. 5; as to price, Secunda Secundæ, Q. 77; as to usury, Q. 78; as to taxation, *De Regimine Judæorum* among the Opuscula. The best brief account will be found in *La Philosophie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, by C. Jourdain (1858). See also, *Economic History*, by W. J. Ashley (1888), vol. i., pt. 1, and the same author's article on *Aquinas* in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, to which article we are in the main indebted for that portion of our article bearing on Aquinas's economic teaching.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: The phrase "industrial arbitration and conciliation," in its broadest sense, refers to the entire subject of the methods of maintaining or, if broken, of restoring peaceful relations between employers and employees. (See also COMPULSORY ARBITRATION; NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION; NEW ZEALAND; TRADE AGREEMENTS.) But each of the terms "arbitration" and "conciliation" has a narrower technical meaning of its own. When the negotiations between employer and employees are conducted entirely between the two parties or their representatives and the procedure consists only of discussion and mutual concession between the two, the process is known as "conciliation." But when employer and employed refer the question at issue to final decision by some person or body other than the parties directly in dispute, it is called "arbitration."

If the reference to arbitration be made voluntarily by both parties, or if the acceptance by them of the decision or "award" when made be voluntary, the procedure is known as "voluntary arbitration." If, on the other hand, the government requires that, upon the motion of either party, or upon its own motion, the case shall be submitted to arbitration, and provides for the enforcement of the award when rendered, the process is "compulsory arbitration." To constitute compulsory arbitration in any true sense, it may be emphasized that the acceptance of the award must always be compulsory, whereas the reference to arbitration need be compulsory only for either party when the other desires it, tho it may be compulsory also for both without the desire of either.

Intervention by a third party may, however, take another form. The third party may intervene, either upon his own initiative or by invitation of one or other of the parties, simply for the general purpose of endeavoring to bring about a settlement of the dispute. Such action constitutes "mediation." When one or more employers negotiate with their employees collectively, concerning the terms of future employment, the procedure is known as "collective bargaining," a phrase of recent origin which is gaining wide usage. "Collective bargaining," it will be seen, is virtually conciliation in collective differences concerning terms of future employment.

The term is applied, not because the procedure is something essentially different from conciliation, but because conciliation in such form is of tremendous significance under modern industrial conditions.

The agencies of arbitration and conciliation may be either private or public. Considering first the former, we find them most highly and widely developed in Great Britain, the United States being second in importance in this field. Belgium and France, however, stand first in some respects in results accomplished. The development of these private agencies naturally lies within that period in which the modern industrial system, characterized by the employment of considerable numbers of work people in a single establishment or undertaking, has existed, and, at the same time, combined action by employees with reference to the conditions of employment has been recognized as legal. Roughly speaking (exact dates are impossible for the more general facts of this subject), the period of development of private agencies of industrial peace in Great Britain, where the oldest of these are found, appears to date from the third decade of the nineteenth century. In the U. S. the period of development of such agencies is approximately that since the Civil War, or the last forty years.

Private Agencies

The most primitive agency, so to speak, is an informal committee of unorganized employees, named for a particular occasion to negotiate with the employer. Such temporary conference committees are not uncommon in unorganized trades, but are usually resorted to only for negotiations within the limits of a single establishment, tho occasionally utilized in the case of several establishments.

Organization of labor opens the way for the development of conference bodies in two important respects. In the first place, with local unions affiliated with national organizations, the size of the field for which such bodies are available becomes extended beyond the single establishment or locality, until it becomes national in extent, covering an entire industry in a given country. In the second place, with the existence of permanent unions of work people, the temporary conference committee develops most easily into a *permanent* agency of peace, be it local or national. Very often the regular union officers, local or national, constitute a standing agency for negotiations, thus doing away with the necessity for naming special committees.

As the field of collective negotiations between employers and employees extends beyond a single establishment or firm, so as to involve a considerable number of employers, there arises the need of a representative body to act for the latter. The most elementary agency in such case, as in the case of employees, is a temporary committee named for a particular occa-

Collective Negotiations

sion. Such temporary conference committees of employers are not infrequently used in the case of negotiations covering a single locality where the employers have no organization. But more often they occur where the employers have some kind of organization, and such organization of employers, just as in the case of the employees, gradually paves the way for the development of permanent negotiation agencies.

So long as agencies of industrial peace in a given trade are employed only for the settlement of occasional disputes, they rarely develop beyond conciliatory conferences between temporary committees, resorting sometimes to arbitration by some equally temporary arbitration agency. The development of such temporary agencies into more permanent forms occurs usually in connection with collective bargaining. Collective bargaining being one of the fundamental methods of trade-unionism, it is usually found in practise wherever employers recognize its justice and advantages, or wherever the latter, because of the strength of organized labor, must perforce submit to it. Where it does occur, it commonly results in a written agreement as to terms of employment which is signed by the respective parties or their representatives. Such agreements are commonly known as "trade agreements" or "joint trade agreements," or "industrial agreements"; and the system of regulating the terms of employment by such agreements is often designated, especially in the U. S., as the "agreement system." A special form of agreement with respect to wages is the "sliding scale," in which the wages, instead of being fixt absolutely at a certain point for a given period, rise and fall at a rate agreed upon as the market-price of the product of the labor in question fluctuates.

Trade Agreements

Joint trade agreements are not infrequently adopted in the settlement of industrial disputes, and they are probably most often introduced into a given establishment or trade in that manner. When so adopted in the character of a treaty after a struggle between the parties, they are more frequently drawn for an indefinite time than when adopted as a result of amicable negotiations; in the latter case they are as a rule adopted for a definite period. Obviously in either case, but especially so in the latter, such written contracts (and they often read as formal contracts, sometimes with an exchange of nominal sums of money in more complete fulfilment of the contract idea) introduce a powerful influence for industrial peace in the simple element of permanency which they give to the conditions of employment. But a far more important assurance of industrial peace very often appears in connection with such agreements in that they contain clauses providing for the settlement by conciliation or arbitration of any differences that may arise in their interpretation. It is also frequently provided that, pending arbitration of such differences, there shall be no cessation of work. Manifestly, under such an agreement the certainty of industrial peace is limited only by the degree of loyalty with which the two parties adhere to the terms agreed upon. In only a very few instances do joint agreements prescribe fines for failure to carry out the arbitration decisions under them.

In the U. S. trade agreements do not, as a rule, make provision for their renewal; and the system becomes permanently established chiefly by custom. It is generally regulated by custom or by the constitutions or rules of the employees' organizations, and sometimes also by the rules of employers' organizations. In Great Britain, however, it is common for the system to be maintained under permanent written compacts or agreements, regulating the modes of procedure, etc. This undoubtedly adds to the stability of the system.

With the agreement system maintained chiefly by custom in the U. S., it is not surprizing that permanent machinery in connection with it, either for collective bargaining by which agreements are made, or for conciliation and arbitration in cases of dispute, is comparatively rare, tho it has been developed in some cases. The usual American practise is to name a conference committee for each periodic negotiation, or an agreement and conciliation committee for each dispute as it arises, or to choose an arbitrator for each special occasion. But in Great Britain it is usual to name permanent boards or joint-committees which are to decide in all matters under dispute. The British boards for collective bargaining are often known as "wages boards," and those for the settlement of differences as "boards of conciliation" or of "conciliation and arbitration," while the term "trade boards" is sometimes used for both classes together.

In regularly established collective bargaining it is rare, in the U. S., to find any resort to arbitration when conciliation fails to bring about an agreement. Such appeal to arbitration is less seldom in Great Britain, but in both countries the general sentiment appears to be strongly opposed to submitting the general terms of future employment to the decision of an outsider. Future terms of employment, however, are more frequently submitted to arbitration as a means of escape from a deadlock in conciliation. In the case of interpretation differences, resort to arbitration is much more frequent; and in all systems of collective bargaining which make any provision for such disputes, it is usually provided for as a second resort after conciliation.

In collective bargaining the actual process of negotiation is usually one of "higgling" between the two sides, each acting as a unit, until by mutual compromise a unanimous agreement is reached. Final decision of a question by majority vote of the conference is very rarely allowed; and usually, especially in the less permanent bodies in American practise, equal representation of employers and employees is not specially striven for. But in bodies constituted for conciliation of interpretation differences, it is common to find equal representation of employers and employees provided for, and decisions by majority vote are sometimes allowed. In cases of arbitration it is usual to have only one arbitrator, who is regarded as impartial and disinterested with respect to the particular trade or dispute; or else a board composed of an uneven number, in which, however, the final decision is practically that of a single member or umpire.

Mediation Agencies

Private *mediation* agencies—that is, agencies constituted by outsiders to intervene between employers and employees—are rare as compared with the agencies of peace constituted by the two industrial classes themselves. Occasionally it happens, in the case of a strike or lockout, usually one so serious as to affect the interests of the public, that an individual or a committee, either chosen or acting of its own volition, intervenes to bring about a settlement.

Usually, the mediators in such a case are prominent men of the community, and not infrequently public officials. The most notable instance of this sort in the U. S., because the interests involved were no less than national in extent, was the intervention of President Roosevelt in the coal strike of 1902.

Permanent private mediation agencies are even more rare than the temporary ones just noted. About the only thing of the kind in Great Britain are the "district boards of conciliation" which have been established in several industrial centers, usually under the auspices of the local board of trade, the most important being the London Conciliation Board. This board, which was an outgrowth of the great strike of London dock-laborers in 1889, comprises a number of conciliation committees, each composed of equal numbers of employers and employees, with one committee for each prominent group of trades in the city. In addition there is a central board composed of equal numbers of representatives named by employers and employees, to which cases may be taken on appeal from a committee, and which offers facilities for arbitration in case its efforts at conciliation are unsuccessful. The results accomplished by the district boards of conciliation in Great Britain have been insignificant except in the case of the London board which has accomplished some substantial results. Its work has not been extensive, however, and has been done chiefly through mediation upon its own initiative. A very notable permanent private mediation agency in the U. S., and the only significant one in this country, is that which has been established by the National Civic Federation in its Industrial Department. This agency has been active in a number of important disputes, and with a considerable degree of success. What it has accomplished has been almost entirely along lines of conciliation through mediation upon its own initiative.

Statistics

There are no comprehensive statistics of private agencies of industrial peace for any country except Great Britain, for which there are fairly complete statistics of the permanent private agencies; and as these are of especial interest because they present facts for the country most advanced in the use of such agencies, the following from the most recent reports may be quoted here. During the year 1904 the number of permanent boards of conciliation and arbitration known to have considered cases was sixty-two, one of which was a "district board," one a "general board," or one established by employers and employees but not confined to a single trade, while the other sixty were "trade boards," or those instituted by employers and employees for a given trade. The following table shows the amount and results of work done by these boards in 1904:

BOARDS	NO. OF BOARDS WHICH		NO. OF CASES	
	Considered cases	Settled cases	Considered	Settled
Trade boards	60	52	1,413	610
General boards	1	1	1	1
District boards	1	1	4	4
Total	62	54	1,418	615

Of the 803 cases not settled, 748 were "withdrawn, referred back, or settled independently of the boards," and fifty-five were pending at the close of the year. Of the 615 cases settled, 400 were settled by boards or committees, that is, by conciliation, and 215 were decided by arbitration or umpires named by such boards or committees. Among the cases settled were ten strikes or lockouts, of which seven were settled by conciliation, and three by arbitration. The number of boards known to have settled cases varied but little from 1900 to 1904, having numbered in those five years respectively 64, 54, 57, 62, and 54.

Government Agencies

Since, as noted in the foregoing, recognition of collective disputes as legal is of comparatively recent date, and individual disputes were characteristic of the industrial régime prior thereto, it is not surprizing to find that the oldest government agencies for industrial peace were established for individual disputes. In Great Britain, prior to 1803, a series of statutes, going back as far as the Statute of Apprentices in 1562, contained provisions with reference to disputes between masters and servants. All of these provided simply that disputes should be summarily settled by justices of the peace, the authorities charged with the fixing of wage-rates for all labor under the then existing system of government regulation of industry.

In 1803, 1804, and 1813 special acts for disputes in the cotton industry were passed, differing from the earlier laws in that they provided that disputes should be settled by arbitration by two referees appointed, one by the employer, the other by the employee, from nominations made by a justice of the peace to whom the dispute was to be referred for final decision in case the two arbitrators could not agree. Finally these three laws were consolidated and extended to all industries by the Consolidation Act of 1824. This act did not alter any of the provisions for arbitration, except to forbid justices of the peace to fix future wages without the consent of both master and workman, this limitation being practically a recognition of the principle of freedom of contract between employer and employed which had been formally established by the repeal of the Statute of Apprentices in 1814.

All the earlier statutes had provided compulsory arbitration for all disputes; the Consolidation Act provided still for compulsory arbitration for interpretation differences, but recognized the fundamentally different character of disputes touching future terms of employment by providing only voluntary arbitration for such, at least for all those touching wages. The Consolidation Act was passed because the earlier laws had been effectual; yet it proved a total failure, tho it was in force until 1896. It appears to have been an anachronism. It was passed coincidently with the formal recognition of the right of working men to combine by the repeal of the combination laws by Act of 5 Geo. IV., ch. 95, the Consolidation Act being 5 Geo. IV., ch. 96. With the repeal of the combination laws the pressing problem of industrial peace became at once that of collective disputes, whereas the Consolidation Act offered only provisions drawn essentially for the individual disputes of an earlier régime.

For the most notable agency for the settlement of individual disputes, and one which is still in existence, one must turn to continental Europe, to the French system of *Conseils des Prud'hommes*

or Councils of Experts. These were first instituted in France in 1806. The law of that year, since frequently amended, which established the system in France, applied also to Belgium, which was then a French dependency; and the first Belgian Council was established in 1809. Laws regulating the system were afterward passed by the Belgian Government. Prior to the acquisition of the Rhine Province by Germany, councils under the French law were established there, and from thence the institution spread to other parts of Germany, being regulated by state or municipal statutes until 1890 when an imperial law governing the system was passed. In 1882 the Swiss canton of Geneva established a council, followed by the cantons of Neuchâtel (1885), Vavd (1888), Basel-Stadt (1889), Lucerne (1892), and Bern (1894). In 1893 Italy established the system. In all five of the countries named—France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy—the systems of Conseils des Prud'hommes, or Gewerbegerichte, as they are called in Germany, are still maintained, and are in active operation. In 1903 there were in France 153 councils which heard disputes; in Belgium, 33; and in Germany, 400. In 1905 Switzerland had at least 7 councils, and in 1899 Italy had 39.

Conseils des Prud'hommes

With regard to details of organization and procedure the councils in different countries vary considerably, but the general plan of all is essentially the same. They are established by the government, either national or local, but their members are elected by the employers and employees within their jurisdiction, except the president and vice-president who in France and Switzerland are chosen by the members from among their own number, but in Belgium, Germany, and Italy are appointed independently by the government. Two bodies are organized in each council: the one a conciliation bureau or committee; the other the general, or arbitration bureau. Cases go first before the conciliation bureau where an effort is made to bring about a settlement by conciliation. If such effort fails, the case goes to the general bureau for final decision. In both bureaus there are always equal numbers of employers' and employees' representatives. The procedure is compulsory upon the desire of either party, and awards or decisions are enforceable as in ordinary civil courts. The jurisdiction of the councils is limited essentially to individual disputes growing out of the interpretation of existing contracts.

Procedure

The systems of Conseils des Prud'hommes have been very successful and are doing a large amount of work. Thus, in 1903, the number of cases brought before the councils in France was 43,832; in Belgium, 8,277; and in Germany, 97,561. Of the cases before the French councils 18,591 were settled by conciliation, 4,588 by arbitration, and 16,240 were withdrawn by the parties.

Impressed by the obvious evils of the industrial warfare of strikes and lockouts which affect the general public as well as the contestants, many governments have in more recent years endeavored to provide by law for the settlement of collective industrial disputes. In 1905 no less than fifty-one different national or state governments had some provision of law relating to the subject, and a number of these had passed more than one act upon the subject. With but three unimportant exceptions, all this legislation is the product of the last thirty years. With this mass of laws all that can be attempted within the limits of the present article is a very general classification according to their more important characteristics and results, considering first foreign statutes and afterward American laws.*

Government Agencies for Collective Disputes

Standing quite by themselves as the only general compulsory arbitration laws in the world are four statutes of the British colonies in Australasia. These, with the dates of the earliest laws in each case, are: New Zealand (1894), Western Australia (1900), New South Wales (1901), and the Commonwealth of Australia (1904). These compulsory arbitration laws, in their present form, have practically unlimited jurisdiction over collective industrial disputes of all kinds, except that the Commonwealth law takes cognizance only of disputes extending beyond the limits of any one of the Australian states. They provide, except in New South Wales, for both conciliation and compulsory arbitration. New South Wales provides only for compulsory arbitration. The conciliation agency provided is, in New Zealand and Western Australia, a board whose members are elected in equal numbers by employers and employees, with a chairman chosen by the members; in the Commonwealth the same agency as for arbitration. For arbitration the three state laws provide a court consisting of three members appointed by the government: one from nominations made by employers, and one from nominations made by employees, while the president is chosen directly by the government from the highest civil court of the colony. In the Commonwealth the arbitration court consists of only a single judge appointed by the government. All of these compulsory arbitration laws proceed upon the principle of utilizing to the utmost the advantages for collective negotiations to be derived from organization of employers and employees, especially the latter.

New Zealand Australia

In connection with these compulsory arbitration systems, strikes and lockouts are very largely prohibited, especially in the New South Wales and Commonwealth laws. In practise the three state laws have proved generally successful to the extent of having practically eliminated strikes and lockouts from industrial life, the Commonwealth act being too recent to show results in practise. The most notable development in practise has been the fact that, for the most part, the conciliation provisions have been of little use and most of the work has had to be done sooner or later by the arbitration courts. For this reason the New Zealand law, which originally required conciliation procedure, had later to make it optional; while New South Wales made no provision whatever for conciliation in her law. The whole tendency of practical experience has thus been to enlarge the scope of the compulsory arbitration features, and to employ them exclusively, with a consequently increasing amount of the virtual government regulation of industrial relations which compulsory arbitration involves.

Three of the countries which have the systems

* The laws are described as they are at present, without special reference to amendments; and the year given in parentheses refers to the time when the earliest law of the kind in question was passed.

of Conseils des Prud'hommes, or industrial courts for individual disputes, have utilized those courts for intervention in collective disputes also, viz., Germany (1890); Italy (1893); and Switzerland (Cantons of Geneva, 1882; Vavd, 1888; Lucerne, 1892; and Bern, 1894). In Switzerland there is provision only for conciliation by the courts in collective disputes; while in Germany and Italy arbitration is also provided, but the distinction between individual and collective disputes is carefully preserved, and for the latter the arbitration is entirely voluntary in character. Very little has been accomplished under these provisions for collective disputes, except in Germany. The German courts have developed extensive activity in their field, and are accomplishing important results, for the most part entirely by conciliation. Thus, in 1903, the German courts intervened 174 times in collective disputes, and settled sixty-one —fifty-four by conciliation, and seven by arbitration.

Germany Italy Switzerland

Another group of foreign laws may be distinguished in those which undertake to establish permanent special agencies for the settlement of collective disputes.

The oldest of these is a British law of 1867, known as Lord St. Leonard's Act, which attempted to foster the establishment of boards for conciliation and arbitration after the pattern of the French Conseils des Prud'hommes by granting to such boards, when established voluntarily by employers and employees, and fulfilling the requirements specified in the law as to organization and procedure, a license under which they might exercise the powers specified in the Consolidation Act of 1824, to compel the presence and testimony of witnesses and enforce arbitration awards except when the latter concerned future wages. This law was, however, a total failure, as were likewise two British colonial statutes which copied it; namely, a law of 1873 in Ontario (Canada), and one of 1891 in Victoria, the latter with all compulsory arbitration features eliminated, and both with no restriction as to disputes touching future wages.

Permanent Government Agencies

In Belgium (1887) and the Netherlands (1897) are two laws, the later one modeled after the earlier, which provide for the establishment of councils of labor and industry, composed of members elected in equal numbers by employers and employees. These councils, which are under very direct government supervision, have a threefold function: (1) To give information or advice to the government concerning the condition of labor; (2) to serve as conference committees for collective bargaining, and (3) to settle industrial disputes. For the two latter purposes conciliation only is provided for. The system of councils of labor is in active operation in both countries, Belgium having seventy-six councils in 1903, Netherlands ninety in 1904. In practise the function of the councils as statistical and advisory agents of the government has been most important, especially in Belgium. In the Netherlands they have accomplished most in the way of collective bargaining and settlement of disputes. Thus, in 1903 they assisted seventy-three times in amicable negotiations concerning terms of employment, twenty-eight cases of which concerned government work; and in 1904 they intervened in thirteen strikes and lockouts, and brought five to a settlement.

Holland and Belgium

In 1892 New South Wales passed an act providing for permanent councils of conciliation, and a council of arbitration for the settlement of collective disputes. There were to be either several conciliation councils in industrial districts into which the colony should be divided, or one large colonial council from which a special council for each dispute could be chosen, the members of these conciliation councils to be elected in equal numbers by employers and employees, with a secretary appointed by the government. The one court of arbitration was to consist of three members, one each to be named by employers and employees, with the third (the president) to be chosen by the other two, or, failing that, appointed by the government. In each dispute there were to be efforts at conciliation first, with appeal to arbitration or, if the parties desired, reference to the arbitration court in the first instance, arbitration in any case being voluntary in character.

Three of the British Canadian colonies have copied this New South Wales statute—British Columbia (1893), Ontario (1894) and Quebec (1901)—without important modifications, except that Ontario by subsequent amendment (copied in Quebec also) enabled the government to itself appoint the members of the council of arbitration, and permitted that council to mediate in disputes of its own motion, thus providing an essentially independent government agency in place of one established by employers and employees. The system of conciliation and arbitration councils contemplated in the New South Wales law has been practically a failure in the four British colonies which adopted it. The machinery for it was set up in all save British Columbia, where it was never established, but so little was accomplished by the councils that New South Wales finally abandoned the whole system, and Ontario and Quebec amended the plan by providing for independent mediation in disputes by the clerk of awards; or registrar as he is styled in the two Canadian laws. Something more has been accomplished by the registrars alone (the registrar intervened in twelve disputes in 1902 in Ontario), but no important results have thus far been attained.

Canada

A very elaborate act of 1894 in South Australia provided for a system of boards of conciliation and arbitration on the same general plan as the New South Wales system just described, but providing, instead of purely voluntary arbitration, what may be designated as permissive compulsory arbitration; that is, a system of compulsory arbitration, very much the same as that of New Zealand, but applicable to employers and employees only so far as they chose to voluntarily put themselves under its jurisdiction. The act, however, failed utterly, simply because none chose to submit to it.

In connection with laws making provision for permanent special agencies for collective disputes, passing mention may be made of the Austrian law of 1896. This law, which established gilds for the mining industry, incidentally provides for conciliation in collective disputes (there is also provision for individual disputes), through the agency of the executive committees of the gilds, tho scarcely anything has been accomplished by this provision. The Danish Act of 1900, which gives private boards of arbitration for interpretation differences power to summon and examine witnesses, may also be mentioned.

A more numerous group of laws is comprised by those which, without creating any special agency therefor, provide for conciliation or arbitration of collective disputes through some government officer or administrative body. The earliest of these acts, and perhaps the most important, is the French law of 1892. This law provides for mediation by local justices of the peace, either for conciliation by committees named by the parties to the dispute in question, with the justice as chairman, or if conciliation fails, by three arbitrators, one being named by each of the parties, with an umpire either chosen by the two, or, in a deadlock, named by the local civil judge; the entire procedure is voluntary for the parties. Mediation by a justice may occur upon application of the parties or, in case of strikes and lockouts, on the justice's own motion. Large results are being accomplished under this French law. Thus, in 1903 intervention under it was attempted 152 times (143 times in strikes and lockouts), fifty-eight upon the initiative of the justices, and fifty-three disputes were settled, fifty-one by conciliation and two by arbitration.

Government Officials

Next in importance to the French law is the British act of 1896, which provides for mediation by the British Board of Trade. In case of disputes, the board is empowered, of its own volition, to inquire into the circumstances and endeavor to bring about conciliation. Upon application from either party, it may name one or more private persons as conciliators; or, on application of both parties, appoint an arbitrator for voluntary arbitration. The board may also encourage the formation of private boards of conciliation. Three British colonies have copied this act of the mother country (New South Wales, 1899; the Dominion of Canada, 1900; and Nova Scotia, 1903) with no important change, save that New South Wales and the Dominion both add provisions for formal public investigation of disputes in New South Wales, at the option of the government; in the Dominion at such option and with the consent of both parties. The duty of intervention under the law is delegated in New South Wales to the minister of public instruction, labor, and industry; in the Dominion to the minister of labor; and in Nova Scotia to the provincial secretary.

Great Britain

As to the results achieved under these laws, nothing had been accomplished in Nova Scotia down to the middle of 1905. Results in New South Wales have been very meager, and altho the act is still in force there it has practically been superseded by the compulsory arbitration law of 1901. Under the British and Canadian acts, however, substantial results have been accomplished. Thus, during the two years ended June 30, 1903, there were forty-one interventions, actual or requested, by the British Board of Trade under the law of 1896. In all of these application from one or both parties was received, and the same has been true with but very few exceptions in previous years. Of the

forty-one cases, in four the board declined to act; four were settled by the parties during negotiations, two by conciliators named by the board, and twenty-seven by arbitrators chosen by the board; three failed of settlement, and one was pending at the close of the year.

The most striking feature of the British act has been its usefulness in offering a means of escape from deadlocks in private negotiations, and the results accomplished in this direction have led to the adoption by many private boards of rules providing for an appeal to the Board of Trade when the private board is unable to agree. Of experiences under the Canadian act it may be noted that the power of public investigation specially provided in that act has been used with good effect in some stubborn disputes, through the publicity thus secured. A law somewhat resembling the British act of 1896 is that of 1894 in British Columbia, which makes it the duty of the provincial secretary to assist the parties to a given dispute in forming a conciliation council and, if need be, an arbitration council, for that particular controversy; but there is no provision for mediation by the secretary himself. The act offers these councils large official sanction by providing that the members, tho chosen by the parties, shall receive appointment from the provincial governor, and by giving them power to summon witnesses. The expenses of such councils are paid by the government. In practise, however, the act has been fruitless, no councils ever having been formed under it.

Switzerland

In Switzerland there are two practically identical laws (Basel-Stadt, 1897, and St. Gallen, 1902) which provide for intervention in industrial disputes by the council of state, either upon request from the parties or, in grave cases, upon its own motion, by appointing a board of conciliation comprising equal numbers of employers and employees for purposes of conciliation only. There has been some little activity by the councils of state under these acts, that in Basel-Stadt having intervened in six disputes in 1904, and settled three.

In Austria, under a general clause of the factory law (1883), the state factory inspectors have developed large activity as mediators in industrial disputes. The greater part of such work is done in connection with individual disputes; but much is done also in collective differences, as shown by the fact that in 1903 they intervened in 110 strikes and lockouts.

The remaining three laws in the group of those providing for intervention of government officers are statutes relating only to special industries or special subjects of dispute. The earliest of these is a statute in Nova Scotia (1888), providing for arbitration of disputes in coal mines owned by, or leased from, the government. These are under the administration of a commissioner of works and mines who, in case of a dispute concerning wages, may refer the dispute to arbitration by a board comprizing two members permanently appointed by the provincial governor, one member each named by employers and employees, and a fifth chosen by the last two. A unique feature of this arbitration plan is a provision for the posting by each side of a money forfeit, a certain amount of the wages due the workmen and an equal sum by the employer, to be paid over to the one party in case the other does not at once submit to the award. Awards may also be enforced by ordinary process in the civil courts, so that the system amounts to compulsory arbitration. This statute has been almost a dead letter, however, having been invoked but twice down to 1905.

American Laws

In 1904 a decree of Argentina, notable as the first South-American law dealing with the settlement of industrial disputes, made it the duty of the chief of police of Buenos Ayres to intervene as mediator in collective disputes over questions of Sunday rest or hours of work. But by far the most important of the laws for special industries or subjects is the Canadian Railway Labor Disputes Act of 1903. This provides for intervention by the minister of labor in collective disputes involving suspension of work or interference with traffic on railways. The minister is to intervene primarily for the purpose of bringing about conciliation. That failing, the case is submitted to arbitration by a conciliation committee or board of arbitrators composed of three members, one named by each of the parties, and the third chosen by the other two or by the parties. The arbitration is purely voluntary, but publicity of awards is required.

Of the remaining two foreign laws, providing for permanent industrial agreements between employers and employees, one was the British Arbitration Act of 1872, which contemplated the drawing up of permanent agreements between employers and employees. These agreements, in addition to specifying the terms of employment, should designate some agency to arbitrate disputes, such agencies to have the power of compelling the production of evidence. This act, however, altho it remained in force until 1896, was from the first a dead letter, no agreement under it ever being made. A more modern law for agreements is one in the Swiss Canton of Geneva (1900), which provides both for regular periodic collective bargaining and trade agreements, and for the settlement of disputes. Three successive methods and agencies are specified for either purpose: (1) A conciliation conference of employers' and employees' delegates; (2) mediation between the delegates by a representative of the council of state of the canton; (3) arbitration by a board composed of the delegates and the central committee of the Geneva Conseil des Prud'hommes. In case of disputes the council of state may itself inaugurate proceedings as above. There is no means provided to enforce arbitration awards, but strikes and lockouts pending proceedings, or under agreements made under the law, are forbidden.

United States Laws

In the U. S. no provision has ever been made for individual disputes; but the federal government and twenty-four of the states have made some provision by law for collective disputes. Two federal laws have been passed (1888 and 1898), both limited in application to interstate commerce. The former specified two procedures: (1) Voluntary arbitration of disputes by a board of three members, the only action of the government being the endowment of such a board with power to secure evidence, and the publication by the Commissioner of Labor of the award; (2) public investigation into the causes of a dispute and the best mode of terminating it, to be instituted upon the government's initiative by a commission comprizing two members named by the President of the U. S. together with the Commissioner of Labor as chairman, the findings of the commission to be made public. No arbitration under the law of 1888 ever occurred, but one public investigation was made under it in the great Pullman strike of 1894, the investigation being made after the dispute was practically ended, and the elaborate report being devoted to a history of the case and discussion of the general question of methods of settling such disputes.

Many of the recommendations of the commission of 1894 went into the law of 1898, which repealed the earlier act. This later law, which is still in force, provides for two procedures also: (1) Mediation by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commissioner of Labor upon request of either party; and (2) arbitration essentially as in the law of 1888, except that awards are made enforceable by process of law, tho submission to arbitration is entirely voluntary. There has been no practical application of this law.

Local Arbitration

The thirty different state laws (in twenty-four of the states), which had been passed down to 1905, present so many similarities that they may be grouped in four classes. The first group comprizes those laws which provide for local arbitration, with no permanent agency therefor, and includes four special acts: Maryland, 1878; New Jersey, 1880; Pennsylvania, 1893; and Texas, 1895. Ten laws have incidental provisions for state boards; namely, those of California, Colorado, Idaho, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The general features common to nearly all these laws are: (1) That they provide only for voluntary arbitration; (2) that the agency in each case is a temporary board; and (3) that such boards are given power to compel the presence of witnesses and the production of evidence. As to practical results these laws have all been dead letters, tho all, except the special act in New Jersey, still stand on the statute-books.

State Boards

A second group of state laws includes those which provide for permanent district or county boards established by private parties. These are as follows: Pennsylvania (1883), Ohio (1885), Iowa (1886), and Kansas (1886). The characteristic features common to all of these are: (1) Provision for permanent tribunals established jointly by employers and employees; (2) licensing of such tribunals by local civil courts and endowment of them with power to compel the presence of witnesses and the production of evidence; (3) provision only for voluntary arbitration by such tribunals. The only tribunal ever established under any of these laws was active in connection with the coal trade in Pennsylvania, and had considerable success for a couple of years (1883–85).

In a third group of state laws are five providing for arbitration or conciliation through the mediation of state commissioners of labor: Colorado (1887), Missouri (1889), North Dakota (1890), Washington (1903), and Maryland (1904). The more important characteristics of these laws are as follows: (1) In three states (Colorado, North Dakota, and Washington) mediation by the commissioner is provided for only upon application from a party to the disputes; but in the other two (Missouri and Maryland) there is provision for mediation upon the initiative of the commissioner; (2) in Colorado and North Dakota mediation with a view to conciliation only is contemplated, in Missouri both conciliation and arbitration are specified, and in Washington and Maryland conciliation, arbitration, and public investigation of disputes are provided for; (3) arbitration, where provided, is to be by a board with members chosen in equal numbers by the parties, and an odd member selected by the others, except in Missouri where the commissioner is to be the odd member, but public investigation is in each case to be by the commissioner. Concerning results accomplished under these provisions, nothing was ever done in North Dakota, and after a year the provision was repealed. Very little was ever accomplished in Colorado, and a state board of arbitration was established there in 1897. Somewhat more has been accomplished in Missouri, tho there, too, the provision has been practically

superseded by a state board established in 1901. In Washington, in the ten last months of 1904, the commissioner intervened in twelve disputes (ten strikes and lockouts) and secured settlements in six, one by arbitration, the others by conciliation. The law of Maryland, which gives the commissioner the broadest powers for intervention of any, is still too recent to afford evidence as to results in practise.

Special Commissions

By far the largest and most important group of American state laws includes those which create a special board or commission for the settlement of industrial disputes. These are to be found in the following seventeen states: New York and Massachusetts (1886), Montana (1887), Michigan (1889), California (1891), New Jersey (1892), Ohio (1893), Louisiana (1894), Connecticut, Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin (1895), Utah (1896), Colorado, Idaho, and Indiana (1897), and Missouri (1901). The laws of New York and Massachusetts, where state boards were first established, are the sources from which most of the other states have drawn nearly all the provisions of their laws. The fundamental features of the state-board laws, as they now stand, may be summarized as follows: (1) All the boards consist of three or five members, except in Indiana and Idaho where the permanent commission comprizes two members. The members are appointed by the governor, except in New York where, as the result of a consolidation of departments in 1901, the board consists of the commissioner of labor, appointed by the governor, and the two deputy commissioners, appointed by the commissioner.

All but four states (Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, and New York) specify equal representation of employers and employees on the board, and five states (Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, and Utah) require bipartizan political representation. (2) Three procedures are specified for boards —mediation for conciliation purposes, arbitration, and public investigation. Mediation is specified for all save the California board, and is made the duty of all those boards in case of actual or threatened strike or lockout. Arbitration is specified for all the boards, but is always voluntary, tho six states (Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Ohio) make some provision for the enforcement of awards. For purposes of arbitration there is to be added to the state commission in Idaho and Indiana the circuit judge of the county. Public investigation of more serious or stubborn disputes is specified for all the boards, except in Utah, and the authority to make such investigations may be exercised of the board's own motion, except in California where request from one of the parties to the dispute is necessary. (3) With the single exception of California, all the states confer upon their boards some authority for the purpose of compelling the presence of witnesses and the production of evidence.

Results

Turning to results accomplished by state boards, all of the seventeen statutes providing for them still stand on the statute-books, and under all of them boards have been at some time established. In nine states, however, the boards have displayed little or no activity. These nine states are California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, and Utah. In the other eight states—Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin—the boards have records of considerable activity ever since their establishment. Among these the leading one, certainly at present, is the Massachusetts board, and the following summary of its work is given as the best example of what has been accomplished by state boards in this country:

Year	Interventions		Settlements				
	Total number	In strikes and lockouts	By conciliation	By arbitration	By decision on submission by one party	By public investigation	Total
1886 (4 mos.)	4	2	1	1	..	..	2
1887 ..	21	10	7	9	..	..	16
1888 ..	41	31	12	9	1	2	24
1889 ..	23	15	9	6	..	..	15
1890 ..	34	27	8	5	1	1	15
1891 ..	29	20	9	7	..	..	16
1892 ..	40	25	7	8	1	..	16
1893 ..	32	23	8	4	..	..	12
1894 ..	38	23	7	8	..	..	15
1895 ..	32	19	5	10	..	..	15
1896 ..	29	15	4	11	..	..	15
1897 ..	36	18	5	12	1	..	18
1898 ..	19	13	2	5	..	..	7
1899 ..	26	22	11	1	..	..	12
1900 ..	50	39	15	2	..	..	17
1901 ..	94	72	36	7	..	..	43
1902 ..	106	65	35	24	..	..	59
1903 ..	167	70	26	51	..	..	77
1904 ..	122	54	22	44	..	..	66
Total .	943	563	229	224	4	3	460

The Massachusetts board has been notably successful in arbitrations, especially in recent years. Nearly all of these have been on wage questions in the great boot and shoe industry of the state, where the board is held in so favorable an estimation that many agreements between employers and employees provide for reference to the state board when the parties cannot agree.

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REFERENCES: *The Agencies of Industrial Peace*, in *Labor Problems* (chap. viii.), by T. S. Adams and H. L. Sumner, New York, 1905; *Methods of Industrial Peace*, by Nicholas P. Gilman, Boston and New York, 1904; *Principles and Methods of Industrial Peace*, by A. C. Pigou, London, 1905; *Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration*, by Douglas Knoop, London, ib., 1905; *Report of the (U. S.) Industrial Commission*, 1901, vol. xvii., part i., chap. 2, and part iii.; *Government Industrial Arbitration*, by Leonard W. Hatch, in *Bulletin No. 60 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*, September, 1905.

The first French Conseils des Prud'hommes was constituted at Lyons in 1806 in the silk trade.

Dates and Statistics

The first permanent board of conciliation was organized in 1860 in Nottingham, England, in the hosiery and glass trade, largely through the efforts of A. J. Mundella. Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" gives the following detail of the board established in 1869 in the manufactured iron trade of the north of England:

> The men belonging to the different works select in each case by ballot a delegate, and the employers belonging to a single firm are similarly represented by a single delegate. The members of the board thus constituted elect a president, together with one secretary, from among the delegates of the masters, and a vice-president, together with a second secretary, from among the delegates of the men. They also elect a standing committee, as it is called, consisting of five representatives of the men and ten representatives of the masters (five of whom alone are able to discuss or vote on any question); and of this committee the president and vice-president are ex officio members, without enjoying any power of voting. The standing committee meets every month, or, if occasion demands, more frequently, and the board itself meets twice a year and at other times when summoned by the committee. In the first instance, all questions are laid before the committee. They are submitted in writing to the secretaries seven days before the meeting; the written reply of the other side is usually placed before the same meeting, and an agreement of submission signed by the parties concerned. If the standing committee cannot arrive at an agreement, the referee, who is a permanent official, is called in and can take evidence; and in this way all questions may be settled, except a general advance or reduction in wages, or the appointment of an arbitrator. These questions the board alone can decide, and it also determines matters referred to it from the standing committee, selecting an arbitrator if it cannot itself arrive at an agreement. The necessary expenses of the board are defrayed by the subtraction of a penny every fortnight from the wages of every workman earning upward of half-a-crown a day, and by requiring each firm to pay an amount equal to that thus subtracted from the wages of employees.

In Australia the Federated Seamen's Union drew up a scheme for a board of conciliation which was accepted by the Australasian Steamship Owners' Association in 1889.

In the U. S. the first recorded instance of arbitration was at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a copper arbitration board was established in the mines of Simsbury, now called East Granby, in Connecticut. The next recorded attempts at a peaceful settlement of industrial disputes were those of the Sons of Vulcan between 1865 and 1876. On Feb. 13, 1865, a Committee of Boilers met a Committee of Iron Manufacturers and agreed upon a sliding scale of wages, thus to this extent forming a board of conciliation. (See AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATIONS OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.) In 1870 some of the shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts formed a committee of five to meet with the committee of the Knights of St. Crispin, and to draw

up a scale of wages for the ensuing year. This was the first board of arbitration or conciliation in Massachusetts.

In 1878 Mr. Joseph D. Weekes was sent to inspect the English boards of conciliation and on his return presented a report to the Governor of Pennsylvania. The result was the Wallace Act of 1883, by which voluntary boards of arbitration might be established in Pennsylvania.

In New York City the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, a Protestant Episcopal organization, organized a Council of Conciliation and Mediation, in 1903, with Bishop Potter as its president, and with one workingman and one business man as other members. It has been active and useful on more than one occasion.

Recent Statistics

In Great Britain in 1905, sixty-six permanent boards of conciliation and arbitration considered 1,726 cases, of which 834 were withdrawn, referred back, or settled independently of the boards; 614 were settled by the boards or committees; 225 by arbitrators or umpires appointed by them; and fifty-three remained over, under consideration.

Of the 358 disputes referred to above, under strikes and lockouts, which caused a stoppage of work, thirty, involving directly 10,546 work people, or 15.6 per cent of the total for all disputes, were settled by conciliation or arbitration. The work people involved in stoppages settled by arbitration formed 3.3 per cent of the total number involved during the year, and the proportion involved in disputes arranged by conciliation 12.3 per cent.

In Germany two kinds of conciliation tribunals exist—the Courts of Arbitration for the gilds of handicrafts, and the Industrial Courts for the rest of the working classes. There were 411 Industrial Courts in Germany at the end of 1905. During the last five years these courts acting as conciliation boards were able to settle 51 per cent of the disputes referred to them, the extremes being a maximum of 86 per cent (1905) and a minimum of 27 per cent (1902).

In France recourse to conciliation is almost invariably on the requisition of the work people, or on the initiative of a justice of the peace. In a considerable percentage of cases the offer of mediation is refused (34 per cent of the total for 1901–5), for the most part by the employers. Where conciliation committees are formed by consent of both sides, however, a successful issue appears to be reached in a large proportion of cases (over 60 per cent of the cases of actual reference in 1901–5).

In Holland the Chambers of Labor are the official boards of conciliation. In 1899 these took part in thirteen cases of negotiations concerning terms of employment. In 1903 that number had increased to seventy-three, the total number of such cases during the five years 1899–1903 being 242.

Italy has kept close to the old French institution of the Conseils des Prud'hommes, which France itself has found unsuited to the adjustment of industrial disputes. The Italian Courts of *Probi Viri* are established by royal decree, but no great number of these courts appear to have been formed, and their interventions in disputes have been few (forty-three during the seven years 1897–1903), tho, on the other hand, they have, almost without exception, intervened successfully.

In the U. S. the state boards intervene far oftener on their own initiative than by invitation. Of sixty-three cases of intervention in New York State in 1902–4, fifty were on the initiative of the Conciliation Board. In Ohio the board took the initiative in fifty-one out of fifty-seven cases of intervention during the three years 1901–3. In Indiana during 1902–4 the State Labor Commission took the initiative in eighteen out of a total of twenty-one interventions. In Massachusetts during the same period the board intervened of its own initiative 171 times out of a total of 395 cases. Considering that these conciliation boards offer their services so often without invitation, the number of successful interventions is considerable. The figures for the last three years covered by the returns show 36.5 per cent of successes in New York, and 67 per cent in Massachusetts.

ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL: See International Arbitration.

ARBOR DAY: A certain day in the year appointed by different states in the United States, on which people, and especially school-children, are asked and encouraged to plant trees in order to counteract the tendency to forest extermination. (See Forestry.) The Nebraska State Board of Agriculture established the first Arbor Day in 1879. To-day it is appointed in almost every state and territory, and usually falls late in April or early in May.

ARBOUX, DAVID LOUIS ISAAC JULES: French chaplain; born at Montauban, Nov. 20, 1847; went to Paris in 1868, and was with Martin Paschon, president of the consistory of the Reformed Church of England in that city. He took active part in the Franco-German War. In 1873 he was appointed and has since remained Protestant chaplain of the prisons on the Seine; and he is a member of the Board of Directors of Prisons in General. Arboux has written various works on prisons, and also on socialistic subjects.

ARCH, JOSEPH: English labor leader; born 1826; leader of the English agricultural laborers' movement (1870–88), and founder of the National Agricultural Laborers' Union (1872), of which he became president. He was the son of a laborer, and worked on the farm from an early age. For some years he used his spare time preaching for the Primitive Methodists, and when the movement began among the agricultural laborers he used his talent in their behalf, soon being recognized as a leader. Four times a candidate for parliamentary honors, he was successful as the nominee of the Liberal Party for northwest Norfolk in 1885, 1892, 1895, and 1900, after a defeat in 1886.

ARGYRIADES, PANAGIOTES: French Socialist; lawyer; born in Kastoria, Macedonia, 1832. He practised law in Paris, where he founded *La Question Sociale* and *L'Almanach de la Question Sociale*. Argyriades, who was a militant propagandist, died in 1901.

ARISTOCRACY: Term which, literally, means government by the best; but in ordinary use "the best" means simply "the highest in rank and in opulence"; so that the word has come to mean a government where the supreme power is exercised by those highest in station, inheritance, blood, or wealth. With the word used in this sense, it is generally claimed that the United States is to-day more of an aristocracy than of a democracy. Dr. Josiah Strong, in "Our Country," wrote, even in 1885:

> Every nation has its aristocracy. In other lands the aristocracy is one of birth; in ours it is one of wealth. It is useless for us to protest that we are democratic, and to plead the leveling character of our institutions. There is among us an aristocracy of recognized power, and that aristocracy is one of wealth. No heraldry offends our republican prejudices. Our ensigns armorial are the trade-marks. Our laws and customs recognize no noble titles; but men can forego the husk of a title who possess the fat ears of power.

Some claim that this power of wealth goes to the ablest, but against this assertion may be quoted the following extract from an article by John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, February, 1879):

> The very idea of distributing justice, or of any proportionality between success and merit or between success and exertion, is in the present state of society so manifestly chimerical as to be relegated to the regions of romance. It is true that the lot of individuals is not wholly independent of their virtue and intelligence; these do really tell in their favor, but far less than many other things in which there is no merit at all. The most powerful of all the determining circumstances is birth. The great majority are what they were born to be. Some are born rich without work, others are born to a position in which they can become rich by work, the great majority are born to hard work and poverty through-

out life, numbers to indigence. Next to birth the chief cause of success in life is accident and opportunity. When a person not born to riches succeeds in acquiring them, his own industry and dexterity have generally contributed to the result; but industry and dexterity would not have sufficed unless there had been also a concurrence of occasions and chances which falls to the lot of only a small number. If persons are helped in their worldly career by their virtues, so are they, and perhaps quite as often, by their vices; by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling speculations, not seldom by downright knavery. Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues; but if one man succeeds by employing energy and talent in something generally useful, another thrives by exercising the same qualities in outgeneraling and ruining a rival. It is as much as any moralist ventures to assert, that, other circumstances being equal, honesty is the best policy, and that with parity of advantages an honest person has better chances than a rogue. . . . The reward, instead of being perfectioned to the labor and abstinence of the individual, is almost in reverse ratio to it; those who receive the least labor and abstain the most.

See also CORRUPTION; DEMOCRACY; LUXURY; WEALTH.

ARISTOTLE: Greek philosopher; born at Stageira 384 B.C.; died in 322. He was a pupil of Plato at Athens, and is said to have been called "the intellect of the school." After Plato's death (347 B.C.) Aristotle left Athens, and in 342 B.C. was invited to Macedonia by Philip, and became the teacher of Alexander. He remained here till Alexander started on his Asiatic expedition (334 B.C.), when he returned to Athens and opened a school called the Lyceum, and (from his practise of walking as he lectured) the "Peripatetic" school. He died at Chalcis in Eubœa, aged sixty-two. His main works are the "Nicomachean Ethics," "Organon" or "Logic," "Rhetoric," "Poetics," "Physics," and "Politics." His knowledge for his times was encyclopedic. His thorough knowledge of facts made him much more concrete and scientific, and as objective as Plato was idealistic and subjective. The following summary of his economic and sociologic positions is abridged from Professor Ingram's "History of Political Economy," p. 16:

Aristotle, like all the Greek thinkers, recognizes but one doctrine of the State, under which ethics, politics proper, and economics take their place as departments, bearing to each other a very close relation, and having, indeed, their lines of demarcation from each other not very distinctly marked. When wealth comes under consideration, it is studied not as an end in itself, but with a view to the higher elements and ultimate aims of the collective life.

The origin of society he traces not to economic necessities, but to natural social impulses in the human constitution. He opposes the suppression of personal freedom and initiative, and the excessive subordination of the individual to the State, and rejects the community of property and wives proposed by Plato for his governing class. The principle of private property he regards as deeply rooted in man, and the evils which are alleged to result from the corresponding social ordinance he thinks ought really to be attributed either to the imperfections of our nature or to the vices of other public institutions. Community of goods must, in his view, tend to neglect of the common interest and to the disturbance of social harmony.

Of the several classes which provide for the different wants of the society, those who are occupied directly with its material needs—the immediate cultivators of the soil, the mechanics and artificers—are excluded from any share in the government of the State, as being without the necessary leisure and cultivation, and apt to be debased by the nature of their occupations. In a celebrated passage he propounds a theory of slavery, in which it is based on the universality of the relation between command and obedience, and on the natural division by which the ruling is marked off from the subject race. He regards the slave as having no independent will, but as an "animated tool" in the hands of his master; and in his subjection to such control, if only it be intelligent, Aristotle holds that the true well-being of the inferior as well as of the superior is to be found. This view, so shocking to our modern sentiment, is of course not personal to Aristotle; it is simply the theoretic presentation of the facts of Greek life, in which the existence of a body of citizens pursuing the higher culture and devoted to the tasks of war and government was founded on the systematic degradation of a wronged and despised class, excluded from all the higher offices of human beings, and sacrificed to the maintenance of a special type of society.

Like the other Greek social philosophers, Aristotle recommends to the care of governments the preservation of a due proportion between the extent of the civic territory and its population, and relies on antenuptial continence, late marriages, and the prevention or destruction of births for the due limitation of the number of citizens, the insufficiency of the latter being dangerous to the independence and its superabundance to the tranquillity and good order of the State.

Aristotle's economic and social ideas are found almost exclusively in his "Politics." The following quotations give some of the salient points:

It is evident that the State is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. The State is, by nature, clearly prior to the individual and to the family, since the whole is of necessity prior to the part. . . . The proof that the State is a creation of nature, and prior to the individual, is that the individual, when isolated, is not self-sufficing; and, therefore, he is like a part in relation to the whole. But he who is unable to live in society, or who has no need, because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or a god. He is no part of the State. A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature, and yet he who first founded the State was the greatest of all benefactors ("Politics," i., 2).

There are many difficulties in the community of women, and the principle on which Socrates rests the necessity of such an institution does not appear to be established by his arguments (ii., 1).

Property should be in a certain sense common, but is as a general rule private; for when every one has a distinct interest, men will not complain of one another, and they will make more progress because every one will be attending to his own business (ii., 5).

The beginning of the reform is not so much to equalize property, but to train the noblest sort of natures not to desire more, and to prevent the lower from getting more; that is to say, they must be kept down but not ill-treated (ii., 7).

ARMSTRONG, SAMUEL CHAPMAN: General, philanthropist, educator; born in Hawaii in 1839; son of an American missionary; educated in Hawaii and at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. In 1862 he joined the army and served through the war, afterward accepting a position in the Freedman's Bureau. He enlisted the American Missionary Association in the cause of negro education, and founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (1868), at Hampton, Va., devoting the remainder of his life to this undertaking. He died in 1893.

ART AND SOCIAL REFORM: Art meant originally skill in fitting. The artist was simply the skilled workman, and not different from the artizan. He was the man who could make good houses to live in, and particularly good houses in which to enshrine the public's ideals, good temples, baths, etc. He was one who could make good furnishings for the houses—good chairs, good vases, good mosaics, good statues and pictures of the gods. Art was thus developed as soon as and to the extent to which the community was lifted above absolute want and the struggle for mere physical existence—i. e., as soon as people had opportunity to think of the quality as well as the quantity of its work. Hence the great art periods of a nation have been either when the nation was rich and prosperous (e. g., the age of Phidias in Athens, The Renaissance in Italy and France, the age of Merry England), or when the people were at least enjoying the fruits of victory or of success in any line (e. g., periods of Gothic art). If, however, a nation becomes wealthy, not by conquest or slow growth, but by producing commodities and selling them, it is evident that the nation will not produce a great art, because it will be compelled to think more of the quantity than the quality of its work; or, if it think of quality, it will think mainly of commodities as

fitted to sell. The rich nations of to-day being commercial nations, we need not be surprized to hear artists complaining of the real dearth of art, altho we have in England and America phenomenal wealth. It is evident, from this consideration alone, how social conditions can affect art. We shall in a moment see how art can affect social conditions. For the moment, however, we must notice another point. If art be the production of commodities worthily expressing a nation's aspirations—public buildings, statues, and pictures of its gods, its heroes, its ideals of beauty and of power—it will follow that it will attain to high development where *hand*-work is largely practised, since this allows the expression of ideals; and conversely it will attain meager development where machine-work prevails, since this does not allow of much expression of ideals. Here, too, remembering that the present age is characterized by machine production, we see a very potent cause for the present dearth of art.

Once again, when a community becomes divided into two classes, one having leisure and wealth and not producing commodities, the other class poor and doing the productive work, a desire for art will spring up amid the leisure class and not in the other. But since the leisure class does not itself produce, the desire will not create art, but a dilettante, artificial, unnatural desire for art; while the producing class, not having leisure, and being compelled to think mainly how to get a bare existence, will not be able to produce art; especially when the nation's production is mainly carried on by machinery. In such a community the artist will come to be considered very different from the artizan. The artist will usually become an affected idler and the artizan an unartistic "hand." It is only too evident that this is the state of affairs to-day. Such are but some of the ways in which social conditions affect art.

Influence of Social Conditions

Let us now see some of the ways in which art affects social conditions. Art we have seen to be the producing of good work. Now, when a community thinks a great deal of producing good work—good houses and furnishings for houses, worthy temples, public buildings, baths, etc.—it follows inevitably that the people do not think so much of merely producing commodities to sell. As a people primarily commercial cannot be primarily artistic, so a people primarily artistic cannot be primarily commercial. It raises a different ideal. The ideal of good work operates in various ways. It produces a demand for leisure in which to do the work. An artistic nation will never live in a hurry. It will seek freedom in which to work. It will not endure great factories and machine-made work. It is a fact that almost all the great artists and poets and idealists to-day are among the bitterest foes of the commercialism and mammonism of the present time, and are, for the same reason, among the most earnest workers for social reform. A high and uncommercial social development develops art, and the art demands and calls for social reform, thus producing action and reaction. Thus, great artists like William Morris and critics like John Ruskin are never weary of condemning the shoddy work and commercialism and baseness and ugliness which characterize so much of modern life. Nor are they ever weary of comparing it, to the damage of the present, with the beautiful work of ages when commerce was not a god, and when machines had not crowded people into slums, nor prevented expression entering into the work of the producer. A somewhat smaller number of artists, poets, and idealists, and especially the greatest among them, are equally ready to work not for "the good old times," but to bring in the better new times, when machines shall not be abandoned, but when brotherhood shall rule in society, making all classes workers, but giving to all classes immunity from the mere struggle for bare existence. They long for the day when all men shall have time to think of producing good work, using machinery indeed, but using it mainly in producing materials to be worked upon and made beautiful by the free hand expressive of the free creative soul.

Particularly have William Morris and Walter Crane, two English artists of genius, thought deeply and written suggestively on the relation of art to social reform. Morris's life was revolutionized by his sense of the importance of this relation. Until the age of fifty he lived, as many artists live, in aristocratic seclusion, absorbed in poetry and the decorative arts. In his "Earthly Paradise" he confest that he was but "the idle singer of an empty day." And then, at an age when most men would consider their work done, he was impelled to study social problems, and became an ardent Socialist, writing Socialist articles, tracts, and poems, lecturing in the open air in London's parks, and serving on Socialist committees. In a lecture on "Art and Socialism," he has given us, in these pregnant words, his social-artistic creed:

Morris and Crane

> I put forward a claim on behalf of labor enslaved by commerce, which I know no thinking man can deny is reasonable, but which if acted on would defeat commerce; that is, would put association in the stead of individualist anarchy.
>
> I have looked at this claim by the light of history and my own conscience, and it seems to me so looked at to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization.
>
> This then is the claim:
>
> *It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither overwearisome nor overanxious.*
>
> Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet I say if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward *could* not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is revolution.

When Morris died, his mantle fell on Walter Crane more than upon any other single man. Crane, too, is an active Socialist. Some of his best cartoons have been made for the Socialist press, and he is a familiar figure at London Socialist gatherings. In an essay in his book, "The Claims of Decorative Art" (1892), he writes as follows on "The Prospects of Art Under Socialism":

> Socialism presents a new ideal to humanity. It is a religion and a moral code, as well as an economic system. Its true realization would mean unity of public sentiment and the sympathy of a common humanity freed from the domination of class and the grinding conditions of commercial competition. Such an atmosphere could not but be favorable to art in the highest degree.
>
> Not only would the common property in the beauty of nature not be allowed to be disfigured for the purposes of private gain, but with leisure and security of living it would not be a question, as it is now so often, with the artist or craftsman, hindered, in pursuing his higher aims, and in seeking perfection in his craft, by the cramping consideration that it will not pay.
>
> And what is true of art work is, after all, true of all work.

A profit-grinding system must of necessity be against the best in all ways.

Greater simplicity and dignity of life, too, which would naturally result from a juster distribution of wealth, would have its effect on both art and architecture, and would find expression in simpler and sincerer forms of construction and ornament.

If we imagine a truly socialized community—a state of equal condition (not necessarily of mental capacity or other quality) wherein every able-bodied member served the community according to his capacity, it might necessitate a portion of time (determined by the numbers of the community and their necessities) being spent in some form of manual labor. This in itself would be an advantage and physical benefit to each individual; nor so long as enough leisure was secured would mental capacity be likely to suffer, in its true sense, or the art instinct or capacity either—on the contrary. There is nothing, after all, like close intimacy with nature and fact to strengthen the character all round, and clear the mental vision of morbid states; and as for art, like the wrestler, it always gains new vigor every time it touches the ground—the ground of common nature and common life. . . .

The type of artist—supposing artists existed as a class or order in a socialistic community—most likely to be fostered would, I think, be probably such as that represented by the master craftsmen of the Middle Ages, such as Albert Dürer or Holbein, for instance—men capable of design in all kinds of materials, who could design a building, make the pattern of a jewel or a gown, draw a title-page or paint a portrait. What may be called, in short, the all-round artist would be likely to be more in demand than the specialist more or less fostered under present conditions.

The essence of art is harmony and unity. Before we can hope to get harmonious art and thought, therefore, we must realize harmony and unity in life.

William Morris and Walter Crane are, however, but the two most prominent representatives of artistic tendencies that are worldwide. Before their time, and without their definite Socialist tendencies, Jean François Millet had stirred the heart of all mankind with his delineations of French peasants—dull victims of age-long oppression. And since Morris and Crane began their work, Constantin Meunier, the Belgian sculptor, has stamped on the imagination of his age the somber and tragic figures of mine- and factory-workers. Two other of the great English artists of the past generation, George Frederick Watts and Sir Edward Burne-Jones, felt at least something of the social tragedy of our time, and prefigured it in their art. All over the Continent of Europe, younger artists are now working along socialistic lines. The most talented, perhaps, of these younger men is E. M. Lilien, of Berlin, a Jewish black-and-white artist, who has illustrated Rosenfeld's "Songs of the Ghetto" with haunting power, simplicity, and pathos. The *Wahre Jacob* of Stuttgart, and the socialistic papers of Italy and France often bear striking witness to the influence of humanist ideals on the new generation of artists.

Meunier, Watts, Burne-Jones, Lilien

The impress of the social spirit on the broader art, which includes not merely pictures, but also poetry, music, the drama, and literature, is a challenging portent in our age. Shelley's ethereal song was colored by a spirit of intense social revolt. Richard Wagner, the greatest figure in modern music, was in his earlier life a rebel and a revolutionist, and has written voluminously of his subversive social ideals. Henrik Ibsen, the greatest figure in the modern drama, remained throughout his life an unsparing critic of modern society. Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables," probably the greatest novel of the nineteenth century, is a poignant revelation of that nether world which is not far from us all. Sudermann and Hauptmann, the leading German dramatists of to-day, Maeterlinck, the Belgian poet and playwright, G. Bernard Shaw, the English satirical dramatist, Tolstoy, the Russian novelist, and Maxim Gorky, this latest and menacing figure who comes to us "out of the depths" —are all preoccupied with social problems.

Literature, Poetry, Drama

Here in America the ideal of a new society has fired the souls of our most important writers. Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" has become the Scripture of the democratic movement in its largest sense. The dean of American novelists, William Dean Howells, has known the lure of the social ideal, and at one time it looked as if he, like his friend Edward Bellamy, might abandon literature for socialism. Edwin Markham leapt into fame with a poem that voiced the bitter cry of "The Man with the Hoe." Jack London, the most brilliant of our younger men of letters, is a militant Socialist: and Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle," a Socialist novel dealing with the horrors of the Chicago slaughterhouses, has done for wage slavery something of what Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did for chattel slavery.

It is not difficult to understand why the social problems of our day grip the heart of the artist. In the deepest sense, the social instinct and the artistic instinct are one. The instinct that drives men on to the achievement and realization of perfect social forms is the same as that which impels the artist to express himself in poems, statues, and paintings. The true reformer is a social artist molding the rough materials out of which shall come a new and radiant world. In the degree that he fulfils his mission, he becomes truly godlike, creating and shaping the universe anew.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

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ARTHUR, PETER M.: Late head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in the United States; born in Scotland, 1836; came to America when ten years old. He was employed in an engine-house in various capacities, until at length he became an engineer. Early interested in the organization of his craft, he was in 1874 elected to its highest office, being reelected annually until his death. Under him the Brotherhood became one of the most powerful altho most conservative trade-unions in the country, numbering some 30,000 men. He was much criticized by many in the labor movement for not being more willing to combine with other labor organizations. Arthur regarded himself as the head of a business corporation formed to subserve the interests of its members; and he felt that, however he or any one else might personally look upon any matter, his plain duty was to serve only those who had placed him at the head of their organization. He died in 1903.

ASSOCIATED CHARITIES: See CHARITY ORGANIZATION.

ASYLUMS: See DEAF AND BLIND ASYLUMS.

ATELIERS NATIONAUX: National workshops; a term used in France for the workshops established by the Provisional Government of France in the Revolution of 1848, to give work to the unemployed.

The Provisional Government had scarcely been established (in February, 1848), when a committee of Socialists demanded of it the recognition of the right to work. Louis Blanc and one or two others were the only real Socialists in the government, and the demand of the men was only reluctantly conceded, for political reasons. Louis Blanc says distinctly that the government nominally yielded, but appointed a committee secretly instructed to make the experiment fail, and the most cursory examination of the evidence shows that it is impossible to judge correctly of the *ateliers nationaux* on the supposition that they were merely a *bona fide* effort to carry out the decree establishing the "right to work."

Louis Blanc advocated the formation of a ministry of labor, but this was negatived. In place of it, as a compromise, a government labor commission, under the presidency of Louis Blanc, was established, with power of inquiry and consultation only. Meanwhile, the carrying out of the decree by the establishment of national workshops was confided not to this commission but to the Minister of Public Works, M. Marie. This was followed the next day by a decree specifying various public works to be started. Besides the works organized by the Minister of Public Works, the Minister of War opened works in the Champs de Mars. All went well while the number of the unemployed was less than 6,000, but as soon as that number was exceeded the workmen of each *arrondissement*, after having visited all the open works in succession without result, returned to their *maire's* offices tired, starving, and discontented. Louis Blanc, resigned and publicly denounced the scheme as not being conducted in good faith. Each *maire's* office was authorized to pay every unemployed workman 1.50 francs per day on production of a ticket showing that there was no vacancy for him in the national works. The fixed sum of two francs was paid to any workman engaged on the public excavation works, without regard to his age, the work done, or his calling. The workman, therefore, made the following simple calculation, "The state gives me thirty sous for doing nothing; it pays me forty sous when I work, so I need only work to the extent of ten sous."

Louis Blanc Denounces the Scheme

As the numbers claiming work or relief rapidly increased, both the bureaus and the *maires'* offices became the centers of tumultuous crowds. Therefore, Émile Thomas, a chemist connected with the *École Centrale*, was commissioned by M. Marie to reorganize the works on a complicated and absurd semimilitary plan. When Émile Thomas took the work in hand, the number of unemployed in Paris was estimated at from 13,000 to 14,000, in addition to 4,000 or 5,000 already engaged on public works. This number continued steadily to increase day by day, without, however, any corresponding expansion of the public works. After a meeting of the chief engineers, who were unable to suggest means of employing usefully more than a few hundred of the 14,000 unemployed men, it was resolved to undertake a series of works in the plain of Monceaux, which, if serving no other object, would at least have the advantage of keeping the crowd employed. Already the whole scheme was costing 20,000 fr. a day, and measures were contemplated for reducing and finally extinguishing the pay to the idle.

Political feeling between the Moderates and the Extremists was already running high in view of the elections which were fixt for April. The strength of the former centered in the Hôtel de Ville, that of the Socialists in the Luxembourg. The national works depended politically on the Hôtel de Ville. From this time it becomes progressively more difficult to treat the works as a purely economic experiment. That the administration of the works was on an altogether unnecessary scale is not denied even by the director, who, however, declared that he was continually under the necessity of finding places for crowds of applicants sent to him with recommendations which he could not resist. Thus a large number of actors, painters, commercial clerks, and others, thrown out of work by the crisis, having been refused tickets for admission to the works as not wearing the workman's blouse, were employed by the director as pay agents.

The National Assembly met on May 4th. Louis Blanc renewed his motion for a minister of labor, which was rejected On the 15th the Assembly was invaded by the mob, and from that time the antisocialist tendency of the government became more marked. The new government immediately determined to reduce and suppress the national works, which were draining the treasury and demoralizing the people, and which were suspected of being centers of intrigue on the part of Louis Bonaparte. The result was the bloody insurrection of June 23d and following days, which was only suppress after three days of street fighting. Soon after Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic. The gigantic schemes subsequently carried out under the Second Empire for the rebuilding of large parts of Paris served for many years to provide employment for Paris workmen, and while they lasted formed an effective substitute for the ill-fated national works.

REFERENCES: *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, by Émile Thomas (1848); *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, by Louis Blanc; *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, by Lamartine; *Le Placement des Employés* (*Office du Travail*), 1892.

ATHENS, SOCIAL POLITY OF CLASSIC: Greek social thought centered around the state, and the state usually meant the municipality, or the city (hence, *political economy*, the economy of the city). Of this policy Athens under Pericles was the most brilliant example. In the first place, it was, *with the exception of its slave basis*—of which we shall speak later—to a large extent democratic. Even during the kingly or traditional period, there seems to have been recognition of the popular power in the brotherhoods (*φρατρίαι*) and clans (*γενη*), believed to rest, and probably actually resting, on consanguinity. This largely disappeared under the Eupatrids, but was more than revived by Solon. He established the *εκκλησία*, or assemblies of the whole people, to elect the archons and councilors; to judge the former at the annual expiration of their office; and to accept or reject all the laws and decrees proposed by the council. (See REFERENDUM.) Under Clisthenes all free inhabitants of Attica were admitted to citizenship. This, however, is the least interesting of Athens' sociological features.

Mr. W. D. P. Bliss, in *The Outlook* (Nov. 11, 1905), has argued that socialism was virtually tried in Athens, under Pericles. This was the exact period of Athens' greatest glory and of the production of individualities so great that Francis Galton, of the highest authority in anthropological science, says: "A population of 90,000 produced two men, Socrates and Phidias, whom the whole population of Europe has never equaled, and fourteen men of an ability of which the Anglo-Saxon race has only produced in 2,000 years five equals." He asserts that the average ability of the Athenian race was about as much above that of the English race as that race is above the African negro. J. A. Symonds favorably quotes this, and says that the population of classic Athens, taken as a whole, was perhaps as superior to ours as our race is to that of the Australian savage. This Mr. Bliss considers mainly due to Athens' socialism, of which he says, in substance:

It practically asked from each citizen according to his ability, and gave to each according to his need. This was accomplished in the main by two institutions: the so-called "liturgies," securing from the rich gratification for the less fortunate, and above all by the "dicasticon," or daily money payment for public service, given to practically any citizen who wished it, and in quantity sufficient to enable him to live upon it in respectability and ordinary comfort. It was the latter institution which above all made Athens socialistic. It was introduced by Pericles, as we may clearly learn, among other sources, from Aristotle ("Politics," ii., 12) and Plato ("Gorgias," 575). We will consider the latter first.

Socialism

The dicasticon was the daily money payment, first of one obol and later of three, to any Athenian citizen who did duty as a *dicast* or juror in the multitudinous courts of Athens. One obol is three cents—seemingly a small affair, and yet, measured by Athenian prices, sufficient to maintain life in

respectability and comfort, and paid sufficiently frequently to form, Mahaffy tells us ("Old Greek Life," p. 63), "an income on which most of the poorer citizens lived." Professor Boeckh, in his "Public Economy of Athens," estimates that prices in Athens, under Pericles, were at least ten times lower than in modern times. He who received three obols a day therefore received the equivalent of ninety cents to-day. He probably received vastly more compared with modern city prices. It has been calculated that 6,000 persons received the dicasticon each day, supporting perhaps 30,000 persons (including wives and children), or about one third of the free population. And this payment was only the principal one of several similar payments. It was for service in the courts; but for attendance at the *ecclesia*, or popular assembly, to which also any Athenian citizen could go, there was another payment, an *ecclesiasticon*, varying at different times from one to nine obols. Moreover, the city saw to it that her poorest citizen could enjoy the drama and the religious festivities, both of which were considered municipal functions which it was important that every citizen should attend. Therefore the poorest citizens were paid a *theoricon* of two obols for the drama, besides various payments for the different religious festivities. It must be remembered, too, that the greatest Athenians lived in the simplest way. Therefore, those who were paid their three obols a day could not only live, but live as did the best. And all this was the result of its socialistic government. The state was omnipresent. It conducted and maintained the religious rites of the city, the Panathenaic and other festivals. It built and cared for the temples, baths, gymnasia, stoa, theaters, and market-places. It cared for the arts. The Parthenon and the Acropolis were the creation of state artists. The state entered into trade. It owned and operated mines in Thrace and Attica. The silver Laurium mines constituted the first Attic treasury. The revenues of the state were mainly derived, not from citizen-paid taxes, but from woods, pastures, lands, houses, and mines, all owned and operated by the state. The state largely watched over and guided the colonial system, which was almost the ruling feature of Athenian financial life. The state built the wharves and warehouses of the Peiræus; it controlled the weights and measures; it examined balances and minted coin. It entered into distribution, providing food at cheap price in time of want; and it regulated the price of corn.

The result of all this was the high development of the individual. The Athenian was delivered from the necessity to "hustle" for a livelihood. Any Athenian who wished it was allowed to devote his life to money-making. Some did, and accumulated wealth. But such were few, and those few were compelled to spend their money for the public good. The vast number of Athenians preferred, and were encouraged to prefer, higher things. Commerce and trade were generally left to slaves. Athens' "Four Hundred" were devotees of art and philosophy. The state believed in competition, but in the higher life, not in the market. The *liturgies* of the wealthy were used to institute prize games or art contests. Athens' great dramas were prize plays. In economics she practised socialism, and so freed men for the higher life.

Athens fell because she was not moral. Her socialism, we have said, was selfish. Her public men were often corrupt; her family life was impure. Greece, too, was not socialistic. She was at best but a loose federation of competing republics. She fell before a united Macedon, even as Macedon fell before the larger unity of the Roman Empire. Her slavery, too, largely undermined her. The number of these slaves cannot be determined with any certainty. They were scarcely regarded as men, but as the tools or machinery of the day. Yet they had rights. Professor Ingram, writing in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," in the article on "Slavery," says:

Slavery

The condition of slaves at Athens was not in general a wretched one. Demosthenes ("In Mid.," p. 530) says that, if the barbarians from whom the slaves were bought were informed of the mild treatment they received, they would entertain a great esteem for the Athenians. Plautus in more than one place thinks it necessary to explain to the spectators of his plays that slaves at Athens enjoyed such privileges, and even license, as must be surprizing to a Roman audience. The slave was introduced with certain customary rites into his position in the family; he was in practise, tho not by law, permitted to accumulate a private fund of his own; his marriage was also recognized by custom; tho in general excluded from sacred ceremonies and public sacrifices, slaves were admissible to religious associations of a private kind; there were some popular festivals in which they were allowed to participate; they had even special ones for themselves both at Athens and in other Greek centers. Their remains were deposited in the family tomb of their master, who sometimes erected monuments in testimony of his affection and regret.

Thus Athens may be looked at from the standpoint of social science in at least two opposite ways. Looking at its free population, it may be considered a socialistic city, and the Socialists may use it as an illustration of great individualities produced, not by competition, but by socialism. Looking at its large slave population and the despite put upon manual labor, Athens may be considered as an oligarchy, intellectual, brilliant, but resting on injustice and immorality.

ATKINSON, EDWARD: American economist; born in Brookline, Mass., 1827; educated principally at private schools. His reputation was made by the numerous pamphlets and papers which he contributed to current literature on economic topics. The subjects treated embrace such general topics as banking, competition, cotton, free trade, mechanical arts, and protection. The most important of his addresses are "Banking," delivered at Saratoga in 1880 before the American Bankers' Association; "Insufficiency of Economic Legislation," delivered before the American Social Science Association; "What Makes the Rate of Wages?" before the British Association for the Advancement of Science; address to the chiefs of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, at their convention in Boston in 1885; vice-presidential address on "The Application of Science to the Production and Consumption of Food," before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1885. Among his pamphlets are the following: "Labor and Capital, Allies, not Enemies" (New York, 1880); "The Railway and the Farmer" (ib., 1881); "The Distribution of Products" (ib. 1885).

In 1886 Atkinson began the preparation of a series of monographs on economic questions, for periodical publication. Through his efforts was established the Boston Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, an association consisting of a number of manufacturers who, for their mutual protection, adopted rules and regulations for the economical and judicious management of their plants. Atkinson invented an improved cooking stove called the "Aladdin cooker." He died December, 1905.

AUER, IGNAZ: German Social Democrat, and member of the Reichstag; born in Dommelstadt, 1846; educated in the public schools; a saddlemaker by profession. From 1874 to 1877 he was secretary of the Social Democratic Party in Hamburg, and from 1877–78 editor of the *Berliner Freie Presse*, and later of the *Hamburger Gerichtszeitung*. In 1877 he was elected a member of the Reichstag for Auerbach, and was reelected in 1880, 1884, and 1890. *Address*: Kreuzbergstrasse, 30, Berlin, S. W., Germany.

AUSTIN, JOHN: English writer on jurisprudence; born at Creeting Mill, Suffolk, England, 1790. He entered the army at the age of sixteen, but after five years returned to London, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1818. He was an intimate friend of Jeremy Bentham and of James and John Stuart Mill, and developed an academic rather than a professional career. In 1826 he was appointed professor of jurisprudence in the University of London but had to resign his chair four years later for lack of students who would pay class fees. Austin was a member of the Criminal Law Commission and of a Maltese Commission, but devoted himself mainly to his

writings, best known for their clear tho abstract development of the doctrine of sovereignty. His "Province of Jurisprudence Determined" was published in 1832, while an additional volume, under the title "Lectures on Jurisprudence," was published by his widow (née Sarah Taylor), in 1866. He died in Surrey, England, 1859.

AUSTRALIA: The Australasian colonies comprize the continent of Australia, the adjacent island of Tasmania, and the islands of New Zealand. On Jan. 1, 1901, the five mainland states and Tasmania became the commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand retaining its position as a separate colony.

I.—Statistics

AREA AND POPULATION

STATE	Area in acres	Area in sq. m.	Population, 1903
New South Wales	198,848,000	310,700	1,417,870
Victoria	56,245,760	87,884	1,205,513
Queensland	427,838,080	668,497	523,266
South Australia	578,361,600	903,690	389,727
Western Australia	624,588,800	75,920	254,309
Tasmania	16,778,000	926,215	174,233
Commonwealth of Australia	1,902,660,240	2,972,906	3,964,918
New Zealand	66,861,440	104,471	894,206
Australasia	1,969,521,680	3,077,377	4,859,124

Australasia, including the native races, had in 1903 a density of 1.61 persons per square mile—a rate far below that of any other civilized country. From the earliest years of settlement there was a steady, if not powerful, stream of immigration; but in 1851, memorable for the finding of gold, the current was swollen by many thousands. Immigration was long aided by the State. Recently, however, there has been much emigration, and in 1902–3 emigration exceeded immigration.

The progress of the chief cities has been remarkable, and has no parallel among the cities of the Old World, and rarely in America. The population of the chief cities in 1903 was: Sydney, New South Wales, 511,030; Melbourne, Victoria, 501,460; Adelaide, South Australia, 168,066; Brisbane, Queensland, 124,463; Wellington, New Zealand, 53,082; Perth, West Australia, 46,400; Hobart, Tasmania, 34,682. The cities are well laid out, often beautiful, and provided with museums, art galleries, libraries, etc. All the capitals are liberally supplied with parks and recreation-grounds. In Sydney and suburbs there are parks, squares, and public gardens comprizing an area of 4,598 acres, including 745 acres which form the Centennial Park.

Fully 95 per cent of the people are of British origin. In 1901, the aborigines numbered 40,880 full-blooded and 7,368 half-castes.

Vital Statistics

Of the total male population, 28.65 per cent are married; and of the female, 31.71. The birth-rate in 1903 was 25.16. It has been declining for some years, and in 1903 a royal commission investigated the causes of this and of the mortality of infants. It was found that there had been a serious diminution of fecundity since 1889, due chiefly to deliberate prevention of conception and the destruction of fetal life, and to the consequent pathological causes. Illegitimate births are rather numerous, the total number in the whole of Australasia during 1903 being 6,912, equal to 5.75 per cent of the total births.

The death-rate is 12.07, much below that of any of the European States, and is steadily declining. Every year sees an advance in the sanitary condition of the people in the large centers of population, and to this cause may be ascribed the greater part of the improvement. As to suicides, the experience of Australasia agrees with that of other countries, namely, that the tendency to self-destruction is increasing.

In 1903 the marriage rate was 6.63 per thousand. The following table shows the number of decrees of dissolution of marriage and judicial separation granted in each state in quinquennial periods since 1871, so far as it has been possible to procure the information. Divorce was legalized in New South Wales in 1873, and the figures of that state for 1871–75 only cover the two years 1874 and 1875.

STATE	1871–75		1881–85		1891–95		1896–1902	
	Divorces	Judicial Separations	Divorces	Judicial Separations	Divorces	Judicial Separations	Divorces	Judicial Separations
New South Wales	21	...	116	6	1,087	55	1,675	110
Victoria	33	6	74	8	441	10	700	4
Queensland	4	1	5	2	20	3	62	5
South Australia	22	3	31	10	30	2	42	3
Western Australia	...	...	5	...	9	...	47	1
Tasmania	9	...	9	...	21	2	34	...
New Zealand	*..	*..	*..	*..	101	14	426	25
Australasia	89	10	240	26	1,715	86	2,986	148

During the five years ended 1895 the marriage rate fell considerably in Australasia. It was lower in every state than during the preceding quinquennial period, and lower everywhere than during the five years 1881–85; but during the last five years the rate rose again in every state except South Australia.

In all the Australasian provinces the State system of education is secular. Compulsory clauses find a place in the acts of the various states; but the enforcement of these is not everywhere equally strict. In Victoria, for example, compulsory attendance at school has been rigorously insisted upon, while in Queensland the principle of compulsion has been allowed to remain almost in abeyance, and in the other states it has been enforced with varying degrees of strictness. In Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand, Western Australia, and South Australia, the primary education provided by the State is entirely free of charge to the parents; in New South Wales and Tasmania small fees are charged, but these are not enforced where the parents can reasonably plead poverty. In 1903 there were in New South Wales 2,862 public schools with 243,516 children; and 841 private schools with 58,258 pupils; in Victoria, 1,988 public schools with 251,655 pupils; and 798 private schools with 45,658 pupils; in South Australia, 276 public schools with 67,697 pupils, and 205 private schools with 10,269 pupils; in Queensland, 1,023 public schools with 69,759 pupils, and 171 private schools, with an average daily attendance of 12,494. During the year 1903 the cost of administration and maintenance

Education

* Information not available.

of the State schools of Australasia was £2,530,618, while the revenue from fees, rents, sales of books, etc., amounted to £125,399, leaving a net cost to the State of £2,405,219, excluding a sum of £287,458 expended on school premises.

Great progress has been made in education. The following table affords a comparison of the number of literates and illiterates in every 10,000 of the population:

Degree of Education	Population over 5 years of age				
	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Read and write	7,001	7,038	8,270	8,804	9,099
Read only	1,380	1,186	689	303	229
Cannot read	1,619	1,776	1,041	803	672
Total	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000

University education is provided at five universities, as seen in the following table:

University	Students attending lectures		
	Matriculated	Not matriculated	Total
Sydney	724	53	777
Melbourne	509	119	628
Adelaide	343	299	642
New Zealand	646	216	862
Tasmania	51	11	62
Total	2,273	698	2,971

Technical instruction is given in nearly all the capital cities of Australasia, as well as in many other parts of the country, and the question of extending the scope of the teaching in the various subjects is at present occupying the attention of the authorities in several of the states.

In the eyes of the State all religions are equal in Australasia, and State aid to the denominations has now been abolished in all the provinces of the group. South Australia, in 1851, was the first state to withdraw such aid, after it had been in force only three years.

Considerable outdoor relief is given in Australasia. The sum of indoor and outdoor relief, public and private, in 1903, in the seven colonies was £1,382,790. There are also many private charities, most of them being aided by the State. There were, 1902, 3,779 friendly societies, with 343,861 members. There are many ecclesiastical charities of the different denominations. In 1902 14,577 persons were cared for in destitute asylums. There were 349 hospitals in 1903.

One point in Australia is of special interest. It is said that "Australia is a continent without an orphanage, a country without an orphan. Each waif is taken to a receiving-house, where it is cared for until a country home is found. The local volunteer societies canvas their neighborhoods and send to the Children's Committee of the Destitute Board the names and circumstances of such families as they have found where children may be placed. The Children's Committee selects that home which it judges is best adapted to the development and care of the child in question. When of school age the child must be in school. The local volunteer committee looks after its care and culture. When the child is fourteen years old he begins to work. His earnings are placed in the postal savings-bank, and at seventeen or eighteen he goes into the world an independent man. The State, at an expense of less than $70 a year, has raised a man or woman to contribute to its wealth, and prevented the manufacture of a criminal, and the expense of courts, prisons, and reformatories."

The number of insane persons in Australasia under official cognizance in the various government hospitals for the treatment of the insane, at the end of 1902 was 15,673, equal to 3.36 per 1,000 of the population, or corresponding to one insane person in about every 300. This rate is below that prevailing in England, where one person in every 293 is officially known to be insane.

In Australasia 65.25 per cent of the male population and 19.88 per cent of the female are breadwinners. The number engaged in each class of occupation in 1901 was as given in table at bottom of page.

Thus 564,744 persons are engaged in the primary productive industries, agricultural, pastoral, and mining.

Gold-mining has played the most important part in Australian industry, having largely drawn her populations. Her gold product, too, doubled from 1890 to 1900, and almost equaled that of the United States and the Transvaal, her only rivals. In 1903 the exported gold was valued at £17,124,233. The gold produced in 1899 was £14,459,000. Other metals, however, are growing relatively important, the total mineral produced in 1899 being £22,201,000.

Industry

In wool-raising Australia leads the world, exporting in 1903 a value of £13,997,233. The wool crop has recently temporarily decreased, owing to drought, but scarcity has kept up its value.

Cattle-raising is also important, especially in Queensland, there being 9,838,000 cattle in 1899.

Manufacturing has, as yet, been comparatively little developed. High wages and a high protective tariff are the main features.

Agriculture is increasing, and Australia is becoming an important factor in the world's wheat product. (See Agriculture.)

The discovery of gold in 1851 divides the industrial history of Australia into two periods. Prior to 1851 Australia appeared to be destined for a purely pastoral country, but the discovery of gold effected a revolution in all industrial relations. The supply of labor in many occupations speedily became exhausted, and most branches of industry and all public works were at a standstill. The fever brought not only young, stalwart, enterprising men, but also multitudes whose chief idea was that wealth could be acquired almost without exertion. Unable to endure the hardships of the

	Professional	Domestic	Commercial	Transport	Industrial	Agricultural	Pastoral	Mining
Males	84,451	56,877	222,546	139,995	435,507	317,115	81,617	136,068
Females	50,195	178,563	40,042	3,914	91,880	26,792	3,115	37
Persons	134,646	235,440	262,588	143,909	527,387	343,907	84,732	136,105

digger's lot, the latter mostly drifted back to the chief towns; and there was speedily presented the spectacle of thousands of unemployed clamoring for government work, while the more stalwart laborers were earning extraordinary wages in the gold-fields. At the height of the gold discovery the earnings of miners in some cases were prodigious. Making allowance for illicit digging, in the first half of 1852, the average wage of all miners could hardly have been less than thirty shillings per day. From 1872 to 1893, however, the production of gold fell away, and gradually other industries were developed. The years 1892–95 were years of great disturbance, centering round the crisis of 1893. Since then conditions have improved and wages risen.

Wages

The movement in wages from 1896 to 1901 was distinctly upward. Carpenters, for example, were in 1896 paid 8*s.* per day in Sydney, while in 1900 their wages were 9*s.* 6*d.*, in 1901, 10*s.*, and in 1902, 9*s.* 6*d.* Tho wages in Melbourne at these periods were lower than in Sydney, their upward movement has been even greater, for in 1896 carpenters' wages in Melbourne ranged between 6*s.* and 7*s.* per day, the greater number being employed at the lower figures, while in 1900 the accepted rate was 8*s.* 3*d.*, in 1901, 10*s.*, and in 1902, 9*s.* As regards other trades connected with building, there has also been a marked improvement, and the rates of 1903 approach very closely those paid in 1891—that is to say, before the changes accompanying the financial crisis began to be felt. The following are the wages paid in 1903 in certain manufacturing industries:

Industry	Average weekly wages (£. s. d.)			
	New South Wales	Victoria	Queensland (Brisbane)	New Zealand
Males				
Cooperage	2 5 0	2 4 6	2 0 4	1 10 7
Sawmills	1 15 7	2 3 0	1 13 3	1 9 0
Wood-turning	1 16 11	.....	1 14 8	1 9 5
Agricultural implements	1 7 10	.....	.....	1 15 6
Brass and copper	1 9 8	1 9 8	1 9 4	1 12 0
Ironworks and foundries	1 18 3	1 15 7	.....	
Engineering	1 14 9	.....	1 16 0	1 13 0
Stoves and ovens	1 12 3	1 12 8	0 17 8	1 13 9
Tinsmithing, sheet ironworks	1 6 2	1 7 7	1 3 7	1 0
Tobacco, cigars	1 9 7	1 14 0	1 12 9	.....
Boots and shoes	1 12 9	1 15 1	1 7 6	1 13 4
Woolens	1 3 7	1 3 6	... ...	1 15 9
Females				
Confectionery	0 9 3	0 13 4	0 7 4	0 8 2
Jam and fruit canning	0 12 3	0 13 10	0 10 3	0 8 3
Tobacco, cigars, etc	0 16 6	1 1 1	0 15 8	.....
Woolen mills	0 12 11	0 17 8	.....	0 16 11
Boots and shoes	0 12 3	0 14 0	0 12 10	0 13 3
Clothing (tailoring)	1 1 8	.....	0 13 10	0 15 11
Dressmaking and millinery	0 10 5	0 11 9	0 10 0	0 10 3
Printing and bookbinding	0 11 0	0 13 2	0 11 6	0 12 7

These figures must be accepted with a certain degree of caution. In each state a considerable number of juvenile workers is employed, but only in Victoria is their actual strength ascertained, and as the average weekly wage paid in any establishment would depend to a large extent on the proportion of juvenile labor employed, a fair comparison is impossible while that information is lacking.

Considering the comparatively high rate of wages which prevails, food of all kinds is fairly cheap in Australasia, and articles of diet which in other countries are almost within the category of luxuries are largely used even by the poorer classes. The quantity of meat used by the Australasian people is the most remarkable feature of their diet. The consumption per inhabitant in Germany is 64 pounds, while in Australia it is nearly four times that quantity. In the United States, a meat-exporting country, the consumption is about two thirds of that of Australasia.

The expenditure of Australia coming under the designation "cost of living" amounted in 1903 to £42 19*s.* 1*d.* per head, made up of the following items:

Division of Expenditure	Total expenditure	Per inhabitant
		£ s. d.
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	£65,499,000	16 14 5
Fermented and spirituous liquors	14,217,000	3 12 7
Tobacco	3,365,000	0 17 2
Clothing and drapery	17,868,000	4 11 3
Furniture	2,075,000	0 10 7
Rent or value of dwellings	19,574,000	5 0 0
Locomotion	7,156 000	1 16 6
Fuel and light	5,416,000	1 7 8
Personal attendance, and lodging	7,032,000	1 15 11
Medical attendance and nursing	4,652,000	1 3 9
Religion, charities, education	3,075,000	0 15 8
Art and amusement	4,831,000	1 4 8
Books, newspapers, etc	1,804,000	0 9 3
Postage and telegrams	1,098,000	0 5 7
Direct taxes not falling on trade	1,706,000	0 8 9
Household expenses not included	5,447,000	1 7 10
Miscellaneous expenses	3,574,000	0 18 3
Total	£168,389,000	42 19 1

Tho Australasia has but the population of a province of some of the great European powers, in the wealth and earnings of its people it stands before most of the secondary states, and as regards wealth and income per head of population it compares favorably with any country. The following table shows the value of private property for the whole of Australasia, and the increase thereof at intervals of twenty-five, and in one instance fifteen, years:

Year	Value of Private Property
1788	Country first colonized
1813	£1,000,000
1838	26,000,000
1863	181,000,000
1888	1, 15,000,000
1903	1,204,042,000

For all Australasia, the value of land in private hands is £461,255,000.

The value of land and improvements together amounts to £836,770,000, or 69.5 per cent of the total value of property. The classification of the elements is as follows:

Classification	Commonwealth States	New Zealand
Land	£373,679,000	£ 87,576,000
Houses and improvements	310,265,000	65,250,000
Live stock	96,915,000	28,394,000
Household goods	30,899,000	5,661,000
Personal effects	12,464,000	2,498,000
Machinery, excluding mining	33,495,000	6,725,000
Shipping	6,359,000	1,944,000
Mining properties and plant	32,199,000	3,911,000
Merchandise on hand	59,640,000	14,015,000
Coin and bullion	26,064,000	5,189,000
Total	£981,979,000	£222,063,000

From 1880–84, for the Commonwealth the percentage of people possest of property at the time of death was 11.1. From 1890–94 it was 14.1, and from 1895–1900 it was 17.23. These figures show a distribution of property not to be paralleled in any other part of the world, but are not in sufficient detail to enable the question of distribution to be adequately discust. During the year 1903 the number of adults in the state was 735,589, and of these 190,617 were possessors of property, and 544,972 were without property. As regards the distribution among the 190,617 property owners, the following table throws much interesting light:

Categories	Number of persons with property	Proportion of total adults in each category per 10,000	Total value of property	Percentage of property belonging to persons in each category
£50,000 and over...	987	13	£130,521,100	35.4
25,000 to £50,000.	1,099	15	38,261,700	10.4
12,500 to 25,000.	2,397	33	41,125,900	11.2
5,000 to 12,500.	6,041	82	46,226,000	12.5
200 to 5,000.	120,798	1,648	107,315,600	29.1
Under £200.....	59,295	809	5,327,700	1.4
No property.....	544,972	7,400	.....	....
Total adults.....	735,589	10,000	£368,778,000	100

It would thus appear that 987 persons—that is to say, 0.13 (about one eighth of one) per cent—were possest of £130,521,000, or 35.4 per cent of the whole property of the community; 2,086 persons held £168,782,800, or 45.8 per cent of the total; and probably half the property of the state is in the hands of 3,000 persons. According to C. E. Russell (*Everybody's*, September, 1906), most of the troubles in Australia come from its land system. Crown land was originally given away to "the better classes" for a song. He says:

Diffusion of Wealth

In Victoria about a dozen families own one tract of 2,000,000 acres, chiefly used for sheep-runs and hunting grounds. For miles together are no inhabitants and no production except of primeval forest and native grass. Outside of this splendid domain settlers clamor for land; inside, the total population is insignificant and the use of the lands inconsiderable.

The last compilation of agricultural statistics by the government of Victoria makes this startling showing of conditions in that state:

Size of Holdings	Number of holdings	Total area	Area under cultivation
100,000 acres and more.....	8	2,448,433	8,209
50,000 acres to 100,000.....	15	983,948	5,835
20,000 acres to 50,000.....	121	3,549,351	13,953
10,000 acres to 20,000.....	180	2,583,802	20,905
5,000 acres to 10,000.	309	2,162,458	42,808

The fact that of nearly 2,500,000 acres held by eight persons only 8,000 acres produced anything, amounts to a demonstration that these things cannot continue. Yet these are typical conditions. In Queensland six families own 1,500,000 acres. One estate amounts to 250,000 acres. Ninety-two families hold 3,000,000 acres. Estates equivalent in size to a New England county were obtained in the old days, fifty years ago, for perhaps fifty cents an acre, and are now valued at $15 or $20 an acre, or even more; meantime, they lie as nature made them.

The total indebtedness of Australasia to British investors is set down at £407,290,000, and the annual return therefrom, excluding absentee incomes, £17,702,000. The capital sum represents a weight of £84 15*s.* 7*d.* per inhabitant, and the annual return £3 13*s.* 8*d.* The apparent interest earned is, therefore, over 4¼ per cent, a rate which must be considered very favorable, seeing that £250,415,000, or three fifths of the total, comprizes government and municipal securities. The Indebtedness of the states of the commonwealth to British creditors amounts to £343,938,000, or £86 16*s.* 3*d.* per inhabitant, of which £188,345,000 is due by the central governments, and £8,221,000 by local bodies, while £147,372,000 represents private investments. The indebtedness of New Zealand is £63,352,000, or £75 4*s.* 5*d.* per inhabitant, of which £48,049,000 is owing by the central government of the colony, £5,800,000 by local bodies, and £9,503,000 represents private investments.

The external trade of Australia is larger than that of any British possession, India alone excepted.

Year	Imports	Exports	Value per inhabitant
			£ *s.* *d.*
1861.....	£17,562,960	£17,399,656	30 5 10
1871.....	16,715,442	21,225,797	22 14 10
1881.....	29 031,131	27,528,583	24 16 0
1891.....	37,711,053	36,052,145	22 19 1
1901.....	42,433,811	49,696,172	24 4 3
1904.....	37,920,242	57,489,216	24 1 3

These figures would be still larger if proper records had been kept.

The chief exports are: From New South Wales: wool, silver, gold, coal, and hides (there are 30,000,000 sheep in the colony); from Queensland: gold, wool, frozen meat, hides, and sugar; from Victoria: gold wool, wheat, and butter; from South Australia: wool, wheat, and copper; from West Australia: gold, wool, pearl, and timber; and from Tasmania, gold.

Commerce

Customs duties through the commonwealth are uniform. The trade of the commonwealth with the more important countries was (1903): Exports to United Kingdom, £19,962,503 (mainly wool); India, £5,601,972; Ceylon, £3,973,799; France, £3,216,526; Germany, £3,134,683; United States, £2,625,399 (mainly wool). Imports from United Kingdom, £19,855,340 (mainly cottons and iron work); United States, £6,368,532 (mainly wheat and machinery); Germany, £2,358,533; New Zealand, £2,301,792.

One third of all goods now imported into Australia may be said to be of non-British origin as compared with one fourth ten years ago. The chief factor in bringing about this change is undoubtedly the establishment of direct and rapid communication between Germany, France, Belgium, Japan, the United States, and the Commonwealth. The German and French governments subsidize lines to Australia.

The imports from the United States amounted, in 1903, to £6,368,532, or nearly half the total imports from all foreign countries. Next in order comes Germany with £2,358,553, followed by the Netherlands and Java with £847,387, and France with £506,667. The chief imports from the United States are boots and shoes, barley, wheat, flour, agricultural implements, leather, machinery, metal manufactures, kerosene, printing paper, tobacco, tools, vehicles, and timber. The chief

imports from Germany comprize wearing apparel, dynamite, candles, fancy goods, pianos, machinery, metal manufactures, piece goods, and manures.

II.—Constitution and Government

New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, West Australia, and Victoria formed, Jan. 1, 1901, the federal commonwealth of Australia. Power (largely nominal) is vested in the king, represented by a governor-general, and in a Senate and House of Representatives. The present governor-general is Lord Northcote. The Senate consists of 36 members, 6 from each original state, chosen by direct vote of the people. The House has 75 members, chosen for three years by direct vote. New South Wales has 26 members, Victoria 23, Queensland 9, South Australia 7, Western Australia 5, Tasmania 5. The governor-general may assent or withhold assent to any law, or return it with recommended amendments, or reserve it two years for the king's pleasure. State governors are still appointed by the crown, and State Parliaments legislate on matters not transferred to the Federal Parliament. There can be no State religion. Trade between the states must be absolutely free. The executive of the commonwealth is the governor-general, with a council of seven ministers. The Hon. Alfred Deakin is minister.

In the first election (1901) the first cabinet, formed by Sir Edward Barton, had a majority of both houses, tho the Labor Party secured 36 seats in the House and 8 in the Senate. Mr. G. H. Reid led the opposition, and Mr. Watson the Labor Party. The second general election (1903) returned to the Senate 8 Conservatives, 14 Liberals, 14 Laborites, and to the House 26 Liberals, 26 Conservatives, and 23 Labor members. In April, 1904, Mr. Watson formed a Labor ministry, having, with the aid of the Liberals, defeated Mr. Deakin's Government (Conservative). In August, 1904, however, he was defeated on a bill favoring trades-unionists over non-unionists, and Mr. Reid formed a Liberal ministry. July 5, 1905, he was defeated, largely on account of his denouncing the "White Australia" policy, and Mr. Deakin returned to office. There are now 23 Laborites in the House out of a total membership of 75. In the separate Australian legislatures there are many more Labor representatives: 34 in Queensland, 25 in New South Wales, 22 in Western Australia, 18 in Victoria, 6 in South Australia, and 7 in Tasmania. The Australian Labor Party is not avowedly a Socialist Party, nor are all its members Socialists, but its platform is virtually socialistic, both in its immediate proposals and in its tendencies.

State socialism is well known to have played a large part in Australia, and the railroads and most public services are owned and conducted by the government. Hence Australia is sometimes called a socialistic commonwealth. But the fact is that it is quite as true to say that there is no socialism in Australia as that there is much. Either statement is inexact. There is a great deal of State socialism, conducted mainly by a capitalistic government, and considerable democratic socialistic sentiment, but little more.

The State ownership of railroads in Australia may be said to have even tended to temporarily check the advance of real socialism; for investors, unable to invest or to speculate in railroads, have gone the more extensively into land speculation. Land booms have been universal. As they began to fail, capital poured in from England to keep them up and to defer, tho only finally to intensify, the inevitable collapse. Capital, too, unable to obtain sufficient interest in ordinary production, has been put into banks to obtain 5 per cent, compelling the banks to invest in all they could that promised more than 5 per cent. Hence banks bought land, conducted farms, stores, anything that promised dividends. When the bubble finally burst the banks collapsed, the whole community suffered, and Australia, with the rest of the world, has had to struggle with the unemployed. The policy of the government in opening railroads before they could be made profitable, in order to develop the land, has meant large State debts, and often deficits, tho it probably means eventual profit. Conservatives, therefore, have taken advantage of this, and often declare government ownership in Australia a financial failure. For example, Mr. Charles Fairfield wrote, in "A Plea for Liberty" (1891):

Government Ownership

> Experiments in cryptosocialism, tried upon a society at base free, commercial, modern, English, would long ago have broken down on the financial side, had it not been that the legendary repute of those lands for natural wealth, such as gold, wool, a fruitful soil, and a fine climate, has tempted investors in Europe to fling their money at the heads of Australasian borrowers. Latterly, as the frightful cost and necessarily unproductive results of State socialism became apparent to colonial ministers, they have, to prevent a collapse of the whole thing, been driven to apply for ever-recurring loans in Europe on false pretenses. . . . The truth is, that nothing definite can be known about the finances of the Australasian colonies.
>
> State socialism there dares not present a genuine balance sheet. No attempt has been made to introduce the imperial system of simple, methodical, and exact account keeping.
>
> Meanwhile, for years past reports of imaginary surpluses, as well as misleading and worthless "official" statistics have been circulated in the Australasian colonies, and have been carelessly reproduced here. The statement is constantly put forward, for example, that the Victorian State railways, which are supposed to represent an expenditure on productive public works of the bulk of the money borrowed by that colony since 1865, honestly earn a surplus in excess of the interest on their cost. That statement is not and never has been true.

On the other hand, Sir Charles Dilke, in his "Problems of Greater Britain," says:

> The railways are used for the spread of education, and in New South Wales and some other colonies the school children are carried free of charge. In Victoria remissions of fares are made in the case of students in the schools of mines and in the schools of design. Specially low rates exist in all the colonies for suburban traffic. The fares in the neighborhood of Melbourne, for a district nearly thirty miles across, are, for single journeys, 1*d.* a mile, first-class, and ½*d.* a mile second class; and return tickets are given at ¾*d.* a mile, first class, and ½*d.* a mile, second class; while monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, and yearly tickets are granted at great reductions even upon these low rates. The result is a wonderful spread of suburban railroad traveling, and the custom in Victoria is so developed that out of the large number of persons working in Melbourne who come in by train every day, a considerable proportion come to the town a second time in the evening to visit the theaters. The lowness of railway fares in Victoria is the more striking when we remember that wages are twice as high for shorter hours as they are in England, and that coal costs nearly twice as much. No one in Victoria now advocates private ownership of railways (p. 198).
>
> Not only have the State railways of Victoria been placed under non-political management, but this has been the case with the public departments generally (p. 199).
>
> The principle of government cooperation with localities has been carried into a large number of different fields in the colony of Victoria; tramways, for example, are constructed by municipalities on government loans, the State borrowing money for the municipalities on the best terms which the colony can command in the market, but the municipalities ultimately becoming the owners of the lines (p. 203).

In 1904 Mr. T. A. Coghlan, editor of the *Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand*,

and universally regarded as the best authority, wrote:

To the proper development of a country like Australasia, ill supplied with navigable rivers, railway construction is absolutely essential. This has been recognized from an early period, and for the last forty years the governments of the principal states have been fully alive to the importance of carrying on the work. For a long time, however, they were hampered in their efforts by the difficulty of borrowing money in London at a reasonable rate of interest; but since the year 1871 considerable progress has been made in the work of construction; indeed, by far the greater portion of the public debt of Australasia has been contracted for railway purposes. As the area of the six states and New Zealand almost equals that of Europe or the United States of America, while the population numbers a little over 4,500,000, it is almost needless to say that many of the lines run through districts very sparsely peopled. This is particularly the case in the states of Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia, where there are vast tracts of territory in which little in the nature of permanent settlement has yet been accomplished, and in none of the states can it be said that the railway lines traverse thickly settled areas. Indeed, if a fault may be found with the State policy pursued in the past, it is that in some cases expensive lines have been laid down in empty country the requirements of which could have been effectually met for many years to come by light and cheap lines, and that in consequence the railway administrators find themselves heavily burdened with a number of unprofitable lines. A few of these have been closed, and the remainder are worked at a loss. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the railways of the commonwealth of Australia collectively yield a net return equal to 3.08 per cent, and those of Australasia 3.15 per cent on the cost of construction.

The facts in regard to the railways are as follows: In New South Wales, the first railways were projected as far back as 1846, and a few years afterward a company—the Sydney Tram and Railways Company—was formed. The company undertook the construction of a line from Sydney to Parramatta, a distance of fourteen miles; but as the capital became absorbed before the work was completed the company was unable to carry on operations, and in the end the government had to take the line, which was finished on Sept. 26, 1855.

The following table shows the extent of railway mileage in each state since 1861:

State	1861	1871	1881	1891–2	1903–4
New South Wales....	73	358	1,040	2,266	3,362
Victoria.....	114	276	1,247	2,903	3,381
Queensland.....	*	218	800	2,320	3,030
South Australia.....	56	133	845	1,823	1,901
Western Australia...	*	*	92	657	2,170
Tasmania.....	*	45	168	425	620
Commonwealth...	243	1,030	4,192	10,394	14,464
New Zealand.....	*	105	1,334	2,011	2,412
Australasia.....	243	1,135	5,526	12,405	16,876

* Railways not in existence.

At the close of the year 1903–4 the cost of construction and equipment of the State railways completed and open to traffic in the commonwealth was, in round figures, £131,930,000, or 57.96 per cent of the public debts of the states comprized in the federation, after deducting sinking-funds. The construction and equipment of the railways of Australasia cost £152,623,700, or 53.52 per cent of the public debt of Australasia, after deducting sinking-funds. The proportion of gross earnings absorbed by working expenses recently has been as follows:

State	Percentage of gross earnings absorbed by working expenses				
	1899–1900	1900–1	1901–2	1902–3	1903–4
New South Wales...	55.93	57.17	61.80	68.37	65.74
Victoria.....	62.89	62.17	64.31	66.69	58.82
Queensland.....	64.78	80.34	71.82	69.95	62.19
South Australia.....	56.37	58.95	63.54	58.01	58.19
Northern Territory..	164.47	182.59	276.70	113.40	77.73
Western Australia...	68.40	77.19	82.58	80.33	74.28
Tasmania[1].....	79.10	79.07	84.26	74.31	67.16
Commonwealth...	61.46	64.66	67.41	68.96	63.68
New Zealand[2].....	64.80	65.30	66.80	68.05	65.98
Australasia	61.94	64.75	67.33	68.73	64.05

[1] Years ended Dec. 31, 1899–1903.
[2] Years ended March 31, 1900–4.

Of 1905, Consul-General Bray says ("U. S. Consular Reports," November, 1905): "The gross revenue of the Australian Government roads the year ending June 30, 1905, was $56,436,837, with net earnings of $22,745,508."

Post and Telegraph

In Australia post, telegraph, and telephone are in the hands of the State. The first post-office was established in 1810, and in 1831 a twopenny post was introduced. In 1903 there were 6,501 post-offices in the commonwealth, conveying 12,844,300 letters or cards, 99,580,261 papers, and 44,314,366 packets. Excepting Western Australia, where there was no inland service, there were inland, intercolonial, and international parcels posts in operation in 1903; but statistics of the services on a uniform basis are not obtainable. In all the states there are money-order and postal-note systems in operation; and in all the states, except Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia, post-office savings-banks. In Queensland there is a government savings-bank, but it is not placed under the administration of the postmaster-general. The savings-banks, however, not administered by the government, are under trustees or commissioners usually nominated by the government. Returns of savings-banks show an enormous increase.

In 1861 the number of persons who had accounts in the savings-banks represented only 2.31 per cent of the entire population of Australasia; but in 1871 the percentage had risen to 5.98; in 1881, to 11.33; in 1891, to 19.47; in 1900–1, to 25.52 per cent; in 1902–3 the proportion was 27.69 per cent; while in 1903–4 it was 28.41 per cent. In 1903–4 the number of depositors were 1,352,853, with deposits amounting to £42,613,014, or an average sum of £31 9*s.* 10*d.*

In no other country in the world has the development of telegraphic communication been so rapid as in Australasia, and in none has it been taken advantage of by the public to anything like the same extent. Taking Australasia as a whole, there are only four countries that possess a greater extent of telegraph lines, and only seven in which a larger number of messages is actually sent. In no other countries, however, except the United Kingdom and Belgium, do the number of messages bear anything approaching the same ratio to the population. In Australasia, in one year, over three messages were sent over the telegraph for each inhabitant. In the United Kingdom the number was nearly two and one fifth for each inhabitant; and in the United States of America about one message to every inhabitant. The return for the United States, however, includes only the lines of the Western Union Company. In the whole of Australasia there were on Dec. 31, 1903, 4,282 telegraph stations, of which 987 were in New South Wales, 878 in Victoria, 481 in Queensland, 290 in South Australia, 172 in Western Australia, 321 in Tasmania, and 1,153 in New Zealand. There were 52,919 miles of telegraphic lines in 1903, and 14,673,452 messages were sent.

In connection with the telegraph departments of the various states, telephone exchanges have been established in the capitals and other important centers of population. In the Australasian states the rates for telephones at places of business range from £5 to £10 for the maximum length of wire—generally one mile, the colonies with a half-mile radius being New Zealand and Queensland—and the charge is higher in the city than in the

country. The following table shows the revenue and expenditure of the postal and telegraph departments of the states during 1903:

State	Revenue				Expenditure
	Posts	Telegraphs	Telephones	Total	
New South Wales	£652,761	£154,839	£105,002	£912,602	£884,963
Victoria	448,486	106,839	86,600	641,925	582,520
Queensland	191,931	83,266	27,321	302,518	425,568
South Australia	166,400	74,840	23,209	264,449	240,987
Western Australia	122,862	68,137	30,324	221,323	277,021
Tasmania	75,412	17,289	8,910	101,611	100,232
Commonwealth	1,657,852	505,210	281,366	2,444,428	2,511,291
New Zealand	343,207	166,536	71,028	580,771	526,747
Australasia	2,001,059	671,746	352,394	3,025,199	3,038,038

In the expenditure shown in the table, interest on the outlay on post-office buildings and telegraph lines and maintenance of buildings is not taken into account. If allowance be made for these, so far as is possible from the very imperfect returns concerning the expenditure on post-offices in each state, the total expenditure and the deficiency in revenue would be as follows:

State	Departmental expenditure	Interest and maintenance of works and buildings	Total charge	Deficiency in revenue
Commonwealth	2,511,291	380,995	2,892,286	447,858
New Zealand	526,747	78,535	605,282	24,511
Australasia	3,038,038	459,530	3,497,568	472,369

With the progress of settlement and the increase of population, the expenditure on the postal and telegraphic services naturally expands, and it is apparent that in order to keep pace with the expenditure, the services must be conducted on a self-supporting basis. This, it is believed, can be reached with growth of population and consolidation.

III.—Social Reform

Social reform in Australasia may be said to have begun with the first formal recognition of the eight-hour day by the New Zealand Company in the settlement of Otago, under the influence of the Rev. Thomas Burns. Its spread through Australia is largely due to the Victorian Operative Stonemasons' Society, who set the movement on foot in Melbourne in February, 1856.

Eight-Hour Day

An eight-hour league was formed of united trades, and notice given that after April 21, 1856, no union man would work more than eight hours. The strength of the artizans' position in the labor market enabled them to win, and April 22d has been kept ever since as a public holiday, known as the Eight-Hour Day. The eight-hour day has come to be regarded as normal throughout Australasia. Nevertheless, it is fully realized only by the stronger unions and skilled trades. Gained at first without legislation, it has been found that legislation is needed to secure and maintain it.

In 1873 Victoria enacted a law limiting the employment of women and children to eight hours, and New Zealand almost immediately did the same. Other colonies have been much more slow in action. In 1885 a Victorian law (amended in 1896) fixed the closing of shops, except for certain trades, at seven P.M. five evenings in the week, and at ten on Saturday nights. New Zealand acted somewhat similarly in 1894, and closed all shops (with a few exceptions) for one afternoon. Other colonies have followed later. Victoria in 1896 created a Minimum Wage Board, which can fix minimum wages, hours, and the number of apprentices in such trades as Parliament determines. Western Australia and New South Wales have adopted compulsory arbitration laws mainly as in New Zealand.

Trade-unionism has played a prominent part in Australia, but with few features of especial interest. As early as 1850 a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was established in Australia, and since that date almost every industry has formed its own organization. Strikes have not been very frequent nor of very great importance till we come to the great strikes of 1890 and 1891, which mark an epoch in the development of the Australian labor movement. The membership of the trade-unions on Jan. 1, 1904, was:

Trade-Unionism

New South Wales	70,622
Victoria	7,942
Queensland	4,681
South Australia	7,300
West Australia	10,047
Tasmania	34
Commonwealth	100,626
New Zealand	25,354
Australasia	125,980

There are, however, perhaps twice that number more or less affiliated with the trade-unions. Their history is bound up with the great strike of 1890, which originated in an effort of the Shearers' Union to allow only union shearers to be employed. The wharf laborers struck to support them.

Difficulties had also arisen in the shipping trade, quite apart from the shearers' dispute, owing to the discharge of a fireman. Great discontent also existed among the marine officers, on account of lack of accommodation on board ship. Conference was declined by the employers, it being alleged that meeting on equal terms with their subordinates would destroy discipline on board ship.

In August, therefore, the marine officers struck, the wharf laborers came out a few days later, followed by the seamen and draymen, the Newcastle miners were locked out for refusing to hew coal which they believed to be intended for employers engaged in the strike, and in September the shearers were ordered to join the others. The strike spread from Victoria to New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, and there was a general cessation of trade. The unionists were successful in stopping almost all the steamer traffic, and agriculturists were prevented from disposing of their produce. Food became very dear in consequence, and butter rose to as much as 2s. 0d. a pound. Some disorder developed but was put down, and the striking unions gradually found themselves losing.

The Great Strike

In Queensland the strike was less serious than in Victoria and New South Wales, because the Queensland Labor Federation ordered the execution of all existing contracts, and the shearers returned to work after being out only one week. By October the strike was practically at an end throughout the colonies.

In 1891 the shearing difficulty was renewed in Queensland and New South Wales, and a strike of much longer duration took place. "Obstacles were placed in the way of trains, bridges were weakened, armed mobs of men traveled about the

country burning and destroying the property of the pastoralists." Armed resistance to the government was advocated as preliminary to a general revolution throughout Australasia, and attempts were made to bring the railway servants and even the military over to the side of the strikers. Throughout March, April, May, and June arrests were frequent. Meanwhile shearing was carried on by means of free labor, and since the strike could not accomplish its objects and funds were exhausted, it was declared off on June 15th.

But it was the failure of these strikes which created the Australian Labor Party. Finding themselves defeated in the strikes, the men turned to politics. In some cases the victorious employers suddenly found themselves defeated in elections and their places taken by the very trade-unions' leaders they had defeated. Even strike leaders who had been sent to jail were nominated for Parliament.

Previously there had been a few working men elected as trade-unionists, but none on a distinctively Labor platform. A great impetus was given to the movement by the vivid speeches of the radical, "the great Pro-Consul," George Grey, ex-Governor of New Zealand, South Australia, and South Africa. With little organization and less money, 36 Labor candidates were elected (1891) in New South Wales. Since then the movement has grown throughout Australasia. South Australia was, however, the first state to form a direct Labor Party. In the Australian Federal Parliament there were in 1904 (second House) 23 Labor men in a house of 75. But they hold the balance of power. Free-traders and protectionists (formerly the main political issue in Australia) are so equal in numbers that the Labor men, by uniting with one party, can at any time defeat the other. Hence the continual changes and the Labor men themselves being given the government for five months (see above). The present ministry only holds by passing most of the bills the Labor Party demands. Hence largely the progress in legislation of Australia, covering Industrial Arbitration, Miners' Accident Relief, Coal Mines Regulation, Early Closing, Navigation Act Amendment, Land Tax, Old Age Pensions, Women's Franchise, Electoral and Trucks Acts, etc.

Labor Parties

At the third Interstate Labor Conference, held in Melbourne, July, 1905, the following objective was adopted:

(*a*) The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based upon the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community.

(*b*) The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the state and municipality.

The question of the tariff also received a large amount of attention—some delegates being favorable to making the advocacy of a high protectionist policy a *sine qua non* for labor candidates, but the majority held the view that to introduce the fiscal issue would be to split the ranks, and it was eventually decided to place a Tariff Referendum as a plank in the platform. "A progressive tax on land values" was also added to the platform.

The conference also carried a resolution against any alliance, coalition, or combination being entered into by Labor representatives in Parliament without the consent of the combined labor organizations. It was also decided in the event of labor governments coming into power, that the ministries should be recommended by the caucus.

It will thus be seen that the Labor Party is practically, tho not avowedly, a Collectivist or Socialist party; and an increasing section of the labor ranks advocate straight-out socialism. There is a strong agitation for a reduction of members in the upper houses, if not for the abolition of this branch of the legislature, in view of the fact that Australia has now fourteen houses of Parliament. The establishment of boards to regulate wages and conditions of workers and arbitration courts, and a movement to break up the large estates and throw the lands open to the mass of the people, constitute the most burning questions of the day in all parts of the commonwealth.

The Single Tax idea has some hold in Australia, owing to the land concentration, particularly in South Australia; and the movement was much helped by a visit from Henry George in 1890. In New South Wales a land tax is levied on the unimproved value; the present rate being one penny in the pound. An exemption of £240 is allowed, and if the unimproved value is in excess of this sum a deduction equal to the exemption is made, but when a person or company holds several blocks of land only one sum of £240 may be deducted from the aggregate unimproved value. The number of persons owning land in New South Wales is about 178,000, but the deductions allowed by law reduced the actual number of taxpayers to 41,000.

Taxation

The Land Tax Act in force in Victoria was passed with the object of breaking up large holdings. For this purpose it was declared that all "landed estates" should be subject to taxation; that a "landed estate" should consist of one or more blocks of land not more than five miles apart which possest an aggregate area of 640 acres and a capital value of more than £2,500; and that the value in excess of £2,500 should be taxed at the rate of 1¼ per cent per annum. In South Australia the land tax is calculated on the unimproved value, the rate being one halfpenny in the pound sterling, with an additional tax of one halfpenny on every pound in excess of £5,000. The amount of tax payable by an absentee, who is defined as a person who has been absent from or resident out of the state for twelve months, is increased by 20 per cent.

The land tax payable in Tasmania is at the rate of one halfpenny in the pound, where the assessed value is under £5,000; five eighths of a penny, where the assessed value is £5,000 and under £15,000; three quarters of a penny, where the value is £15,000 and under £40,000; seven eighths of a penny where the value is £40,000 and under £80,000; and one penny where the value is over £20,000.

Income taxes are also levied in all the states; In Victoria, e. g., the rate of income tax payable in the state varies according to the source whence the income is derived and the taxable amount of such income. On incomes derived from personal exertion, threepence in the pound is payable up to £300; on every pound in excess of £300 up to £800, fourpence; on every pound in excess of £800 up to £1,300, fivepence; on every pound in excess of £1,300 up to £1,800, sixpence; and on every pound in excess of £1,800, sevenpence; double these rates being payable on incomes the produce of property within the state. All incomes, except those of companies, of and under £150 escape taxation.

Such legislation is not revolutionary; yet it is this which has largely raised hostility to the Labor Party on the part of conservatives, making some of the latter class in Australia declare that the commonwealth is being ruined. Financial and economic returns, however, do not justify this criticism.

Political reforms have also had considerable

development in Australia. (See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM; also, for the Australian system of land registration, see TORRENS.) There has been considerable agitation in Australia for proportional representation and for direct legislation, but as yet with slight results. Currency reform has its various advocates in Australia, and especially bimetalists and others who declare that the great southern continent, like the rest of the world, has suffered from the appreciation of gold. Yet little of importance has been accomplished in the way of reform. For good or for evil, Australian finance is still ruled by English gold.

Political Reform

The woman's suffrage movement has gone further.

There are in Australia three distinct classes of suffrage, municipal, parliamentary, and federal. Women were given municipal suffrage in New South Wales in 1867; in Victoria, 1869; in West Australia, 1871; in New Zealand, 1877; in South Australia, 1880; in Tasmania, 1884. Parliamentary suffrage was extended to women of New Zealand in 1893; in South Australia, 1895; in West Australia, 1900; in New South Wales, 1902; in Tasmania, 1903; in Queensland, 1905. In 1902, the first federal Parliament extended the federal suffrage to all women in Australia upon the same terms as men. All women in Australia, therefore, upon the same terms as men, enjoy full municipal and federal suffrage, and the women of West Australia, South Australia, and New South Wales possess all forms of suffrage.

One problem that has vexed Australia considerably is that of the immigration and importation of cheap labor. The importation of Chinese labor was long more or less common to all Australia. According to the latest returns, there were 30,542 full-blooded Chinese in the commonwealth, and 24,000 other colored aliens. The immigration of the Chinese, however, has, after an intense excitement, been carefully restricted in all Australia. Kanaka labor has been another "burning question." Particularly has the introduction of Kanaka labor been a source of grievance to the trade-unions of Queensland. The Kanakas have been introduced mainly to work on the sugar plantations. The claim has been that white labor was unsuited to this work in this climate, while it was a good thing for the Kanakas, they going back to their Pacific island to carry home the benefits of civilization. On the other hand, the trade-unionists have asserted that this was simply an excuse to get cheap labor, and that the Kanaka trade was simply a disguised slave trade, done in ships little better than the old slave-traders and accompanied by most of the evils of that trade. The Kanakas were inveigled on board, often by "fire-water." Once there they were supposed to sign a document that bound them to labor for a term of years in the sugar fields. As none of them could read or write or understand the document they signed, this meant little. One hundred dollars a head the planter was wont to pay the "recruiter" for catching Kanakas and landing them in Queensland—rather less than African slavers' rates in the good old days, but the distance was less and the danger nothing, because the British Government protected this traffic. Finally, however, mainly from the agitation of the trade-unions and the Labor Party, aided in part by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, after a struggle of twenty years, Kanaka labor has become practically ended.

Kanaka Labor

The question of granting pensions to aged persons has been of late years much discust throughout Australia and New Zealand, and at the present time the old-age pension system is in operation in New South Wales, Victoria, and NEW ZEALAND. (See also OLD AGE PENSIONS.) The settlement of population on the land also has enlisted considerable attention. Large estates are being bought up and divided into allotments, which are sold to purchasers on easy terms, extending over many years. (See NEW ZEALAND.) Labor colonies for the unemployed are being agitated.

Important Australian societies are:

Imperial Federation League. President, Hon. Alfred Deakin, Llanarth, Walsh Street, South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria.

Federal Council of Australian Labor Unions. Hon. Secretary Robert Storrie Guthrie, Knighton Villa, Peterhead, South Australia.

National Anti-Sweating League. Hon. Secretary, Samuel Mauger, M.P., 66 Bourke Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

Federal Single Tax League of Australia. President, Max Hirsch, 416 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

Peace Society (Australian Branch of the London Society). Chairman, Dr. Charles Strong, Avoca Street, South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria.

Peace, Humanity, and Arbitration Society. President, Rev. Dr. Rentoul, St. Oswald's, Ormond College, Melbourne, Victoria.

Melbourne Socialist Society. President, H. H. Champion, Commonwealth Rooms, 117 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

Christian Social Union. Adelaide Secretary, Rev. C. E. Doudney, Jeffcott Street. Melbourne Secretary, Rev. R. Stephen, Trinity College. Sydney Secretary, Rev. S. S. Tovey, St. John's, Bishopsthorpe Glebe.

Australian Woman's National League. President, Lady Janet Clarke Cliveden, East Melbourne, Victoria.

Woman's National Council (affiliated with the London International Council).

Effective Voting League of South Australia. President, Catherine Helen Spence, Aviland Avenue, N. Norwood, Adelaide, South Australia.

Salvation Army in Australasia. Chief Secretary, Col. W. T. Hoskin, 67 Bourke Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

REFERENCES: *A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand*, by T. A. Coghlan, Annual, Sydney; *Statistical Abstract for the Several Colonies and Other Possessions of the United Kingdom*, Annual, London; *The Year-Book of Australia*, ed. by Hon. Edward Greville, Annual, ib.; *Australian Federation*, by Sir J. A. Cockburn, ib., 1901; *Problems of Greater Britain*, by Sir C. W. Dilke, 2 vols., ib., 1890; *Newest England* (*Australia and New Zealand*), by H. D. Lloyd, New York, 1900; *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, by W. P. Reeves, 2 vols., London, 1902; *Australian Commonwealth*, by Greville Tregarthen, New York, 1903; *The Labor Movement in Australasia*, by Victor S. Clarke, 1906.

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT: A ballot the distinctive feature of which is that it contains the names of all the candidates, so that the voter is given but one single ballot to take with him into the polling-booth; and by making his cross on this one sheet against the names or emblem of the party for which he wishes to vote, he may indicate his choice and fold up and cast his ballot without any one knowing which way he has voted. It is called the Australian ballot because first used in Australia, having been first proposed by Francis S. Dutton of the legislature of South Australia in 1851, and adopted in that state and in the various other states of the Australian commonwealth during the "fifties" of the nineteenth century. In slightly different forms it was adopted in England in 1872, and in various English colonies. In 1882 it was advocated in the United States by Henry George, and first adopted by Massachusetts in 1888, and about the same time by the city of Louisville, Ky. In the original system the names of all the candidates are printed in alpha-

betical order, so as to compel the voter to make individual choice; but in many of the states of the American Union each party is allowed to have on the ballot a party symbol, so that by making one cross against this the voter may indicate his desire to vote the "straight ticket" of that party.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: In the following article are considered all matters pertaining to Austria, as well as such conditions as are common to both Austria and Hungary. All questions specifically affecting HUNGARY are treated under that heading.

I.—Statistics

AREA AND POPULATION

CROWN LANDS	Area, square miles	Population, 1900	Per square mile
Lower Austria	7,654	3,086,382	405
Upper Austria	4,631	809,918	175
Salzburg	2,767	193,247	69
Styria	8,670	1,356,058	156
Carinthia	4,005	367,344	91
Carniola	3,856	508,348	132
Coast Districts	3,084	755,183	245
Tyrol	11,324	979,878	86
Bohemia	20,000	6,318,280	315
Moravia	8,583	2,435,081	284
Silesia	1,987	680,529	342
Galicia	30,307	7,295,538	241
Bukowina	4,035	729,921	181
Dalmatia	4,940	591,597	120
Hungary and Transylvania	108,258	16,768,143	153
Croatia and Slavonia	16,773	2,397,249	146
Fiume	8	38,139	...
Total	240,942	45,311,651	188

General Statistics

Austria proper has 115,903 sq. m. and a population of 26,000,000. Of this number about 9,000,000 are Germans, 6,000,000 Bohemians and Moravians, 4,250,000 Poles, 3,380,570 Ruthenians, and 1,200,000 Slovaks. The principal cities are Vienna, with a population of 1,674,957 (1900); Prague, 201,589; Lemberg, 159,877; Gratz, 138,080; Triest, 134,143; Brünn, 109,346. The birth-rate in 1901 was 36.9; death-rate, 24. (See BIRTH- AND DEATH-RATE.) The illegitimate births (1897–1901) were 14.20 per cent, the highest ratio in the world, tho they varied from 41 per cent (1900) in Carinthia to 4.2 per cent in Dalmatia. Marriages in 1900 were 8.1 per 1,000 of population. (See MARRIAGE.)

In 1900, 79 per cent of the population were Roman Catholic, 12 per cent Greek Catholic, 2.3 per cent Greek Oriental, 4.7 per cent Jewish, 2 per cent Evangelical. Religious liberty is secure. There were (1900) 16,939 Roman Catholic priests; 7,860 members of male orders, and 19,194 of female. Education is on the increase, yet 31 per cent of the population above twelve years of age were (1900) unable to read and write. In 1890, however, it was 79 per cent. (See ILLITERACY.) In 1900 there were 16,211,272 who could read and write (an increase since 1880 of over 5,000,000), and 9,186,362 who could neither read nor write (a decrease since 1880 of nearly 700,000). Elementary schools (1902), 20,827, with 3,742,486 pupils and 96 training colleges. Gymnasia and real-schools (preparatory for universities or technical schools), 328, with 105,585 pupils. There were also 8 state universities, 49 theological colleges (45 Roman Catholic), 8 government technical schools, besides 4,230 special schools (agricultural, industrial, etc.). In 1904, 3,320 periodicals were published, of which 3,039 were in German, 172 being dailies. The *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* has the largest circulation.

Convictions for crime in 1903 numbered 33,940; for other misdemeanors, 581,254. There were 15 penal establishments, with 8,266 male prisoners and 1,069 female. (See CRIME.)

About 2 per cent of the population receive aid. There were in 1902, 1,643 poorhouses, with 37,808 inmates. The expenditures for these was 8,301,652 kronen. Institutions for relief vary greatly throughout the empire. They were formerly mainly in the care of the Church, but now tend to be transferred to civil officers. No one can claim relief for whom any third party is legally responsible. Recipients are bound to return the aid when they can. Aid must be limited to that which is necessary for existence, for the care of the sick, and for needy children. It is usually given in cash. Overseers or visitors (*Armenpfleger*) are not found everywhere, wherefore "Certificates of Poverty" are required, which are often misused. In Lower Austria the overseers of the poor usually serve without compensation. In Upper Austria the commissions for the poor are made up of the chief executive of the borough, a priest, and at least three overseers (*Armenväter*). In Vienna there are nineteen districts, each with a district committee, which elects a board of commissioners. There are also a general poor department and another department for orphans. There are many institutions which are partly private, but that are endowed with public funds. In 1899 there were in Vienna 951 endowments, with a capital of 6,140,939 gulden.

There are many Church institutions: Catholic or Protestant, several being connected with certain knightly orders. Charity organization is backward. The municipal Houses of Maintenance are better organized. The Vienna foundling asylum is the largest in the world. There were in 1902, 1,387 crèches, kindergartens, etc., and 220 orphanages. There are over 600 hospitals (16 for children).

There were in 1903, 585 savings-banks, with 3,464,715 depositors, and deposits amounting to 4,368,550,000 kronen.

Industry

The principal occupation is agriculture. Of the bread-earners 64.3 per cent are engaged in agriculture or fishing, 21.9 per cent in manufacturing or mining, and 6.4 per cent in trade and commerce; 63.2 per cent of the men are bread-earners, and 47.3 per cent of the women. The main crops are wheat, oats, rye, corn, potatoes. Rich soil, abundance of water, and a mild climate make Austria one of the foremost agricultural countries of Europe; 95 per cent of the land is productive. The breeding of stock is important. There are more than 4,000,000 horses, a number only surpassed by Germany and Russia. Over 30 per cent of the empire is in forests. Land in most of the provinces is well divided. Nearly 87 per cent of the peasants own their farms, but these are often too small to yield a livelihood. Mining is diversified and the resources rich. Coal is the most important product, worked mainly in Bohemia. Iron is found in large quantities. Copper and gold are also found. The mineral output of Austria was some $55,000,000 in 1890, and $75,000,000 in 1900. Salt is a State monopoly.

Manufacturing has recently made advances, being aided by the government in many ways: low railroad-fares, etc. exemption from import duties. The clothing industry of the empire employs about 800,000 workers; foods and drinks, 600,000; textile trades, 500,000; building trades, 400,000; woodwork, 325,000; iron and steel, 300,000; quarries and potteries, 150,000. Beet-sugar enjoys a liberal bounty. The glass industry is important in Bohemia. Tobacco is a government monopoly.

Wages are low. Ordinary labor averages 20 cents per day in the country and 50 cents in towns, tho varying from 7 to 61 cents. Skilled labor averages 70 cents. Carpenters receive from 61 cents to $1.29 per day. Locomotive engineers earn from 55 to 93 cents. (See WAGES.)

The general efficiency of labor is also low, scarcely averaging one eighth of that of the United States or one quarter that of Great Britain.

Commerce

Commerce is rapidly increasing. The exports of the total empire (Austria-Hungary) rose from 771,400,000 florins in 1890 to 1,084,000,000 fl. in 1905 ($450,000,000), the imports from 510,700,000 fl. to 1,078,900,000 fl. The value of the chief exports (1904) was: sugar, 151,885,000 kronen or half florins (krone = 20.3 cents); eggs, 105,567,000 kr.; cattle, 98,617,000 kr. The chief imports were cotton (raw), 215,226,000 kr.; wool, 129,888,000 kr.; coal and coke, 105,947,000 kr.; silk and manufactures, 83,499,000 kr. The chief exports (1904) were: to Germany, 1,037,321,000 kr.; Great Britain, 183,726,000 kr. (principally wheat and flour); Italy, 156,815,000 kr.; Turkey, 91,436,000 kr.; Switzerland, 79,741,000 kr.; Rumania, 75,868,000 kr.; Russia, 71,741,000 kr.; United States, 70,759,000 kr. The chief imports (1904) were: from Germany, 766,566,000 kr.; United States, 182,461,000 kr. (principally cotton and machinery); Great Britain, 155,076,000 kr. (principally cotton and machinery); British India, 130,436,000 kr.; Russia, 119,863,000 kr.; Italy, 104,617,000. The customs are fixt, common to Austria and Hungary, by the *Ausgleich* or Compromise of 1867.

II.—Constitution and Government

The reigning sovereign is Francis Joseph I., Emperor of Austria (1848) and King of Hungary (1867). Austria and Hungary, by the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, are, in most matters, completely independent, each having its own constitution, legislature, and executive, and united only in having the same sovereign and the same management of foreign affairs, of the army and navy, and of matters of finance, common to both. Such matters are regulated by a common ministry and two deputations, one Austrian, one Hungarian, of sixty members each, representing the legislatures of the two countries. These deputations meet annually, alternately in Vienna and Budapest, deliberate separately, and only meet to vote together, without discussion, when there have been three failures to agree by communication. There is also a commercial union, renewable every ten years. In Austria, Baron von Beck is premier. The Austrian Reichsrath has two houses. The Upper House (*Herrenhaus*) has 238 members, of whom 16 are princes of the imperial family, 65 hereditary nobles, 17 archbishops and bishops, and 140 life-members, nominated by the emperor for service or merit. The Lower House (*Abgeordnetenhaus*) has 425 members; 85 represent large landed proprietors (5,431 in 1901), 21 the Chambers of Commerce, 118 the town voters (493,804), 129 the country voters (1,585,659), and 72 the whole body of male voters (5,004,222). At the end of 1906, however, the Reichsrath passed a universal suffrage bill which will completely change this. Bills must pass both houses and be ratified by the emperor. Austria's seventeen provinces have each its diet or Landtage. The parties in the Reichsrath are mainly divided on national or race lines.

With the exception of the Socialists, most parties in Austria proper may be termed Home-rulers. The Czechs, the Poles, the Ruthenians, the Italians, etc., all aim at autonomy in some form or another. The government is carried on by a combination of parties, there being no permanent majority.

Finances

The budget estimate for the common affairs of the empire was (1905) 490,327,883 kr., almost wholly for military expenses. Of this amount 114,716,883 kr. were derived from customs. Expenditures rose from 281,820,000 kr. in 1890 to 368,010,000 kr. in 1904, of which sum Austria contributed 167,107,000 kr. and Hungary 87,630,000 kr., with 113,273,000 kr. from customs.

The estimated revenue for Austria proper (1906) was 1,822,027,401 kr., and the expenditures 1,819,042,210 kr. The Austrian debt (1905) was 3,863,020,074 kr. (See FINANCES.)

The Austro-Hungarian army has on peace footing 318,347 officers and men, and 60,758 horses. The Austrian Landwehr has, besides, 37,032 officers and men, and the Hungarian Honvédsíg 31,491. The yearly contingent for the common army is 59,024 officers and men from Austria and 43,899 from Hungary. The army on a war footing numbers 980,000 officers and men; besides 500,000 in the Landwehr and 1,000,000 in the Landsturm. The navy, mainly coast-defensive, has 12 battle-ships (9 modern), 3 armored cruisers, 22 lesser vessels, and 26 torpedo-boats.

Railways

The Austrian railway system must be studied in the light of its history. First begun by private effort, railways became so necessary that the government aided them by guaranteeing interest or direct State construction. The Revolution of 1848 and the Hungarian war, however, embarrassing it, the government sold out what interest it had in the roads, and Austria went through a long period of speculative railroad-building, ending for many of the roads in failure and bankruptcy. These weaker roads the government, after the crisis of 1873, was compelled first to aid and then to buy and operate. This policy has been largely carried out, but has not been adopted as a system on its own merits as in Germany. Where necessitated by poor private management the government in the main has had to buy simply the poorer roads. Nevertheless the State roads are a success, and the tendency is toward State ownership. In 1903 the State owned and operated 4,809 miles, besides operating 2,671 miles of companies' lines; the companies owned and operated 5,048 miles and operated 18 miles of State roads; 114 miles belonged to foreign lines. In 1906 the State bought another of the largest and best-paying

private roads in the Empire. There were 12,660 miles in all. The cost in 1903 was $1,397,970,000. Passengers carried were 176,467,000; freight, 121,491,000 tons. The receipts were 331,551,000 florins; the working expenses, 225,590,000 fl. The State revenue from the railways for 1906 was estimated at 304,218,570 kronen and the expenditures at 270,410,820 kr. There were 5,947 telegraph-offices, with 40,373.71 kilometers of wire and 16,463,654 messages. The urban telephone systems numbered 429; the interurban systems 134. There were 8,086 post-offices. Receipts (postal and telegraph) were 116,858,886 kr.; expenses, 117,519,722 kr. Of post-office savings-banks there were 6,339, with 1,860,347 depositors and deposits of 471,647,730 kr. at end of the year.

III.—Social Reform

The history of modern social reform in Austria begins with the Revolution of 1848. The years previous to this had been marked in industrial evolution mainly by the decay of the ancient gilds and the development of modern ideas. The Revolution of 1848 witnessed national political uprisings in Vienna, Italy, Bohemia, Croatia, and Hungary. A constitution was granted to Austria, but was soon abrogated, and imperial absolutism, in close alliance with the Catholic power, reigned supreme. In 1859, however, an industrial code was adopted which enjoined upon all manufacturers the maintenance of relations with the gilds, or the restoration of such relations where they had been discontinued, but the gilds continued to decline in spite of all efforts. Progress was mainly political with the distracting complications of an empire of such diverse racial constituents.

In 1866 Prussia gained the severance of Austria from the Germanic Confederation, and Italy soon after gained her freedom. Hungary, too, grew more and more restless, and the emperor had to grant concessions, till the present dual political system was organized in 1867. Since 1879, when Count Taaffe came into power, the government has been compelled to do more and more for the working classes. This, however, has been forced upon the government by the labor party, which in Austria, more than in most countries of Europe, has been purely socialistic.

Socialism

A Viennese Workingmen's Mutual Improvement Society was started under the influence of Lassalle's agitation in 1867; and on April 11, 1869, it published the first number of the *Volkstimme*. In 1869 Austrian delegates were sent to the German Socialist Congress at Eisenach. The Austrian Government now prohibited all Socialist meetings, and the Socialist agitators had to concentrate their efforts to obtain freedom of coalition and universal suffrage.

After the German laws against the Social Democrats were passed in 1878, the Austrian Socialists, in part, lost heart. The Radicals declared for anarchism and the Moderates for the Liberals, working mainly on race lines. Between 1882 and 1884 the anarchists attempted much violence in Austria; the government resorted to strong measures, and the Socialist papers suffered much. Nevertheless, the trade-unions became the camping-grounds for the Socialists, and the propaganda was carried on.

Since 1886 the movement has made steady progress. In 1888 a conference was held at Hainfield, and, largely through the influence of the *Gleichheit*, Dr. Adler's paper, the Moderates and those Radicals who were not anarchists, united on the lines of Marxist socialism. The result was a rapid advance. Socialist papers obtained a wider circulation, meetings for the propagation of Socialist doctrines were held, and many new workmen's associations were founded. Strikes and agitation became common, and the government again tried repression. Papers were suppressed, and the editors of the *Gleichheit* arrested on charges of anarchism.

The winter of 1892 was marked in Austria by agitation on the part of the Social Democrats against the censorship of the press.

The early months of 1893 saw the opening of "a campaign in favor of universal, equal, and direct suffrage." The May Day celebrations took place throughout the empire, and developed into a gigantic demonstration, not only for the eight-hour day, but also for the suffrage. In Vienna 150,000 men and women marched in military order through the streets. A few weeks later the political victories gained by the German Social Democracy at the ballot-box were celebrated throughout the empire. In July 500,000 workingmen and women gathered in the very heart of Vienna and declared they would neither rest nor be deterred by any sacrifice until they had won.

In Oct., 1893, Count Taaffe introduced a bill granting a very much enlarged suffrage. Notwithstanding that by the provisions of the new bill the number of voters in Austria were doubled, the Social Democrats would only agree to accept it as a move in the right direction.

During the last ten years organization has gone on steadily but not rapidly. The Social Democrats in the empire are organized on a basis of "national autonomy and international solidarity." There are German, Czech, Polish, Italian, Slavic, and Ruthenian sections. They work harmoniously, but their progress has been retarded by the national jealousies and political efforts of the different races. In 1897 the government made a further electoral concession. To 383 deputies elected by privileged voters, 72 were added elected by universal suffrage. This at first seemed but to increase the international struggle. By 1901, however, the Socialists polled about 800,000 votes and elected 10 deputies (7 Czechs). The government was compelled to introduce various reform measures (see below), but the old national strife went on, tho largely fruitless to all parties. In 1905, however, a proposition of Baron Fejervary's Hungarian ministry to establish universal suffrage in that country caused widespread excitement in Austria, and on Nov. 2d a monster Socialist demonstration in Vienna led to a clash with the police.

Universal suffrage was finally granted, and as a result, in the elections of 1907, almost a revolutionary change was made. There were elected 82 Social Democrats, 66 Christian Democrats (Anti-Semites), 33 Agrarian Czechs, 31 of the (Catholic) Center; 25 Pan Germanists, 24 German Liberals, 22 Young Czechs, 18 German Agrarians, 15 Clerical Slavs, 14 Free Independent Pan Germanists, 14 Italians, 11 Clericals, 10 Radical Czechs, and 100 of minor parties. There are 2 Socialist dailies in German, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* at Vienna and the *Arbeiterwille* at Gratz. There are 25 other German Socialist journals. The Czech Socialists have also 2 dailies (at Vienna and Prague), and 12 other journals. There are 2 Polish, 4 Italian, 2 Slavic, and 1 Ruthenian papers. The women have a Socialist organ, the *Arbeiterinnen Zeitung*.

A so-called Roman Catholic Christian Socialism has had considerable development in Austria, under the patronage of Prince Alois of Lichtenstein and others, but it has meant little more than the Church of Rome taking an interest in political and social questions from the ecclesiastical-paternal standpoint. It has also contributed largely to the development of anti-Semitism.

Trade-unions

The trade-union movement in Austria runs parallel with the Socialist movement. The Industrial Code of 1859, trying to compel employers and employees to unite in trade-gilds, had failed. In 1869 a demonstration in Vienna won the right of combination for workingmen, and trade-unions slowly developed. A law of 1883 greatly modified the code of 1859. (See STRIKES.) The chief centers of Austrian trade-unionism are the industrial and populous districts of Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, while about a fifth of the total number of associations are established in Vienna. The highest organization is found in the printing trade and in the textile and metal industries.

The aggregate membership of all labor organizations in Austria in 1903 was 177,592, a net

increase of 13,104 in the year. The rapid progress made since 1892 is shown below:

End of—	Unions	Total number of members	Women included	Annual income	Annual expenditures
1892.....	1,308	70,343	4,263	.....	.....
1896.....	1,634	117,946	5,761	$197,034	$130,167
1899.....	2,263	157,773	9,206	370,488	349,688
1901.....	2,294	152,604	9,928	445,869	422,216
1902.....	2,370	164,488	8,958	523,437	478,508
1903.....	2,469	177,592	12,063	599,473	541,031

There are 74 national trade-unions, containing 154,665 members; 104 local assemblies, with 5,653 members, and 416 workingmen's associations, devoted chiefly to educational work, with 17,274 members. The following table shows the membership, receipts, expenditures, and cash balance of the largest national unions, 11 of which have upward of 3,000 members each. Two other unions, with smaller membership—hatters' and lithographers'—are included on account of their strong financial position. It will be observed that the printers, altho not the strongest union numerically, have by far the largest income It is said that the union contains nearly 90 per cent of all the printers in Austria.

Trade	No. of members	Annual receipts. Crowns	Annual expenditures. Crowns
74 national unions	154,665	2,942,855	2,647,066
Including—			
Railway workers.....	28,036	323,016	340,470
Iron and metal workers.	16,667	299,331	269,030
Textile workers.....	11,932	112,833	92,193
Printers.....	10,997	985,374	949,744
Wood workers.....	10,747	120,224	93,805
Miners.....	8,450	62,815	70,310
Tailors.....	4,871	50,464	47,103
Building laborers.....	4,478	46,631	37,223
Bakers.....	4,421	65,687	55,845
Paper and chemical workers.....	3,610	33,194	28,118
Shoemakers.....	3,007	41,893	38,443
Hatters.....	2,404	154,893	104,546
Lithographers.....	1,604	86,520	61,749
104 local mixed unions.....	5,653	17,685	19,238
416 educational associations	17,274	36,821	38,850
Grand total.....	177,592	2,997,361	2,705,154

Between 1850 and 1860 cooperation began in Austria, but has not had great development. A union of cooperative societies was organized in Vienna in 1874, with 217 societies in 1892. The same year there were 2,501 cooperative societies in Austria, of which 1,882 were loan societies and about 300 distributive.

At the close of 1900 there were 7,616 cooperative societies, including 5,098 credit, 758 distributive, and 1,760 other societies. Of the credit societies, 1,513 were of the Schulze-Delitzsch type, with 923,967 members.

Industrial betterment has at least begun. At Dornbirn, in connection with Herr Hammerle's cotton-mill, a picturesque industrial village has been developed. Cottages, with open verandas, covered with vines and grouped in gardens with fruit-trees, can be hired, with cow shed and pasturage, for some $34 per year, or bought for from $1,060 to $1,500. At Smichof, near Prague, Baron Ringhofer has done much building for the 1,000 men employed in his machine-works. Two-room dwellings or blocks can be rented for 55 cents per week, or 3 rooms for 75 cents. Detached houses are also being built. Baron Ringhofer has established a sick-fund and "welfare institutions."

Industrial Legislation

Industrial legislation is more advanced than cooperation, and recently the government has increasingly followed German precedents.

Accident insurance was made compulsory in Austria in 1887, and insurance against sickness in 1888. The aim is to keep all laborers from dependency. The minister of the interior requires such insurance of all employers where employment is at all dangerous, as in mines, quarries, buildings, factories, etc., and exempts all others. In case of fatal accident. the widow receives funeral expenses, 20 per cent of the husband's wage till death or remarriage, and 15 per cent for each child till the age of fifteen, or, if both parents are dead, such children receive each 20 per cent. Illegitimate children receive 10 per cent each, but the aggregate amount is not to exceed 50 per cent. In case of total disability the injured receives 60 per cent; in case of partial disability the amount is not to exceed 50 per cent.

The postal savings-bank system is more developed in Austria-Hungary than in any other country.

The Austrian provisions against non-employment are: (1) employment agencies carried on for gain, about 916; (2) the ancient trade-gilds, composed of employers and employees, of which there were 5,273 in 1895; (3) employees' associations (trade-unions and others); (4) relief stations on the German plan (see Germany); (5) labor registries, public or private. Vienna and Prague have large municipal registries. The public registries found 95,107 situations in 1903; agencies for gain, 44,034; the trade-gilds, 30,520; other agencies, 74,923.

The government has also made especial efforts in the interest of the industrial middle classes by creating a special department of the Board of Trade, the *Gewerbeförderungs-Dienst* (Service for the Promotion of Handicrafts and Trades), which has had a rapid growth and been imitated in other countries.

The staff consists of a large number of experts in the various trades and crafts, and of men devoted to the cooperative movement; the institute itself may be described as a social laboratory endowed and supported by the state. It has developed also a tendency which is becoming important throughout Austria—the endeavor to apply artistic methods to as many spheres of production as possible. It has a Trade and Crafts' Museum, now in its twenty-sixth year.

Important Austrian social reform institutes or societies are:

Arbeitsstatisches Amt. Vienna, I., Biberstrasse 2. Chief, Dr. Victor Mataja. (Austrian Labor Department or Bureau.)

Gewerbeförderungsdienst des k. k. Handelsministeriums. Vienna, IX., 2, Severingasse 9. Chief, Dr. W. F. Exner. Secretary, Dr. A. Vetter. (Imperial Bureau for the Promotion of the Crafts.)

Arbeiterzeitung (Labor News; Socialist organ). Editor, Dr. V. Adler. Vienna, VI., Mariahilferstrasse 89. (Headquarters for Socialist and labor information.)

Wiener Volksheim (People's Palace). Vienna, XVI., Kofler Park 7. Secretary, Prof. Dr. Emil Reich. (Educational: furthering university extension, libraries, etc.)

Kulturpolitische Gesellschaft. Vienna, I., Giselastrasse. Chairman, Dr. Robert Scheu. (Object: political, economic, and social education in Austria.)

Sozialpolitischer Verein. Vienna, I., Helferstorferstrasse 3. Chairman, Dr. Sigismund Wolf-Eppinger. (Object: social reforms.)

Sozialwissenschaftlicher Bildungsverein. Vienna, VIII., Schlösselgasse 11. Chairman, Dr. Alexander Hollander. (Object: political and economic education.)

Allgemeiner Verband der auf Selbsthilfe beruhenden deutschen Erwerbs und Wirtschaftgenossenschaften in Oesterreich. Vienna, I., Giselastrasse 4. (Object: to protect the interests of the German cooperative societies in Austria.)

Allgemeiner Verband der landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften in Oesterreich. Vienna, I., Weihburggasse 12. (A union similar to the preceding, for agricultural cooperative societies.)

Reichsverband der deutschen Gewerbevereine Oesterreichs in Wien. Vienna, I., Eschenbachgasse 11. President, Section Chief Dr. W. F. Exner. (Object: promotion of the interests of German industrial associations.)

Wiener Volksbildung Verein. Vienna, I., Tegetthoffstrasse 4. Chairman, Dr. Friedrich Jodl. (Object: popular education.)

Oesterreichischer Zweigverein zur Hebung des Mittelstandes. (Austrian branch of the *Institut international des classes moyennes*, founded in Brussels, for the development of the middle classes.)

Oesterreichische Friedensgesellschaft. Vienna, I., Spiegelgasse 4. President, Frau Bertha Freiin v. Suttner. (Austrian Peace Society.)

Oesterreichischer Verein gegen Trunksucht. Vienna, I., Spiegelgasse 19. Secretary, Dr. Adolf Daum. (Austrian Temperance Society.)

Allgemeiner Rechtsschutz und Gewerksschaftsverein für Oesterreich. Vienna, X., Laxenburgerstrasse 8. Arbeiterheim. (General Trade Association Union.)

Vereinigung der arbeitenden Frauen. Vienna, I., Tuchlauben II. President, Frau Karoline Gronemann. (Working Women's Club.)

Allgemeiner Oesterreichischer Frauenverein. Vienna, XVIII., Gentzgasse 6. President, Fräulein Auguste Fickert. (General Austrian Women's Union.)

Verein der katholisch geschiedenen Eheleute. Vienna, IV., Leibenfrostgasse 6. (Society of Divorced Catholics, whose object is agitation for legalization of divorce.)

Verein zur Reform des Eherechtes. Vienna, VI., Mariahilferstrasse 5. (Object: reform of marriage law.)

Heimat. Vienna, I., Dorotheengasse 12. Chairman, Adolf Ruzicka. (Girls' Friendly Society.)

Kinderschutzstationen. Vienna, I., Wipplingerstrasse 8. President, Dr. Prince Eduard von und zu Liechtenstein. (Children's Aid Society.)

Verein abstinenter Frauen. Vienna, I., Steindlgasse 2. President, Frau Emilie Kassowitz. (Women's Temperance Union.)

REFERENCES: *Statistisches Handbuch der Osterreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, Annual, Vienna; *Mittheilungen des Arbeitstatistischen Amtes in K. K. Handelsministerium*, ib.; *Osterreichisches Statistisches Handbuch*, Annual, ib.; *Osterreich-Ungarn im Welthandel*, by Engel, ib., 1902; *Beiträge zur Neuesten Handelspolitik Osterreichs*, in *Schriften des Vereins für Sozial Politik*, vol. xciii., Leipsic, 1901; *Austria*, by Sidney Whitman and J. B. McIlraith, New York, 1899; *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country*, by F. H. E. Palmer, ib., 1903; *Political History of Europe since 1814*, by Seignobos, transl. by MacVane, ib., 1899.

AVELING, EDWARD: Socialist lecturer, born in 1851. He was educated at various schools and at University College, London, and went to Cambridge as Prof. Michael Foster's assistant in physiology. He has been professor of chemistry and physiology at New College, and of comparative anatomy at the London Hospital, and was a member of the London School Board in 1882. An avowed atheist, he became vice-president of the National Secular Society, socialist lecturer, journalist, author, and dramatist. Author: "Student's Marx"; "Student's Darwin"; "Botany for Students"; "Geology for Students"; "Physics"; "Biology"; translations of Marx's "Kapital" (vol. i.); Engel's "Socialism"; Haeckel's "Pedigree of Man"; Titchomiroff's "Russia." He married Eleanor, daughter of Karl Marx.

AVERY, MRS. SUSAN LOOK: Writer; reformer; born at Conway, Mass., 1817; educated at Utica, N. Y.; married (1844) Benjamin F. Avery (died 1885). She has largely devoted her life to speaking and writing on woman's suffrage, temperance, the single tax, and other reforms. *Address:* Louisville, Ky.

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BAADER, FRANZ XAVIER: German philosopher; born at Munich, 1765. His father counted among his friends some liberal German bishops, and shared their views. Franz Baader studied at the University of Freiburg, where he became the friend of Alexander von Humboldt. In 1826 he was made professor of philosophy and speculative theology at Munich, but desiring the reunion of Protestantism and Catholicism, and having uttered a remonstrance against the absolutism of the Roman court in 1838, he was deposed from his professorship. He gradually became more and more interested in social subjects, and recommended a theocracy, a state held together by Christian love, which should be equally free from lawless individualism and from despotism. Kaufman in his "Christian Socialism" has summarized Baader's view as follows:

> Without previous and perfect union between God and man, social union can neither be effected nor maintained. Social coordination and subordination must rest on Divine authority. All members of the social organism are what they are by the grace of God. Physical force without spiritual power, compulsion without conviction, fear without respect, interest without love, cannot permanently secure social order.
>
> Corporate action and association are essential to the common weal, because they imply organized social life. On the other hand, all attack on property by way of advocating a communistic redistribution is a crime against the common interests of all. The Christian law of mutual affection is the only safeguard against the disintegrating power of individualism. With the development of the moral and religious life of the nation, social evolution will become possible also, and thus the unhealthy elements of social progress will be eliminated without the adoption of revolutionary measures. *The Church must provide a new diaconate* to bring about a more equitable redistribution. The most perfect corporation is the Catholic Church; it is, therefore, the best type of social organization. The Church is altogether opposed to the heathenish view of ownership of property, which is purely selfish, and therefore antisocial, separating private from common interests. The Church regards all men as agents and stewards of their possessions for the common good.

Baader was, however, not destined to make any attempt to carry out his views, as he died in 1841, only three years after losing his Munich professorship. The "Encyclopedia Britannica" says of him:

> Baader is, without doubt, the greatest speculative theologian of modern Catholicism, and his influence has extended itself even beyond the precincts of his own church.

BABBAGE, CHARLES: English economist; born 1792; studied at Trinity College, Cambridge; was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1816; helped found the British Association; became professor of mathematics at Cambridge in 1828, and devoted much time and money to the building of two great calculating machines. In political economy, altho he did not contribute to economic theory, he nevertheless won a high place on account of his thorough and faithful descriptions of characteristic economic phenomena. Especially faithful and discerning were his analysis and portrayal of the benefits and effects of the division of labor. Political economy he was one of the first to declare not an exact science, like the mathematical, altho it did depend on "generals being much more frequently obeyed

than violated." He was no blind worshiper of Mammon, and sneered at the notion that no calling could be deemed respectable which did not produce wealth. In the public interest he believed that inventors should be generously rewarded by the state. He died in 1871.

Babbage's main works were: "On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures"; "Thoughts on the Principles of Taxation with Reference to a Property Tax and its Exceptions"; "A Comparative View of the Different Institutions for the Assurance of Life"; "The Exposition of 1851, or Views of the Industry, the Science, and the Government of England"; "Passages from the Life of a Philosopher."

BABEUF, FRANÇOIS NOEL (called *Caius Gracchus*): French Socialist; born at Saint Quentin, 1760. Left alone at the age of sixteen, his youth and whole life was stormy and wild. From the commencement of the Revolution he wrote violent articles, and was tried, but acquitted. He edited a paper which he called *Tribun de Peuple*. This took place after the fall of Robespierre. He gradually became more violent, and gathered round him a body of men whose main idea was to put down inequality of condition. "We desire," said they, "real equality or death." They met at the Pantheon (till their public meetings were broken up by Napoleon), and there counseled how to rouse the people to insurrection. They aimed at a real community of goods. The public authorities were to organize industry. Every one was to have a right to lodging, food, *mediocre mais frugale*, clothes, washing, warming, lighting, and medical attendance. Babeuf's theory of communism was based largely on Morelly's "Code de la Nature." According to it, "the aim of society is the happiness of all, and happiness consists in equality. Let all the arts perish," cried its followers, "provided we obtain real equality." Government was to be absolute. No private individual was to be allowed to trade with foreign countries. Even within the country only such publications were to be allowed as taught the unqualified blessings of equality. All were to be drest alike save for differences of age or sex. Children were to be removed from the family at an early age, to be taught of "civism" and communism. Comfortable mediocrity was the openly exprest ideal.

Babeuf and his friends had planned a general uprising in May, 1796, but their plot was discovered a few hours before the time set for its execution, and in February of the following year, Babeuf and Darthé were condemned to die. They stabbed themselves before the tribunal, not fatally however, and they were guillotined the next day. Babeuf's last words were, "I wrap myself in a virtuous slumber."

BACON, FRANCIS, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS: English scholar, philosopher, and diplomat; born in London, 1561; studied at the University of Cambridge at the age of thirteen. He entered diplomacy, and was one of the suite of the English ambassador at Paris. Later he studied law, became a member of Parliament, Solicitor-General, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord Chancellor, and was made Baron Verulam, then Viscount. In 1621 he was convicted of corruption in office on his own confession. After this he devoted himself entirely to science and literature till his death in 1626.

Altho dishonorable in public life, Bacon's fame as a literary and scientific man is of the first order. His life was contemporary with the birth of modern science, and with it his name has always been associated. As a literary man Bacon exhibits profound thought exprest in a remarkable and splendid style. There are few subjects with which he did not occupy himself. In his day economic questions did not form a separate study, nor were they of much account. Bacon, however, here and there touches on them, as in Essay xxxiv., "Of Riches," and in the essay on "Plantations." He discusses the government of colonies, and says: "Let there be freedom from custom till the plantation be of strength, and not only freedom from custom but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution." In the "History of Henry VII," and in other shorter works he shows himself a deep student of human and social philosophy. "The New Atlantis" is a brief Utopia written between 1614 and 1617, and published a year after his death. Among his other works may be mentioned: "Essays," "The Advancement of Learning," the "Novum Organum," and the "History of the Reign of Henry VII."

BAGEHOT, WALTER: English banker and economist; born at Langport, Somersetshire, in 1826. He was the son of a banker, and studied at London University. After being called to the bar he chose to enter his father's bank, and later became known as a brilliant literary critic and writer. In 1858 he married the eldest daughter of James Wilson, editor of *The Economist*, and two years later succeeded to the editorship, continuing thus till his death. He was considered one of the best financiers of his day. His special service in economics may be said to have been to reconcile them with history. He had almost unbounded admiration for Ricardo, with whom as a successful man of business he had many points of agreement. "Adam Smith," he said, "discovered the country (of political economy), but Ricardo made the first map." He considered himself the last man of the ante-Mill period. Mill and Cairns had already shown that the old political economy was hypothetic, dealing not with real but imaginary "economic men," who were simply conceived "as money-making animals." In history and life, as Bagehot showed, men are not merely this. He named his great treatise "Lombard Street," not "The Money Market," because he desired to show that he dealt with the concrete and not the abstract. His sympathies were with the capitalists; yet to the working classes and trade-unions he was never hostile. His only remedy was *laissez-faire*. As was natural from his position, his best detailed work was in elucidating the orthodox teaching concerning banking and finance. He died in 1877.

Bagehot's main works were: "History of the Unreformed Parliament"; "Physics and Politics"; "Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market"; "International Coinage"; "Literary Studies"; "Economic Studies"; and "Biographical Studies."

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA: The bakery trade is one in which great evils exist. Working by hot ovens often in unventilated rooms and not infrequently in underground cellars is

very difficult, much work having to be done at night. The hours are often long and irregular and wages (except for organization) are very low. Frequently the baker, saturated with perspiration sleeps on his table or on flour bags, without undressing, ready for work the next morning. Organization began in New York, and by 1881 New York and Brooklyn had 5,000 union bakers, mainly German. The union struck for twelve hours, but lost and largely went to pieces. In 1885, however, Mr. Henry Weisman started the *German-American Bakers' Journal*, threw himself into building up a national union, with the result that to-day the national union had, 1905, 12,000 members and is working for an eight-hour day. *Secretary*, F. H. Harezbecker, 236 Superior Street, Cleveland, O.

BAKOUNIN, MICHAEL: The father of revolutionary anarchist-communism; born in Torschok, Russia, 1814, of aristocratic and even princely family. Educated for the military service, he became an artillery officer, and was stationed in Poland; but by 1835 became disgusted with Russian militarism, and went to Moscow to study philosophy, reading mainly Hegel and Schopenhauer, in company with Alexander Herzen, the later notorious Russian revolutionist, and others of similar type.

A Communist

In 1841 he went to Berlin, becoming particularly acquainted with Arnold Ruge, and writing in his *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, at Dresden. He was led by Ruge to be a communist. In 1843 Bakounin went to Paris, and there made the acquaintance of Proudhon and his writings, and learned to give to his communistic views an anarchistic basis. In 1849 he resided for a time in Leipsic, surrounding himself with Czech students, and endeavoring to provoke a fresh rising in Bohemia. When in that year the revolution broke out in Dresden, Bakounin joined it. He was, however, captured during a skirmish and condemned to death. On the eve of being shot he was handed over to the Austrian authorities, and tried by them for his part in the Czech rebellion. Again sentenced to death, he was claimed by Russia, and imprisoned in the fortress of Schlüsselburg, and in 1852 transported to Siberia. In 1860 Bakounin reappeared in London, having escaped from Siberia by the way of Japan and the United States. He immediately resumed his advocacy of Panslavism, and became more revolutionary than ever. He wrote in Herzen's journal, *Kolokol* (*The Bell*), and exerted wide influence, among other ways, by his brochure, "Romanoff and Pugatcheff."

When the International was formed in London in 1864, Bakounin did not at first join it; but soon realizing its power, he threw himself into it and became the leader of its anarchist wing against Marx, the leader of the Socialist wing. The names Anarchist and Socialist were not then used save in a vague way; both Marx and Bakounin called themselves communists, but gradually around these two leaders arose the two distinct movements which have since become the Socialist and anarchist-communist movements existing to-day, and completely opposing each other in all European countries. The difference, however, only gradually asserted itself. The International at first was simply an effort to unite the workers of all countries. (See INTERNATIONAL.)

The International

At a congress held in Geneva in 1867, Bakounin favored the abolition of centralized states, and the substitution of voluntary federations of independent communes. At the next congress, in 1868, at Bern, under the presidency of Victor Hugo, he urged joining the International. Failing to convince the assembly, he formed his supporters into a Social Democratic Alliance, the aim of which was to make land and capital the collective property of society, to be used by agricultural and manufacturing associations. Existing states were to "disappear in the universal union of free associations." The Alliance desired to be recognized as part of the International, but its claim was rejected, whereupon it dissolved after six months' existence, during which it had been active in Spain and Italy, and its sections joined the International separately.

On Sept. 28, 1870, Bakounin organized an insurrection at Lyons, but failing in France he resorted to Italy. In 1872, however, Bakounin was to make his break with the Marxian wing of the International. When the congress of the International was to be held in that year, Marx succeeded in having it called at The Hague, where Bakounin could not come, since he would have been arrested in passing through either France or Germany. At the congress, therefore, Marx had it all his own way. In Sept., 1873, both the Marxists and the Autonomists held a congress at Geneva, each claiming to be the true International. The autonomists were the stronger. Bakounin appeared to have conquered. It was the last congress of the Marxist International. The real triumph of Marxian socialism was not then apparent. Bakounin retired to Lugano, in Italy, but returned to Switzerland, and died in Bern, July 1, 1876. Eliseé Reclus, Paul Brousse, J. Guillaume, and others gathered round his grave, and organized the cause to which Reclus later gave the name of anarchist-communism. (See ANARCHISM.)

Bakounin is said, by Reclus, to have been a man of great thought, strength of will, and untiring energy. By Felix Dubois he is described as a man of no original thought, hungry only for a notoriety to be obtained by any means. He was the embodiment of the revolutionist. He wrote of the International:

> We wish to destroy all states and all churches, with all their institutions and laws, religious, political, juridical, financial, magisterial, academical, economical, and social, in order that all these millions of poor human beings, who are cheated, enslaved, overworked, and exploited—having been at last delivered from their masters and benefactors, whether official or officious, whether associations or individuals—may henceforth and forever breathe in absolute freedom.

His ideal of the future was not formulated. He wrote:

The Revolutionist

> All reasonings about the future are criminal, because they hinder destruction pure and simple, and fetter the progress of the revolution. . . . The revolutionist is a man under a vow. He ought to have no personal interests, no business, no feelings, no property. He ought to be entirely absorbed in one single interest, one single thought, one single passion—the revolution. . . . He has only one aim, one science — destruction. For that, and for nothing else, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and sometimes medicine. With the same object, he observes men, characters, the situations, and all the conditions of the social order. He despises and detests existing morality. For him everything is moral that helps on the triumph of the revolution, everything is immoral and criminal that hinders it. Between him and society there is war—war to the death, incessant, irreconcilable. He ought to be ready to die, to endure torture, and with his own hands to kill all who place obstacles in the way of the revolution. So much the worse for him if he has in this world any ties of relationship, of friendship, of love! He is no true revolutionist if

these attachments stay his arm. Nevertheless, he must live in the midst of society, feigning to be what he is not. He must penetrate everywhere among the upper classes, as well as among the middle—into the merchant's shop, into the church, into the government offices, into the army, into the literary world, into the detective force, and even into the imperial palace. . . . He must prepare a list of those who are condemned to death, and dispatch them in the order of their relative misdoings. A new member can only be admitted into the association by a unanimous vote, and after his qualities have been proved, not by words merely, but by deeds. Each "companion" should have under his control several revolutionists of the second or third degree, not wholly initiated. He should consider them as part of the revolutionary capital placed at his disposal, and he should expend them economically and so as to abstract the greatest possible profit out of them. . . . The most valuable element are women who are completely initiated, and who accept our whole program. Without their aid we can effect nothing.

Bakounin's best work is probably "God and the State," which has been translated by B. R. Tucker (1883). His other writings were mainly attacks upon Marx and Mazzini, or violent "Bulletins of the Federation of the Jura."

BALANCE OF TRADE: The difference between the amount or value of the commodities exported from and imported into a country. The balance is said to be favorable to a country when the value of its exports exceeds that of its imports, and unfavorable when it is *vice versa*. This is derived from the old idea long prevalent, but especially developed by the MERCANTILISTS, that wealth consists only, or at least mainly, in money, and that therefore that country which exports more commodities than it imports must be rich, since it receives money in excess of what it pays for its imports. Clement Armstrong, in his "Treatise Concerning the Staple and the Commodities of this Realme" (1530), says: "The holl welthe of the realme is for all our riche commodites to gete owt of all other realmes, therefore redy money; and after the money is brought into the holl realme, so shall all peple in the realme be made riche therwith." This was the universal theory in the Middle Ages, when there was what has been called a "balance of bargain" theory, each state striving on every bargain to obtain a balance of money. The first real refutation of the theory seems to have been by Nicholas Barbon in 1690, tho it remained largely accepted till the onslaught upon it by Hume in his "Essays" (1752), and the more calm and judicious analysis of Adam Smith. To-day, when it is seen that wealth may consist in many things besides money, the absurdity of the theory is apparent. See Buckle's "History of Civilization in England," vol. i., pp. 210–212; W. Cunningham's "The Growth of English Industry and Commerce," p. 362; C. F. Bastable's "The Theory of International Trade," p. 164 (Dublin, 1887).

BALL, JOHN: English priest and revolutionist; born 1338; studied at St. Mary's, York, and was ordained to the priesthood not long after 1356, becoming one of the class of parochial chaplains, who corresponded among the clergy to the artizan class among the laity. It was toward the end of the long reign of Edward III. that the "mad priest," as it suited the landowners to call him, began to prophesy against the evils of his time; and, as John Richard Green has said, "in the preaching of John Ball England first listened to the knell of feudalism and the declaration of the rights of man." England was ripe for the message. The years of prosperity following the plague of 1348 had done more to open the eyes of the peasants than all the centuries of poor rations which had gone before. At first by royal proclamation, and subsequently by the repeated enactments with added penalties of the famous "Statute of Laborers," every effort was made to defeat the rising prosperity of the artizans and peasants, but every resistance only fanned the flame.

Such were the conditions amid which Ball began his life-work, and for twenty years preached Lollardism of a coarser and more popular sort than that of Wycliffe. He traveled from place to place, and preached in churchyards and from the market crosses to crowds, which were ever increasing as he incurred the greater displeasure of the authorities. He insisted on the necessity of marriage of the clergy, on a voluntary priesthood, and on the injustice of demanding tithes from poor men. From the headquarters which he maintained in Essex his work extended in all directions, and he gradually became the recognized head of an ever-growing labor party, whose sections in the different parts of the country were united by a great band of itinerant priests, whose office enabled them to travel unsuspected in every direction. While all this was going on events were rapidly preparing the way for insurrection. The peasants were filled with what Professor Rogers calls a "religious socialism." The actual outbreak was delayed by several causes, for the leaders were loath to provoke an appeal to arms, tho as early as 1375 they seem to have decided that it would ultimately be necessary. Between 1375 and 1377 riots were frequent, and the people were held back with great difficulty. Then Edward III. died, and the hopes of the popular party for a better state of things were revived for a short time, while the troubles with the French helped to distract attention from the troubles at home. But when defeat abroad added to misery at home was capped by a fresh tax levy, to which the poor were compelled to contribute as much as the rich, the suffering became unbearable. In the early part of 1381 Ball began sending letters to his party everywhere, saying that the time for action had come. In April he was imprisoned, first in Maidstone jail and then in the archbishop's palace at Canterbury; but his plans were too well laid to be so frustrated, and in June the storm burst. The people rose simultaneously in all parts of the country. Canterbury, where "the whole town was of their sort," was thrown open to the insurgents, who plundered the archbishop's palace and released Ball, who thenceforth became the heart of the movement, as Wat Tyler was its military head. Then they moved on London, occupied Blackheath and Southwark, and sent their demands to the king, at the same time crossing the bridge and burning the new palace of the hated John of Gaunt and the hospital of St. John. The best of order and discipline were maintained; gold and silver vessels they smashed with axes, jewels they brayed; they stole nothing. This was between the 11th and the 13th of June. On the 14th the insurgents insisted on a conference with the king, and he came forth from the Tower, and met them almost alone at Mile End, giving assent to their demand: "We will that you make us free forever, ourselves, our heirs, and our lands; and that we be no more bond or so reputed." He set clerks at work writing charters

His Life

Wat Tyler's Rebellion

of manumission, and giving these to them, he bade them go home at once, which many did, thus weakening their strength through division. On the 15th, while Tyler was conferring with the king alone, and under the protection of a safe-conduct, he was murdered by Walworth, the mayor, and the rebels having lost their chief and leader, fell into the stratagem of the king, who put himself at their head and persuaded them to leave London altogether. Ball seems to have made an unsuccessful attempt to rally the peasants again; but, being caught at Coventry, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, after the fashion of the time. "The peasants were dispersed and defeated," says Professor Rogers; "their leaders were tried, sentenced, and hanged; but the solid fruits of victory rested with the insurgents of June, 1381. Once in the history of England only —once, perhaps, only in the history of the world —peasants and artizans attempted to effect a revolution by force. They nearly succeeded—at least they became for a short time the masters of the situation. The English laborer, for a century or more, became virtually free and constantly prosperous."

FRANCIS WATTS LEE.

REFERENCES: *English Social Reformers*, by H. de B. Gibbins, London, 1892; *A Dream of John Ball*, by William Morris, London, 1888; *English Popular Leaders*, by C. E. Maurice, London, 1872; In an article on *John Ball*, by James Gairdner, in Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885), and in *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, by W. J. Ashley (London, 1893), a less favorable view is taken.

BALLANCE, HON. JOHN: The first Liberal-Labor Premier of New Zealand; born in 1839; the son of a north Irish tenant farmer. Apprenticed to a Dublin ironmonger, he went to New Zealand in 1866 and became a sheep farmer; soon, however, he started a jeweler's shop, and later a paper. In 1875 he was elected to Parliament, and became a member of the cabinet from 1877 to 1879 and again in 1884 and 1887, and prime minister from 1891 till his untimely death in 1893. He gained his popularity largely by being the first promoter of New Zealand's present land system, in opposition to private monopoly in land. He inaugurated the village-settlement plan in 1886; was the author of the first land-value tax law; and took a leading part for manhood-suffrage. In 1890 he succeeded in uniting the Liberal and the Labor leaders; and on becoming premier he inaugurated the era of radical reforms with regard to land, etc., which has made New Zealand so prosperous.

BALLOU, ADIN: Founder of Hopedale Community; born in Cumberland, R. I., 1803. His ancestor, Maturin Ballou, in 1646 aided in founding the city of Providence, R. I. At eleven years of age Adin Ballou felt a fervor of the Divine spirit, and at eighteen he preached his first discourse. He became a Universalist, published books and pamphlets, and edited many papers on reformatory subjects. In 1841 he founded the HOPEDALE COMMUNITY in Massachusetts, which, as long as it remained under his management, succeeded in doing the good it started out to accomplish. Ballou remained at its head for over ten years, but was finally superseded by an intriguing business man, who got the lead and ruined the community. Mr. Ballou died in 1890. (For his views, see HOPEDALE.)

BALTIMORE, MD.: Social reform movements in Baltimore are characterized by qualities growing inevitably out of the somewhat unique position and history of the city. With a large negro population (a larger negro vote than any city in the union except Washington) the city has its full share of ignorance and poverty, and yet, descending from its early history, traditions of aristocracy and in some ways of feudal relationship between the rich and the poor, which are not common in the United States. Such relations exist elsewhere in the South, but in many ways Baltimore is not a Southern city. A situation favorable to commerce early developed a considerable foreign trade and local manufacture. The trade of the "Baltimore clippers" before the war became famous. Tho this was cut off by the war and hurt by the great fire of 1904, the city emerged from that experience to develop a very energetic commercial and industrial life.

History

The aristocratic element came first. The foundation of Baltimore in 1829 was under the influence of the proprietary government of Maryland. It had been the intention of Lord Baltimore, the first lord proprietor, to found a feudal state, largely for Catholics, tho Protestants were to be free to dwell there and conduct their faith. Maryland early outgrew this intention, but the influence of its beginnings has never wholly disappeared.

Ignorance, however, soon followed. Slavery was introduced and Maryland became a slave-holding state. Strong influences from Washington as well as in the State, in period of the rebellion, saved Maryland from seceding, but large numbers of her people sympathized with the South and many entered the Confederate army. After the close of the war the proximity to the South induced many colored freedmen to settle in Baltimore, providing her citizens and her commerce with cheap labor, and her politicians with a large element that could be easily bought. In 1900 Baltimore had a population of 508,957, of whom 79,739 were colored, 68,600 were foreign born, a small proportion for the U. S. The illiterate population was 29,148, of which 17,037 were colored and 12,111 "poor whites." Such conditions mean a low standard of labor, and Baltimore has never been a strong trade-union city. Commerce, however, has flourished.

Equally, however, until recently, has political corruption flourished, and Baltimore passed through a great period of municipal corruption in connection with public connivance with Senator Gorman's Democratic machine. In 1885, however, a Reform League was organized, and a fight upon corruption begun. For ten years, however, little or no impression was made. Only in 1895 did it succeed, through activity and watchfulness in ward clubs, in defeating the city machine, and electing a Republican governor and U. S. senator. But this was in part (tho not wholly) a mere party victory. In 1898, however, a new and progressive charter was obtained, going into effect March 1, 1900.

Corruption

Executive functions are vested in a mayor elected for four years, a few other officials, and in seven executive departments: Finance, Law, Public Safety, Public Improvements, Public Parks and Squares, Education, Charities and Correction, Review and Assessments. These officials (except the controller) and heads

New Charter

of departments were appointed by the mayor, subject to approval by the Second House, giving, therefore, very centralized responsibility, especially since they may be removed by the mayor, at pleasure, for the first six months, and after that by trial and for cause. The sole power of money appropriations is in a board of estimates, all of whom are elected by the people. No money can be appropriated unless actually in the treasury, a condition which works for honesty, conservatism, and against municipal operations. A separate spring election has called attention to city conditions as apart from the state and country, and has resulted in the election of better councilors. The result has been that Baltimore is almost unique among the large cities of the U. S. in not having the question of corruption prominently up for the last ten years, Much of the credit for this is due to the first mayor under the new charter, Thomas G. Hayes.

Civic Reform

The better element of citizens, however, have largely helped. The Baltimore Reform League is a somewhat small and compact organization of influential citizens, but a Municipal League, organized in 1905, enrolls 3,000 members.

It is in part due to Baltimore's wealth and aristocracy that the city, in spite of many ignorant citizens, has long ranked as one of the foremost educational centers of the country. Johns Hopkins University, opened in 1876 by the munificence of a Baltimore merchant, has been a pioneer in postgraduate study and has influenced the whole city. A Roman Catholic seminary and college, a woman's college, two colored advanced institutions, besides various professional schools and departments of the University of Maryland, increase this influence. The Enoch Pratt Free Library has 200,000 volumes and several branches. The Peabody Institute, founded by George Peabody, who laid the foundations of his wealth in Baltimore, has 145,000 volumes, art gallery, and conservatory of music. Public schools are also well developed, one of the chief successes of the new charter being in its freeing of the schools from politics and the development of the Department of Education.

Charity has been well organized in Baltimore. A fine Federated Charities Building was opened in 1903. The Lawrence House Settlement (founded 1893) and the more recent Locust Point Social Settlement are doing good work. Several churches have well-appointed parish houses for social work and many now show considerable institutional activity.

Charities

The following are some of the more important social and charitable institutions:

Federation Charities Building, 101 West Saratoga Street.
Lawrence House, 816 West Lombard Street.
Locust Point Social Settlement, 1504 Fort Avenue.
Baltimore Reform League, 18 East Lexington Street.
Municipal League, 126 Law Building.
Socialist Headquarters, 1011 East Baltimore Street.
Young Men's Christian Association, 302 North Charles Street.
Young Women's Christian Association, Park Avenue and Franklin Street.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 516 Park Avenue.
State Board of Education, Carrollton and Lafayette Avenues.
Baltimore Federation of Labor, Baltimore and North Streets.
Labor Leader, 27 Franklin Building.
Labor Lyceum, 1011 East Baltimore Street.
State Bureau of Industrial Statistics, 100 Equitable Building.

BANDS OF HOPE: Temperance organizations for juveniles, established throughout all English-speaking countries. In the United States the name has been generally changed to "Loyal Temperance Legion," altho some local organizations are continued under the old name. The Band of Hope pledge in this country is as follows: "I hereby solemnly pledge myself to abstain from the use of all intoxicating drinks, including wine, beer, and cider, as a beverage; from the use of tobacco in every form, and from all profanity."

The first society called a Band of Hope was formed in Leeds, England, in 1847, more than 200 children taking the pledge: "I promise to abstain from all intoxicating drinks as beverages." In Great Britain there are probably over 2,000 juvenile temperance societies of one kind or other. In 1851 the first Band of Hope Union was formed. Its sphere of work is in Bands of Hope, Sunday-schools, day-schools, colleges, orphan asylums, industrial and district schools, training ships, reformatories, and the homes of the children. The latest estimate of the strength of the movement shows that there are nearly 15,000 Bands of Hope and juvenile temperance organizations in Great Britain, with upward of 20,000 members.

BANK OF ENGLAND: Established in 1694 with a capital of £1,200,000. It was projected by William Paterson, a Scotchman who had had business experience in America. In 1816 the capital reached £14,553,000, the present amount, with a reserve fund of £3,000,000. Its issue department is limited to £14,000,000, tho this may be increased if other note-issuing banks discontinue issues. The Bank of England pays £180,000 a year for its exclusive privileges, and is paid £247,000 a year (less charges of £124,000) for acting as the government's banker in managing the national debt, loans, bonds, and much of the colonial business. In case of panic the government can permit the bank to issue notes beyond the legal amount, and this usually ends the panic. The bank is controlled by a governor, a deputy, and twenty-four directors, elected by the stockholders.

BANK OF VENICE, THE: This famous bank, which has played an important part in monetary discussion, dates according to some from 1171, and according to others, from 1619. This is because the latter authorities deny that up to 1619 it was a bank in any modern or correct sense of the word. Stephen Colwell, in his "Ways and Means of Payment," has made this bank an argument for the practicability of fiat money, tho these conclusions are severely criticized by their opponents. Mr. B. S. Heath, in his "Labor and Finance Revolution," says in brief:

Stephen Colwell's digest of fourteen authorities leads to the following deductions, as will be seen by perusal of his able work:

It proves that there was a national bank of Venice founded on a loan of 2,000,000 ducats spent by the State in 1171, and the bank existed within the memory of living men, a period of 626 years, during which time it was gradually enlarged over 700 per cent.

That, in 1423, the 4 per cent interest previously paid was abolished.

That all promise of reimbursement, other than transfer of credit receipts, was abolished.

That no coin was kept as a specie basis of credit, or for strengthening the nation.

That no promise to pay any coin was made after 1423, for nearly 400 years of its continuance.

That the premium fixt by law of 20 per cent premium over the Venetian gold ducat, so celebrated for its fineness in ex-

port, was a real superiority of legal money of account over the commodity gold, and over gold currency.

That it was not dependent on any promise of convertibility or redemption in gold, as no claim for any gold was acknowledged in the National Bank.

That it continued for nearly 400 years with all these extraordinary attributes, producing no financial derangements and no opposition; but, on the contrary, grew until it exceeded the money per capita of any nation in Europe, ancient and modern, and was the pride of Venice, the envy of Europe.

That it only fell when Napoleon conquered Venice, when it had reached an issue exceeding $16,000,000 of government credit or money for 200,000 people, excluding the dependencies of Venice.

On the other hand, Professor Dunbar, in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy," gives an account different in several essential points. According to him, the bank was simply a bank of deposit under public officers. In 1619 it was changed into the Banco del Giro, long known as the Bank of Venice. It received funds both for the State and individuals, making a small charge for holding private deposits. Transfers were made upon the books by the order of depositors; bills of exchange were paid, and the tender of payment for any sum not less than 100 ducats could not be refused. Loans to the government compelled it to suspend more than once, especially from 1717–39. For the greater part of its existence, however, it received or paid out cash on demand. It kept its accounts in ducats *banco*, which had no corresponding coin, but were credited or redeemed by the bank as might be required at an advance of 20 per cent, above the ducat *effectivo* of the mint. Whatever be the origin of this, it seems finally to have represented a mere difference of denomination.

BANKS AND BANKING: A bank may be defined as an institution for receiving money at or without interest, for loaning, discounting, or transmitting money, and sometimes for issuing notes. (See SAVINGS-BANKS; COOPERATIVE BANKS; CURRENCY.)

I.—General History

The name "bank" is derived from the Italian *banco*, a bench, from the benches in the markets on which the early money-changers were wont to sit. Passing by obscure references to money-lenders and usurers on Assyrian tablets in Egyptian records and classic and sacred literature, the origin of modern banking is largely to be found in Florence, altho the BANK OF VENICE was the first real bank. The names of the Bardi, Acciajuoli, Peruzzi, Pitti, and Medici were famous throughout Europe. In 1345 the Bardi and the Peruzzi, the two greatest mercantile houses in Italy, failed. Edward III. owed the Bardi 900,000 gold florins, which his war with France prevented him from paying; and the King of Sicily owed them 100,000 gold fl. The deposits of citizens and strangers with the Bardi were 550,000 gold fl. The Peruzzi were owed 600,000 gold fl. by Edward III. and 100,000 by the King of Sicily, and the deposits they owed their customers were 350,000 gold fl. The fall of these two great pillars of credit involved that of multitudes of other smaller establishments. The city, however, recovered from this terrible disaster, and we find that between 1430–33 seventy-six bankers at Florence lent 4,865,000 gold fl. At one time Florence is said to have had eighty bankers, but not any public bank.

Early Banks

The first bank to be established on really modern principles as a bank issuing notes payable to bearers at sight is the Bank of Sweden, established by a Swede named Palmstruck, in 1656. Its first bank-note was issued in 1658. This bank became the Riks Bank (National Bank) of Sweden in 1688, and still carries on business as such. Banking in Germany, save for the great Bank of Hamburg, presents little of interest. Each German state had its own banking laws and banks of issue, confined mainly to its own neighborhood. After the unification of the empire by an act of 1875—the Bank of Germany was established, and thirty-two banks were recognized as possessing rights of uncovered issue of 135,000,000 marks, the bank of Germany being allowed 250,000,000 mk. The state itself has the right of issue of 120,000,000 mk. in small denominations. France has many large banks besides the Bank of France, among others the Comptoir d'Escompte, founded 1848; the Crédit Foncier and Crédit Mobilier, 1852; the Crédit Lyonnais, 1863; the Société Générale, 1864.

Continental European Banking

England has many old banks. Says Mr. Courteney: "The still existing bank of Messrs. Smith & Co., of Nottingham, the parent of the London establishment of Messrs. Smith, Payne & Smiths, claims to have been established in 1688; the Bristol Old Bank (Messrs. Baillie, Cave & Co.) dates from 1750; the Hull Old Bank (Messrs. Pease & Co.) from 1754; and many other country banks trace back their history to the latter half of the 18th century. It is believed that all these bankers issued their own notes payable to bearer as part of their business; and they were not very scrupulous in regard to the magnitude of the sums for which they were given. The Bank of England had not issued any notes for less than £20 previously to 1759, when it commenced the issue of £10 notes; but the country bankers put in circulation notes for such small sums that Parliament enacted, in 1775, that none should be issued for less than £1. In 1777 this minimum limit was further raised to £5, but in spite of this restriction the number and the amount of the issues of the country bankers soon became dangerously multiplied."

Banking in England

In 1792 there were said to have been 350 banks. In the panic of 1792–93, about 300 banks suspended payments, and 50 were totally destroyed. After the panic, however, banks gradually multiplied till 1825, when the circulation of notes of less than £5 was forbidden. Joint-stock banks with any number of partners were allowed to issue, but did not multiply again till 1834–36, when there was a rush into banking, leading to the passage of the Banking Act of 1844. (See BANK OF ENGLAND.)

II.—Banking in the United States to the Period of the War of the Rebellion

As early as 1690 the colony of Massachusetts issued bills of credit, making the paper legal tender for taxes and other debts, the notes being payable to the bearer on demand. This was five years before the establishment of the Bank of England; and William Paterson, the father of that bank, had been in the colonies and studied the Massachusetts experiment. This

Colonial Period

issuing of bills of credit was repeated with various modifications by Massachusetts and the other colonies through all their history. (See CURRENCY.)

In 1739 a land bank and a specie bank, according to modern banking methods, were started in Massachusetts. The latter, however, closed in 1740, when Parliament extended the old Joint-Stock Companies' Act (passed after the South Sea Bubble, 1720) to the colonies; the former bank, however, struggling and battling for its life for the next ten years.

Bank of North America

Dec. 31, 1781, Congress chartered the Bank of North America in Philadelphia. It had a capital of $400,000, and took its origin in a union of citizens of Philadelphia, formed to supply the army with rations. They were allowed to issue notes to buy the articles required. Congress ordered bills drawn on American ministers abroad to be deposited in the bank as a guaranty of payment; $70,000 in specie were subscribed by individuals in 1782, and the remainder by the government, out of the proceeds of a foreign loan. It issued convertible notes, redeemable in Spanish dollars; but the people were slow to take them. However, it made large dividends, and was attacked by a rival, which it was obliged to absorb.

The first bank of the United States under the Constitution was chartered by Congress in 1791. The capital was $10,000,000. One fifth of the stock was owned by the United States and $8,000,000 by the people. Six of the eight millions were government indebtedness; and $2,000,000, money. Notes of the bank were made receivable for all obligations due the government for twenty years, or during the life of the charter. The bank always paid coin when demanded, but the notes were legal tender to the government, and, therefore, satisfactory to the people, whether the bank paid coin or not. This was made plain by the law, and was demonstrated in the last four years of the life of the charter, when the most bitter controversy was carried on between the bank and the president and cabinet. When the time came to renew its charter (1811), ninety state banks had grown up to oppose it. It had been successful, and paid 8 or 10 per cent a year to its stockholders. It was charged that the bank controlled elections in the state, and was then laboring to control those of the nation. Reports charging the bank with corruption, and even insolvency, were circulated, and the charter was not renewed.

The following table, from the report of the Controller of the Currency for 1892, gives a convenient *résumé* of the banks in the United States in the period we are now considering:

SPECIE, CIRCULATION, CAPITAL, AND NUMBER OF BANKS IN THE U. S., 1774–1804

YEAR	No. of banks	Specie	Circulation	Capital
1774	.....	$4,000,000	.....	.....
1784	3	10,000,000	$2,000,000	$2,100,000
1794	17	21,500,000	11,600,000	18,000,000
1804	59	17,500,000	14,000,000	39,500,000

From 1800 to the War of the Rebellion

Banking of the wildest kind was now the rule. After 1805 notes were allowed for sums under $5, and finally were issued as low as for twenty-five cents. Specie was driven out. A crash came in 1809. Severe bank laws were passed. In 1813 the New England Bank was chartered as a bank of redemption at Boston, in order to keep the paper of the adjacent county at par. It did this, but was unpopular, and was the beginning of the Suffolk bank system.

The note circulation of the banks of the country is estimated, in 1811, by Gallatin, at $46,000,000. The country being at war, $57,000,000 were borrowed by the government from 1812 to 1814. Treasury notes for one year were issued in 1812 to the amount of $3,000,000; in 1813, to $6,000,000; and in 1814, to $8,000,000. Silver flowed to New England. In 1814 all the banks save those in New England suspended payment. Notes were depreciated from 20 to 50 per cent. The Secretary of the Treasury now began to be engaged in the money market. He tried to get the banks to come to some agreement. He ordered that taxes should be received only in specie, treasury notes, or notes of banks which received treasury notes at par. Madison recommended another national bank.

The second United States bank was finally opened Jan. 1, 1817. It began business with $1,400,000 in specie, $14,000,000 in stocks, and the rest in stock notes. It was to have a capital of $7,000,000. A second instalment of $2,800,000 was soon due, but only $32,400 was paid in specie, the rest mainly from notes or discounts of the bank itself. The third instalment was still worse. The bank discounted its own stock at par to pay the instalment. In Aug., 1817, the bank discounted its own stock at 125. The facilities for stock-jobbing were used. Congress resolved that after Feb. 20, 1817, only specie, treasury notes, and notes of specie-paying banks ought to be taken by the national treasury. The banks refused to resume before July, 1817. The Western banks were still comparatively sound. The Southern banks had become inflated. The inflation was increased during the year by the government paying off $11,000,000 of the public securities held by the banks. The note circulation at this time is estimated at $100,000,000.

The Second National Bank

By March, 1818, the discounts of the United States Bank were $43,000,000—$11,000,000 on stocks. It had $2,000,000 in specie. It had now eighteen branches, but only $3,000,000 of specie in them all. Its operations in the West drew that region into the "golden" age. The bank now bought $7,000,000 bullion in the West Indies. Fifteen months after it was started it was doubtful if the bank was solvent. In November, Congress appointed a committee of investigation, which reported unfavorably; but Congress would not respond, forty members being stockholders. The bank now took energetic measures to save itself, and in seventy days was solvent, but had ruined the community. In Aug., 1819, there were 20,000 seeking work in Philadelphia, and a similar state of things existed in other cities. Land in Pennsylvania was worth, in 1809, $38 per acre; in 1815, $150; in 1819, $35. The note circulation of the country in 1812 was about $45,000,000; in 1817, $100,000,000; in 1819, $45,000,000. Financial distress was general and lasted till 1823. Money was plentiful in the hands of those who had no debts to pay, as they would not invest. In 1823 the circulation of the United States Bank was very low—$4,081,842; but there was a great creation of banks, and the bank began to expand and receive the notes of all its branches.

In 1826 there was dulness and reaction throughout the year. In 1827 money was plentiful, and continued so with some changes till 1831. President Jackson commenced his attack on the United States Bank in his first message (1829). About 1830 American securities began to attract English investments, in canals, steamboats, and, later, in railroads. Currency, however, became more and more of a political issue.

The Bank War, 1832–1836

Jackson committed his party to hard money. In 1832 the United States Bank petitioned for a renewal of its charter, which was to expire in 1836. The bill passed both Houses, but was vetoed by the president. A violent warfare was now begun by the bank. It is certain

that the bank had paid little heed to the laws of the state or of prudence, expanding or contracting according to will. In 1832 Jackson defeated Clay by 288 to 49 in the electoral college. In his message in Dec., 1832, he recommended the sale of the $7,000,000 stock of the United States Bank which was owned by the nation, and an investigation into the bank. Bank shares fell from 112 to 104, but recovered to 112 on a favorable report of the treasury agent. This report showed $79,000,000 assets and $37,000,000 liabilities, besides $35,000,000 capital and $7,000,000 surplus. But when the government desired to pay the 3 per cents in July, 1832, the bank agreed to pay the interest on them if the payment might be delayed so long. It then negotiated a loan of $5,000,000 from Barings, the reason given being fear of the cholera. This caused fear for the public deposits, but a resolution that they were safe was carried, through the influence of the bank, 109 to 46. After Congress adjourned (Sept. 22, 1832), the president ordered Mr. Duane, the secretary of the treasury, to remove the public deposits from the bank. He refused, and was replaced by Mr. Taney, who did it. The order was that the collectors should send no more deposits to it, but to state banks. There was no sudden transfer, but it was proposed to withdraw at intervals. The bank began war, and began to draw in its loans. On the assembling of Congress, the Senate resolved (28 to 18) that the president had usurped unconstitutional powers. The House never noticed the resolution, but resolved (134 to 82) that the bank charter should not be renewed. The contraction of the money market caused great distress. It was stated that the bank caused this to obtain a renewed charter. It was claimed that they loaned to a select few who reloaned at usurious rates. The aggregate amount of loans, however, steadily decreased all these years.

Meanwhile, the bank war went on. The bank, finding that it could not coerce the people, and that smaller banks were taking its place, changed its policy and expanded, President Jackson using this as a proof that it had unnecessarily contracted before. The president induced many of the states to pass laws forbidding the issue of small notes, and this largely favored convertibility. These were times when cotton could command good prices, and railroad and other investments and speculation were good. The public debt was now nearly extinguished. On July 11, 1836, the president issued the famous Specie Circular, by which he ordered agents for the sale of public lands to take specie only. Congress in December passed an act rescinding this, but it did not become law, the president not signing it. The United States Bank not being able to renew its charter, now obtained a charter from Pennsylvania—by bribery, as it was asserted. It had not yet paid back the government stock or the dividends which it held for contracting a loan with France that finally never materialized. It continued to reissue the notes of the old United States Bank which it received. Gold, being forced on the market in this country, came here from England. In April, 1836, the gold reserve in the Bank of England began to lower, and this continued all summer. Nowhere had paper money been more in use than in the South. In March, 1837, several New Orleans houses failed. Next, the pressure was felt in New York, and then became general. There were 100 failures in New York in March, and the losses were $15,000,000. In March a meeting was held in New York, addrest by Webster. He laid the trouble to the government interfering with the currency and to the Specie Circular. A committee of fifty was sent to the president (Van Buren) to ask for its rescinding. The committee, in its address, spoke of 250 failures and 20,000 individuals discharged by their employers, and they laid it all to the effort to put metallic in place of paper currency. But they could obtain nothing from the president. In May the New York banks suspended in a body, a law being passed allowing them to suspend for one year. Suspension became general through the Union. Specie was driven out of the market, and all kinds of notes circulated instead. The New York banks then began to contract to be ready to resume. Nearly all the banks made money by the suspension, and paid good dividends during the year. In 1838, Congress passed an act forbidding the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States from using the old United States Bank notes. On May 10, 1838, most of the banks in New York City and in the Union resumed, the Bank of England sending $1,000,000 to aid them. There was a general revival of trade, but it was not permanent. Gold in the Bank of England again declined. The Bank of Belgium failed. The Bank of England borrowed £2,500,000 of the Bank of France. During the same year the Bank of the United States became involved in cotton speculation. Several banks, especially in the South and West, failed. The management of the United States Bank became reckless. It owed from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000, and tried to borrow of various banks in Europe. On Oct. 10, 1839, it failed, and carried with it all the banks of the South and West. Three hundred and forty-three out of 850 banks in the Union closed entirely, and 62 partially. Some $2,000,000 of government deposits were lost. This suspension lasted by law till Jan. 15, 1841. As soon as the bank opened again a run on it commenced, and it suspended finally Feb. 4, 1841. Its capital was a total loss, the shareholders receiving nothing. But all the creditors and all the circulating notes were paid in full, principal and interest, and the United States Treasury cleared some $6,000,000 above the $7,000,000 originally paid in.

The Panic of 1837

Widespread Depression

When it failed the Bank of the United States owed the Bank of England $23,000,000. Its failure, and, above all, the repudiation of indebtedness by several states ruined American credit abroad, and cost the bank many friends here.

In 1840 the Independent Treasury Act was passed, giving the government the custody of its own funds. It was only accomplished after a severe struggle, as it withdrew the public funds from use as banking capital.

Number of Banks in the U. S., their Capital, etc., in the Years 1811–40

Year	No.	Capital	Circulation	Specie
1811	89	$52,720,601	$28,100,000	$15,400,000
1830	330	145,192,268	61,323,898	22,114,917
1840	722	358,442,692	106,968,572	33,105,155

Among the new measures were the Suffolk Bank plan in Massachusetts, and the New York Safety-Fund System. The Suffolk Bank plan was merely an arrangement whereby

that bank was made the channel through which all notes of New England banks that found their way to Boston, as most of them naturally did, were at once forwarded to the issuers for redemption. The New York Safety-Fund System, which is the cardinal principle of the present national banking plan, required each bank to deposit, with the banking department of the state, securities consisting of federal or state stocks, or bonds and mortgages, which, in case of the failure of the bank, were sold, and the proceeds applied to the liquidation of its debts.

From 1844 things began to mend. Railroads were rapidly developed, and the discovery of gold in California added another powerful element to the industrial development. Our credit abroad slowly mended. By 1854 it was estimated that $200,000,000 of state, railway, and other bonds were held abroad, and in 1857, $400,000,000. Bank-notes expanded. Gold was exported; currency set toward the financial centers, the country banks keeping their balances generally in New York.

1840–1860

The following tables from the report of the Controller of the Currency for 1892, give the position of the state banks from 1834–63:

Year	Liabilities					
	No. of banks	Capital stock	Circulation	Deposits	Due to banks	Other liabilities
1834	506	$200,005,944	$94,839,570	$75,666,986	$26,602,203	.....
1839	840	327,132,512	135,170,095	90,240,146	53,135,508	$62,946,248
1844	696	210,872,056	75,167,646	84,550,785	31,998,024	5,842,010
1849	782	207,309,361	114,743,415	91,178,623	30,095,366	6,706,357
1854	1,208	301,376,071	204,689,207	188,188,744	50,322,162	13,430,276
1859	1,476	401,976,242	193,306,818	259,568,278	68,215,651	15,048,427
1863	1,466	405,045,829	238,677,218	393,686,226	100,526,527	53,814,145

Year	Resources							
	Loans and discounts	Stocks	Due from banks, etc.	Real estate, etc.	Notes of other banks	Specie fund	Specie	Other resources
1834	$324,119,499	$6,113,195	$27,329,645	$10,850,090	$22,154,919	$26,641,753	.....	$1,723,547
1839	492,278,015	36,128,464	52,898,357	16,607,832	27,372,066	3,612,567	$45,132,673	28,352,248
1844	264,905,814	22,858,570	35,860,030	22,520,863	11,072,473	6,729,080	40,808,269	12,153,693
1849	332,323,195	23,571,575	32,228,407	17,491,809	12,708,016	8,680,483	43,619,368	7,065,463
1854	557,397,779	44,350,330	55,516,085	22,367,472	22,659,066	25,579,253	59,410,253	7,589,830
1859	657,183,799	63,502,449	78,244,987	25,976,497	18,858,289	26,808,822	104,537,818	8,323,041
1863	648,601,863	180,508,260	96,934,452	31,880,495	58,164,328	46,171,518	101,227,369	22,003,443

III.—The War Period and the National Banking System

When the War of the Rebellion began, the paper in circulation in the country was about $200,000,000—about three fourths among the loyal states. The specie available was estimated at $275,000,000. The opinion was that the war would be short. In 1862, Congress authorized the issue of $150,000,000 in notes, of which $50,000,000 was for withdrawal of the demand notes. This was the famous Legal Tender Act. The notes were legal tender except for imposts on duties and interest on the public debt. The friends of these "greenbacks" claim that it was this limitation which caused them to depreciate; but we are here only concerned with the fact and its bearing on the banking system. (See Currency.) Whatever be the reason, they did depreciate. Albert Gallatin, in a famous proposition, advocated a prohibitory tax on existing bank-notes and the establishment of a currency founded on public stock, or possibly mortgages on real estate. John J. Knox, in his excellent review of the national banking system, ascribes the first suggestion of its underlying principles to an unknown writer in *The Analectic Magazine*, who, in 1815, a period of utter demoralization in our currency, advocated a system in which public funds were to serve as the basis, support, and limit of American money. But there was a formidable opposition to every description of banks of issue inherited from the experience of reckless banking. It was finally favored only under pressure of war necessity. Secretary Chase, in his first annual report (1861), discust the advantages of a national banking system substantially as finally adopted. But the country was not ready.

In December of 1862, Secretary Chase again urged upon Congress the advantages of a national banking system, and reiterated the danger of United States notes. Meanwhile, the sentiment in and out of Congress had rapidly changed in favor of the proposition, and on Feb. 25, 1863, a bill, recommended by Senator Sherman and favorably reported by the Finance Committee of the upper House became law. The vote taken in the Senate Feb. 12 stood 23 to 21; that of the House, taken Feb. 20, 78 to 64, the president signing five days later.

Present National Banking System

It is needless to remark, in view of the immense personal financial interests involved and the prejudices to be overcome, that the discussion of the bill was decidedly warm. The ablest arguments for and against were those made in the upper House by Senators Sherman and Collamer, the latter of Vermont. By this law any association of five or more persons was authorized upon deposit of registered or coupon bonds to the minimum amount of $50,000 to receive 90 per cent of the par value of the same in bank-notes, which, being properly signed, were receivable for all government dues, except duties on imports, and were payable on all government debts, except interest on bonds. In compensation for the issue privilege, banks organized under this act were required to pay a tax on circulation, the rate being fixed at 1 per cent by amendatory legislation in 1864. Each association was required to conform to the law of its own state in the matter of interest rates, and was compelled to maintain a special reserve for its notes and deposits, and to redeem circulation at the place of issue.

The amount of circulation was fixed at $300,000,000, to be distributed throughout the states, territories, and District of Columbia, one half in proportion to the population, the remaining half in proportion to banking capital and business needs. The law provided for the establishment of a finance bureau, at the head of which was to be an officer called the Controller of the Currency, who was given general oversight of the entire system. The original bill has been repeatedly amended, yet its leading features, with certain important exceptions, remain valid to-day; the principal changes being made the next year, providing for redemption in certain specified leading cities,

Working Method

excluding coupon bonds from the list of securities, increasing the minimum of capital from $50,000 to $100,000, and providing for the easy conversion of state banks.

The bill had received the president's approval Feb. 25, 1863, but it was nearly four months then before a bank was organized under it, and five before one was opened in the city of New York. Up to Dec. 10, 1863, only 134 had been incorporated, and up to Nov. 25, 1864, only 584, of which 168 were state banks, reorganized under the national law. It is obvious that up to this time the state banks had continued to supply the major part of the currency of the country.

Mr. Fessenden had now become the Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. McCulloch Controller of the Currency, and they agreed in opinion that the time had come when it was necessary to discriminate against the state banks in some manner if the good to be hoped from the national system was to be realized. State-bank systems were antagonistic to the national system, and they should not be suffered to exist unchecked and uncontrolled. It was indispensable to the financial success of the treasury that the currency of the country should be under the control of the government, and this could not be the case so long as state institutions had the right to flood the country with their issues. So thought these officers; and under their recommendation Congress was induced to pass an act, approved March 3, 1865, which provided, "That every national banking association, state bank, or state banking association, shall pay a tax of 10 per centum on the amount of the notes of any state bank or state banking association paid out by them after the first day of July, 1866." This act has in substance been continued to this day, and is now in force. Under and in consequence of it state banks of issue have ceased to exist.

Until recently, the country has had a period of changes in the currency rather than in banks or banking. (See CURRENCY.) The failure of the important house of Jay Cooke & Co. in 1873 precipitated a crisis, but the holders of national bank-notes were protected by the treasury deposits. (See CRISES.)

More recently, owing to the silver question (see SILVER), there has been something of a serious agitation for the abolition of the tax on state banks. On the more recent enormous development of banking, we quote, in condensed form, an article in *The Independent* (1906), from Mr. Sereno S. Pratt (editor of *The Wall Street Journal*): "The banking power of the world is estimated at $33,608,000,000, of which 41 per cent is in the United States. The increase in this country is computed by the Controller of the Currency as having been 168 per cent in fourteen years, against 82 per cent in foreign countries. At this rate it will not be long before the United States will contain a larger banking power than all the other nations put together.

Recent Development

"The total bank deposits in the United States in 1904 were $10,110,000,000, as compared with $4,535,000,000 in 1893, an increase of 123 per cent. In the same year the total amount of actual money in the United States was $2,803,500,000, of which $1,982,000,000 were in upward of 15,000 banks; so that there were over three dollars of deposits to every dollar of money in the country and over ten dollars of deposits to every dollar of money in the banks. In this calculation the savings-banks are included, altho they are institutions of safe-keeping and investment and not of discount. . . .

The recent growth of banking in this country presents these striking features:

(1) The extraordinary expansion of the trust-company business; (2) the growth of the national-bank system, especially in the small towns of the agricultural districts; (3) a notable development of banking power in the West; (4) the banking concentration which has gone on in the principal cities; (5) the interownership or alliance of banks and trust companies, making what are sometimes called "chains" of banking institutions (see CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH); (6) an eager and wasteful competition for deposits; and (7) the introduction of "department-store" methods in banking, many banks and trust companies.

This enormous growth of banking, and especially its concentration, has called general attention to it. The bankers themselves are eagerly discussing important questions. Some of these are: Shall the national bank-note circulation be made more "elastic"? President Roosevelt and Secretary Shaw say that it should. Shall the trust companies, which have grown so rapidly in number, deposits, and power, be compelled to keep larger cash reserves? Secretary Shaw, in his annual report, recommends that the trust companies of large capitalization be permitted to take out federal incorporations. Shall the banks themselves keep stronger reserves or make provision for more elastic reserves by gathering larger amounts of cash in July and August for use in the crop-moving periods? Shall the payment of interest, on deposits subject to withdrawal by check, be prohibited or materially reduced? What provisions should be made for a larger banking publicity?

"Ten years ago there were only 569 trust companies. There are now 1,115. During this time their resources have more than doubled, and they now amount to $3,802,000,000, or more than 27 per cent of the entire banking power of the country. Their deposits amount to $2,847,000,000, as compared with $4,735,000,000 in the national banks. Over $1,000,000,000 of the total trust-company deposits are in greater New York, where their competition with the banks constitutes one of the problems of the situation. The banking system, however, has grown, tho not so fast as the trust companies.

"The national-bank expansion has been especially notable since 1900, when, by the Act of March 14th, national banks could be incorporated with a minimum capital of $25,000. This has led to the organization of 2,666 national banks, or practically one third of the total number chartered since the national banking system was established. Of the total $4,735,000,000 of national-bank deposits on Aug. 25th, $2,117,000,000 were in the country banks. Secretary Wilson says: 'One of the most notable outgrowths of savings by farmers is the very great multiplication of small national banks in recent years." There is in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis $1,342,000,000 of national-bank deposits, while in thirty-five other banking centers there is $1,275,000,000, and in the rest of the country $2,117,000,000. Twenty-one per cent of the deposits are in New York City, but Chicago and Philadelphia hold over $200,000,000; three other cities—Boston, Pittsburg, and St. Louis—hold over $100,000,000; and four others—Kansas City, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Baltimore—over $50,000,000.

"The resources of the national banks of the United States are greater than the capital of all the railroads of the country. Their outstanding loans are larger than the public debt of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Italy, or Spain. They hold in securities 2 per cent of all the stocks and bonds admitted on the New York Stock Exchange. They hold in actual money 66 per cent of all the money in all of the banking institutions, public and private, in the United States. Their circulating notes, amounting to $533,000,000, are 20 per cent of all the money in circulation in the United States

Concentration of Banking Power

"There has at the same time been a remarkable concentration, which has been accompanied by a close alliance between the big banks and groups of trust and insurance companies. In New York there are fewer banks but larger increased banking resources than ten years ago.

"A recent compilation showed that there are 149 national banks in the United States having gross deposits of $5,000,000, or more. There are 28 banks having deposits of over $22,000,000. These include 14 in New York, 4 in Chicago, 4 in Philadelphia, 2 in Boston, 2 in St. Louis, and 1 each in Pittsburg and Kansas City.

"In New York the National City, the National Bank of Commerce, the First National Bank, the National Park Bank, and the Hanover National Bank take the lead, their combined deposits making a total of $662,000,000. This is indeed immense, and yet there are 5 banks in Great Britain (not counting the Bank of England) whose total deposits and current accounts make the imposing total of $1,060,000,000. Yet the total deposits of all the joint-stock banks in Great Britain, this time including the Bank of England, is over $1,000,000,000 less than those of the national banks of the United States.

"In Chicago there is one bank, the First National, having deposits of $95,000,000, which ranks with the first five banks in the country.

"Not a few trust companies have also attained great size. In 1905 there were 29 trust companies, 14 of them outside of New York, having assets in excess of $23,000,000. There are 5 trust companies in New York having combined deposits of $280,000,000, comparing with $662,000,000 in the five largest banks. *The London Economist* recently observed that concentration there had been checked for the time being. Just now this is the case in New York, but the tendency is irresistible, and it will again begin to show its power."

The more radical criticism of the banks varies from criticism of the national system to attacks upon banking altogether. It is argued that a state-bank issue would be less free from danger at the hands of agitators, since, if they did get control of the legislation of one state, they would not be likely to of all state legislations at the same time; and so the whole national system would not be endangered as if all were under the control of one national body. There are those who would do away altogether with the chartering of private banks by either state or nation as banks of issue. These argue that the present system gives enormous advantages to the favored few who have capital. They point out that under the present system any five rich men can loan the government $100,000, receive interest on the same without any serious risk to themselves, and yet, while receiving this interest on the whole $100,000, can get $90,000 of this to let out again at interest as a bank. They go on to argue that our whole banking and currency system since the war, if not before, has been controlled by the bankers of our great cities wholly in their own interests. They accuse them of first scheming to put limitations upon the government issue so as to lessen its value, thus causing depreciation; secondly, of buying up this depreciated currency, and with it purchasing United States bonds at par, and then getting Congress to vote, under the pretense that honesty demanded it, the redemption of these bonds in gold (having sold them for paper); and, thirdly, on top of all this, of scheming to reduce the volume of the currency, and so to raise the value of the notes in their possession. The People's Party, therefore, all Socialists, Nationalists, Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, and many even who do not indorse Greenbackism would have all banking carried on directly by the government, without the intervention of private banks chartered by either state or nation as banks of issue. Prof. Amasa Walker, Francis Bowen, and other economists oppose such private banks. (See Currency; Greenbacks; Paper Money; People's Party.) Philosophical anarchists and extreme individualists, on the other hand, would abolish the present system by putting no dependence upon government, but substituting mutual banks. (See Mutual Banks.) Others, who do not go so far as either of the above extremes, would have simply a government postal-bank system or land banks, as in Germany. (See Land Banks.)

Radical Views

IV.—Latest Statistics

World's Banking Power, 1905

Classification	1890	1905	Increase over 1890	
			Amount	Per Cent
	Millions	*Millions*	*Millions*	
Banking power of the U. S.	$5,150.0	$15,333.9	$10,183.9	197.7
Banking power of foreign countries.	10,835.0	19,158.5	8,323.5	76.8
Banking power of the world	$15,985.0	$34,492.4	$18,507.4	115.8

The banking power of the U. S., including the island possessions, consisting of capital, surplus, other undivided profits, deposits and circulation, is shown to be $15,333,865,561. These figures include funds of the national banks, amounting to $5,711,271,024; reporting state banks and bankers, $9,062,923,037; and non-reporting banks, estimated, $559,671,500.

The world's banking power in 1890 was estimated by Mulhall at $15,985,000,000, the U. S. being credited with something less than one third of that amount. The present estimate, compared with that of 1890, shows that the banking power of the U. S. has increased since that date to the extent of $10,183,900,000, or 197.7 per cent; that of the foreign countries, $8,323,500,000, or 76.8 per cent; and the combined banking power, $18,507,400,000, or 115.8 per cent.

It will be noted from the table on page 97 that the Southern States show the largest percentage of increase in deposits during the period from June 30, 1896, to June 30, 1905, the percentage of increase in this section being 246.1, followed by the Western States, where the ratio of increase is 234.6; and, in the order named, the Middle Western States with 180.3, the Pacific States 171.6, the Eastern States 129.2, and the New England States 50.1. The average of increase for the United States is 129.2 per cent.

The average individual deposit in the U. S. per capita of population has steadily risen from $69 in 1896 to $95 in 1900, $122 in 1904, and $136 in 1905. The volume of exchanges of the 103 clearing-houses in the U. S. amounted to $140,501,841,957, as against $102,356,435,047 for the year ended Sept. 30, 1904, an increase of $38,145,406,910 and the largest gain in any year since these statistics have been published. The general prosperity of the country and confidence in the stability of business credits are evidenced in the volume of clearings effected during the current year.

References: *Lombard Street*, by Walter Bagehot, 1873; *History of Modern Banks of Issue*, by C. A. Conant, 1902; *Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking*, by C. F. Dunbar, 1901; *Money and Banking*, by W. A. Scott, 1903; *Money and Banking Illustrated by American History*, 1903; *Growth of American Banks*, by S. S. Pratt, in *The Independent*, 1906.

THE PRINCIPAL BANKS OF ISSUE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES ABOUT JUNE, 1905
(IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

EUROPEAN, ETC., BANKS	Capital	Circulation	Deposits	Current accounts and deposits belonging to Treasury	Specie	Loans	Rate of discount
							Per cent
Imperial Bank of Germany	28.9	388.7	144.8	.....	237.7	329.6	3
Banks of Issue of Germany	15.8	38.4	22.1	.....	15.4	51.0	.....
Bank of Austria-Hungary	41.9	341.1	33.2	0.6	302.0	151.1	3½
National Bank of Belgium	9.6	134.9	14.6	2.6	23.6	124.5	3
National Bank of Bulgaria	1.8	8.2	13.9	.7	5.3	17.1	8
National Bank of Denmark	6.8	33.3	1.3	.....	24.7	16.7	4
Bank of Spain	28.9	311.2	113.8	6.9	186.1	167.3	4½
Bank of Finland	1.9	14.3	4.7	.....	5.1	20.5	5
Bank of France	35.2	871.1	132.7	57.4	798.8	221.5	3
National Bank of Greece	3.9	24.2	19.9	.5	.4	29.7	.....
Italy:							
Bank of Italy	28.9	188.2	34.9	42.4	121.9	89.7	5
Bank of Naples	11.6	61.9	16.2	.....	26.1	33.2	5
Bank of Sicily		14.4	7.3	2.9	8.8	10.4	5
Bank of Norway	3.5	21.6	2.3	.....	6.9	18.1	5
Bank of Netherlands	8.0	104.9	6.1	2.9	65.9	48.9	2½
Bank of Portugal	14.6	73.6	2.2	29.8	12.8	25.0	5½
National Bank of Rumania	2.9	32.6	.....	.....	10.1	16.9	5
United Kingdom:							
Bank of England	70.8	150.7	223.5	72.3	195.2	167.0	2½
Banks of Scotland	45.3	35.0	507.5	.....	27.2	347.5	.....
Banks of Ireland	35.5	32.3	267.5	.....	15.6	209.0	.....
Imperial Bank of Russia	28.3	486.0	79.9	43.9	522.7	253.5	5½
National Bank of Servia	1.1	6.5	.4	.....	3.7	3.5	6
Royal Bank of Sweden	11.9	47.9	14.7	.....	19.4	45.2	4½
Banks of Issue of Switzerland	30.1	45.2	272.8	.....	23.1	218.8	3½
Imperial Ottoman Bank	24.0	6.0	46.2	10.4	12.2	36.8	.....
Bank of Japan	15.0	131.3	8.4	116.1	60.4	148.8	8.03
Bank of Algiers	.....	22.3	2.3	7.6	10.8	21.1	.....
Total	506.2	3,625.8	1,993.2	397.0	2,741.9	2,822.4	.....
OTHER FOREIGN BANKS							
England, joint stock and private banks of [1]	263.5	3.0	3,204.4	.....	[2] 888.6	2,039.2	.....
Banks of Mexico	122.6	89.4	282.7	.....	72.2	242.9	.....
Banks of Canada	83.0	62.5	557.2	.....	19.6	569.9	.....
Banks of Australasia	87.5	22.8	587.7	.....	[3] 127.5	513.9	.....
Banks of Central and South America [4]	128.6	29.2	373.0	.....	[5] 143.0	342.2	.....
Total	1,191.4	3,832.7	6,998.2	397.0	3,992.8	6,530.5	.....

[1] Statement of European banks from *Bulletin de Statistique*, August, 1905, except deposits and advances of banks of Scotland and Ireland and the capital stock of the various banks.
[2] Cash money at call and short notice.
[3] Includes bullion, etc.
[4] Figures for 1904.
[5] Includes paper currency.

BANKING IN THE UNITED STATES

BANKS	Number	CAPITAL		INDIVIDUAL DEPOSITS	
		Amount	Per cent	Amount	Per cent
1905					
National	5,668	791,567,281	51.41	3,783,658,494	32.10
State, etc.	10,742	671,599,149	48.59	7,567,080,822	67.90
Non-reporting	3,500	76,664,000		435,582,000	
Total	19,910	1,539,830,380	100.00	11,786,321,316	100.00

NATIONAL BANKS

DATE	Number of banks	Net deposits	Reserve required	RESERVE HELD		CLASSIFICATION OF RESERVE		
				Amount	Ratio to deposits	Lawful money	Due from agents	Redemption fund
		Millions	*Millions*	*Millions*	*Per cent*	*Millions*	*Millions*	*Millions*
1897 (Oct. 5)	3,610	2,195.6	452.5	695.9	31.7	388.9	297.0	10.0
1900 (Sept. 5)	3,871	3,281.0	684.1	983.3	29.7	518.4	450.7	14.2
1905 (Aug. 25)	5,757	4,735.5	972.1	1,027.3	21.7	665.6	338.4	23.3

Geographical Divisions	Individual Deposits			
	1896	1905	Increase	Per cent
	Millions	*Millions*	*Millions*	
New England States	$1,193.3	$1,791.4	$589.1	50.1
Eastern States	2,291.7	5,252.7	2,961.0	129.2
Southern States	221.7	767.3	545.6	246.1
Middle Western States	877.8	2,461.2	1,583.4	180.3
Western States	128.8	430.9	302.1	234.6
Pacific States	231.8	629.5	397.7	171.6
Total	4,945.1	11,333.0	6,387.9	129.2

BANKS, LOUIS ALBERT: American clergyman; born at Cornwallis, Ore., 1855; educated in the public schools and at Philomath College of that state. In 1883 he was ordained an elder in the Oregon Conference of the M. E. Church, and has since served pastorates at Portland, Ore., Boise City, Ida., Vancouver and Seattle, Wash., and Cincinnati, O. Since 1886 he has been a pastor in the East where he has had prominent charges, and is now (1907) evangelist of the American Anti-Saloon League. In Vancouver he edited *The Pacific Censor*, state organ of the Washington Temperance Alliance, and so enraged the liquor dealers that in June of 1880 he was shot down on the streets by one of their agents. For two months he preached, reclining across chairs, to eager crowds. At the State Convention of Massachusetts Prohibitionists, held Sept. 8, 1893, he was nominated governor. A voluminous writer on religious and other themes, his main sociological works are "The People's Christ" (1891), and "The White Slaves" (1892), a study of Boston sweat-shops. *Address*: Nyack, N. Y.

BAPTISTS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL REFORM: In reviewing the relation of Baptists to social reforms, it is to be borne in mind that they do not constitute an organic body capable of giving a united authoritative expression of opinion on either social or religious matters, or of taking formal and concerted action thereon. While exhibiting a remarkable unity of doctrine and polity, they are, nevertheless, simply local societies, self-governing, and independent of one another. Indeed, to the sociologist this initial statement is one of deep interest, as these local societies were, in the times of the reformatory movements of the sixteenth century, already existing as free socialistic communities, and as such are deserving of the investigation of the social reformer. Mr. Richard Heath, in an article in *The Contemporary Review*, has clearly shown this fact. These societies have never completely lost the early social leaven, and in all times there have been among them earnest and able advocates of social, political, and religious liberty, contending for the separation of Church and State, liberty of conscience, government by consent of the governed, the kingdom of God on earth, and the inner light and teaching of the Divine Spirit. Baptists have, therefore, naturally affiliated themselves with the radical party in social and religious affairs. And yet this same love of individual liberty and a jealousy of autocratic external control have prevented the manifestation of this progressive spirit in the erection of great institutions or the promulgation of authoritative creeds. Perhaps, aside from individual expressions of this liberty-loving spirit, the widest influence which Baptists have exerted has been in a socialistic and missionary propaganda. Missionary zeal has ever been conspicuous among them both in home and foreign lands. In the modern missionary movement, William Carey and Adoniram Judson are conceded to rank among the foremost pioneers. In political revolutions they have been usually found on the liberal side, and many of the leaders have been drawn from among them. In the antislavery movement they took an early and decisive position, while in the Revolution they were, almost to a man, on the patriot side; and in a still earlier day Roger Williams was the first great apostle of religious liberty.

Missionary and Socialistic Propaganda

The recent social discussions have naturally awakened the interest of Baptists. In the Baptist Congress reports, almost from its commencement, in 1882, a prominent place has been accorded to social topics, and able contributions will be found in them to the solution of these questions. In the proceedings of the missionary annual meetings, which are the only general gatherings of Baptists of a national character, as well as in state conventions and local associations, social opinions of an advanced type on temperance, slavery, negro and Indian education, etc., have found expression in resolutions and memorials intended for transmission to Congress or state legislatures.

The Baptist Congress was instituted in Nov., 1882, by several clergymen and laymen "for the discussion of current questions," and has proved a very useful and efficient organization. Its inception is credited to Prof. E. H. Johnson, D.D., of Crozier Theological Seminary, Upland, Pa.

In 1889 a few of the younger Baptist ministers in the vicinity of New York commenced a paper called *For the Right*, devoted to Christian Socialism. It was published for eighteen months, and then discontinued for lack of financial support. The first editors of this paper were Rev. J. E. Raymond, Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch, Miss Elizabeth Post, and Rev. Leighton Williams. In Dec., 1892, a conference of Baptist ministers interested in social topics met in Philadelphia and formed an undenominational society known as the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, to be devoted to the study and propaganda of the social teachings and gospel of Jesus Christ. In August, 1893, the Brotherhood held a three days' conference at Marlborough-on-the-Hudson, discussing various aspects of the doctrine of the Kingdom of God, with a view to the publication of a volume of essays on the subject. Smiliar conferences have been held yearly since. (See Brotherhood of the Kingdom.)

Perhaps the considerations already stated may explain the small number of Baptist churches which have as yet sought to exemplify the social aspects of the Gospel in the various appliances and applications now becoming common. Yet the "institutional Church," as it is coming to be called, is by no means unknown among Baptists. Mention should be made also in this article of the advanced stand which many of the Baptist preachers and authors have taken on social topics. Dr. Francis Wayland and Dr. Martin B. Anderson, exerted as educators a profound influence during the antislavery agitation and the Civil War, as did also Dr. William R. Williams by his sermons. In conclusion, it may

"Institutional Churches"

be said that as yet the relation of Baptists to social reform is not so important for any distinct contribution that they have made to its literature or to its institutions as for the illustration which their own historical descent and present condition affords of the possibility, permanence, and prosperity of self-governing, self-perpetuating social communities. They early built upon principles in the religious sphere which have since been embodied in our political constitution, and are yet to be realized in a new social régime.

LEIGHTON WILLIAMS.

BARKER, WHARTON: Banker and reformer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., 1846; was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1866. The firm of Barker Bros. & Co. in 1878 acted as the financial agent of the Russian Government for the building of four cruisers. In 1879 he advised regarding the development of certain mines in Russia; and in 1887 he obtained valuable concessions in China. Barker remained a Republican until 1896, tho (since 1880) opposing the moneyed aristocracy. In 1896 he became a Populist, and in 1900 was presidential candidate of the antifusion Populists. He has written on the money question from the Populist standpoint, and in 1869 founded *The Penn Monthly* which, in 1880, was merged with *The American*, discontinued in 1905.

For the last six years Mr. Barker has urged the organization of a new party, to be called the Commonweal Party, and has striven to impress his views upon leaders among the wage-earning and salaried classes and among the farmers. He believes that the conflict between the people and the plutocrats will be fought on a platform of human rights versus property rights, for national money against bank money, for national railroads against private railroads, for a protective system that will protect the body of the people and destroy the trusts, and for direct taxation which will tax property and not persons. He stands for a foreign policy that will confine American activity to the American continent, and for an economic policy which, under commercial union, will extend free trade in America and set up a barrier against European and Asiatic complications. *Address*: 608 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

BARNARDO, THOMAS JOHN, AND THE BARNARDO HOMES: Founder of institutions in the United Kingdom and the colonies, by which over 60,000 orphans have been cared for, and over 17,000 emigrated to Canada or other British colonies. Dr. Barnardo was born in Ireland, 1845. Educated in parish schools and hospitals in London, Edinburgh, and Paris. Becoming interested in children he boarded out a group of children in 1866; established his first home, 1867, on Commercial Road; a village for girls with about fifty-two cottages at Ilford, 1873; Her Majesty's Hospital for Sick Waifs, 1873. Over 100 homes or branches have developed from this beginning, including an immigration depot in Ontario, and an industrial farm in Manitoba. Author, among other writings, of "Something Attempted, Something Done," and "The Rescue of the Waif." Died, 1905.

BARNES, G. MAHLON: National secretary of the Socialist party; born at Lancaster, Pa., 1866; attended Soldiers' Orphan School at Mount Joy; learned the trade of cigarmaking; and in 1887 removed to Philadelphia. He has been five times elected secretary of the local Cigar Makers' Union, resigning the office at the end of each term and returning to the work of his trade. He has also been repeatedly elected to conventions of the Cigar Makers' International Union and of the American Federation of Labor. In 1905 he was elected national secretary of the American Socialist party. *Address*: 269 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

BARNES, GEORGE NICOLL: Labor member of Parliament; born at Lochee, near Dundee, Scotland, 1859. He was the son of a jute-mill employee, and was at an early age apprenticed to a Dundee engineer. Later he went to Barrow and to London, but subsequently secured work at Woolwich Arsenal, Millwall, Poplar, and Chelsea, having previously joined the union of his trade. A vacancy occurring in the council of the union by the retirement of John Burns, Barnes was elected in his place. From 1892 to 1895 he was assistant secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and in 1896 was elected general secretary; he was prominent in the great lockout of 1897. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament from the election district of Blackfriars, Glasgow, and endorsed by the Labor Representative Committee. *Address*: 110 Peckham Road, S. E., London, England.

BARNETT, SAMUEL AUGUSTUS: Warden of Toynbee Hall, London; Canon of Bristol; born in Bristol, 1844; educated at Wadham College, Oxford. About 1872 he became vicar of St. Jude's Church, Whitechapel. In 1883 he presented to a small group of students, gathered in a room at Oxford, a plan for a settlement of university men to live and work among the poor. A small settlement of five men was made. Cambridge University joined with them, and in Jan., 1885, TOYNBEE HALL was founded with Mr. Barnett as warden. It was named for Arnold TOYNBEE. Mr. Barnett's central thought was that all true uplifting for the poor must come from life and from brother life. He and his wife, Henrietta O. Barnett, have been the authors of many essays and papers on various portions of the social problem, collected into a volume entitled "Practicable Socialism." Some of his more fundamental positions are as follows:

> The social reformer must go alongside the Christian missionary, if he be not himself the Christian missionary.
>
> The one satisfactory method of social reform is that which tends to make more common the good things which wealth has gained for the few. The nationalization of luxury must be the object of social reformers.
>
> The first practical work is to rouse the town councils to the sense of their powers; to make them feel that their reason of being is not political, but social; that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich, but to save the people. The care of the people is the care of the community and not of any philanthropic section.
>
> Societies which absorb much wealth and which relieve their subscribers of their responsibility are failing; it remains only to adopt the principle of the education act, of the poor law, and of other socialistic legislation, and call on society to do what societies fail to do.

Mr. Barnett's social efforts are not confined to Toynbee Hall. As a member of the Whitechapel Board of Guardians he has taken great interest in the reform of poor-law administration. He is also chairman of the Children's Country Holiday Fund; has aided very materially in the establishment of the Free Library in Whitechapel; and is one of the commissioners for that part of London.

He is also actively connected with the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, with the Charity Organization Society, the School Board, the Teachers' University Association, and the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching. *Address*: Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, E. London, England.

BARROWS, SAMUEL JUNE: Prison Commissioner and author; born in New York City, 1845; began work at the age of nine; received his elementary education in the night schools; studied stenography; was employed on the New York *Sun*, *The World*, and *The Tribune*; in 1868 became stenographic secretary to William H. Seward, Secretary of State; was graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1874 (B.D.). During the summers of 1873 and 1874 he was with General Custer on the Yellowstone, and in the Black Hills as correspondent to the New York *Tribune*. From 1874 to 1875 he studied at Leipsic, and in 1876 became pastor of the First Unitarian Church, Dorchester, Mass. From 1881 to 1897 he was editor of *The Christian Register*. In 1897 he was elected to Congress from the tenth district of Boston. He is one of the founders of the Massachusetts Prison Association, and helped to develop the probation system. In 1896 he was appointed by President Cleveland Commissioner for the U. S. on the International Prison Commission, and represented the U. S. at prison congresses in Paris, Brussels, and Budapest. He is chosen to be president of the next International Congress. Barrows is corresponding secretary for the Prison Association of New York and a member of the Commission on Probation and of the Commission on New Prisons. He has been a Republican in national politics, and an Independent in municipal politics, and believes that social reform must be obtained not through paternalism but fraternalism, evolution rather than revolution. Logic of democracy means no discrimination to race, sex, and creed, and better distribution of privilege. Democracy's problem is to secure the greatest privilege for the many without restricting the privilege of the individual. Author: "Shaybacks in Camp"; "Crimes and Misdemeanors in the United States"; "A Baptist Meeting House"; "The Doom of the Majority of Mankind." *Address*: 135 East Fifteenth Street, New York City.

BARTON, MISS CLARA: Founder of the Red Cross Society in the United States; born in Oxford, Mass., 1821; educated at home and in the public schools. At the age of fifteen she began teaching, continuing until her twenty-fifth year, when she took the graduating course at the Clinton Liberal Institute, N. Y. A pioneer in the public-school system, she opened the first public school at Bordentown, N. J., with six pupils; the school soon had 600 pupils. Afterward she became a clerk in the U. S. Patent Office, and was the first woman in any department to draw a salary over her own signature. During the Civil War she was active in the field, distributing provisions, clothing, and medicine sent for the relief of the soldiers. In 1865, by authority of President Lincoln, she instituted a search for missing men of the army, and succeeded in tracing 20,000 of the soldiers. At the request of afflicted people, she went about the country giving war lectures.

At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War Miss Barton was associated with the International Red Cross Society of Geneva, and was present at most of the great battles, doing splendid service. She returned to America in 1873. After five years' effort she obtained recognition of the Red Cross Society from the U. S. Government, and became first president of the U. S. society. In 1904, when the society passed under government control, she resigned her presidency, whereupon she organized and was chosen first president of the National First Aid Association of America. Miss Barton is an earnest advocate of all useful reforms: Suffrage, temperance, social purity, equal pay for equal service, etc. Author: "History of the Red Cross" (1882); "History of the Red Cross in Peace and War" (1898); "Story of the Red Cross" (1904); besides many pamphlets, reports, etc. *Address*: Glen Echo, Md.

BASCOM, JOHN: American author and educator; born in Genoa, N. Y., 1827; was graduated from Williams College, 1849, and Andover Theological Seminary, 1855. From 1852 to 1853 he was tutor and from 1855 to 1874 professor of rhetoric at Williams College; from 1874 to 1887 president of Wisconsin University and professor of mental and moral philosophy; and from 1891 to 1901 professor of political science at Williams College. He has written extensively for the periodical press on prohibition, labor reform, etc. His main works are: "Political Economy," "Æsthetics," "Science of Mind," "Philosophy of Religions," "Philosophy of English Literature," "Ethics," "Natural Theology," "Comparative Psychology," "Sociology," "Words of Christ," "New Theology," "Social Theory," and "Growth of Nationality in U. S." *Address*: Williamstown, Mass.

BASLY, EMILE JOSEPH: French deputy; born at Valenciennes in 1854. Left an orphan and cared for in an asylum, he became a miner. In 1880 he organized a union at Angin, and became its general secretary. In 1884 he was active in a long strike. In 1885 he was elected to the chamber of deputies on a Socialist platform, and has been repeatedly reelected. During the strike in Decazeville in 1885 he explained the murder of one of the subdirectors as an act of popular justice. In 1887 he joined the group of republican-socialistic deputies; and in 1889 was a delegate at the International Labor Congress in Paris. Since 1900 he has been mayor and town councilor of Lens.

BASTIAT, FRÉDÉRIC: Political economist; born at Mugron, near Bayonne, France, in 1801. His father was a merchant in the Spanish trade, and he was left an orphan at the age of nine. He commenced active life in the establishment of his uncle; then tried farming at Mugron; and after the Revolution of 1830 was made justice of the peace of his canton. His first pamphlets were memoirs on local subjects; but he became interested in English writing on political economy, and it seems to have awakened him to new powers. His "Sophismes Économiques" gained him popularity and recognition. He soon became a dreaded foe of protection, and a friend of Cobden. An *Association pour la Liberté des Échanges* was formed at Bordeaux and another at Paris, with Bastiat as secretary. After the Revolution of 1848, he turned his shafts of wit and epigram against the Socialists, and even more against Proudhon. Elected to the Assembly of 1848–49, he spoke little, being mainly engaged on his great

work, "Harmonies," the first volume of which only was published before he died in Italy in 1850. "In this brilliant work," says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy," "unhappily never finished, Bastiat shows the contrast between the internal weakness of the artificial organizations which are founded on constraint, and the prosperity spontaneously arising in an economic condition in which the equilibrium of individual and collective forces results from their free and reciprocal balance." (See Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy.*)

BATHS, PUBLIC: Public baths have existed from the beginnings of civilized society. Reasons partly climatic and partly religious led to their early development in Egypt and in all Oriental countries. Baths were connected with the gymnasia of Greece, and were developed into especially great splendor and size in imperial Rome. Such ruins as those of the baths of Caracalla show what an enormous size these establishments must have had. In reality, however, they were club-houses as well as baths, and included libraries, lecture-rooms, banquet-halls, dance-halls, gymnasia, porticoes, gardens, racetracks, and every device for luxury and amusement. In the fourth century there are said to have been 800 baths in Rome, and they were copied in every Roman city and province. In the Middle Ages almost every village had its public bath, as is true to-day in Russia, Turkey, and Japan. In Tokyo there are said to be 1,000 public baths. Modern public baths began in Germany, tho Liverpool in 1892 erected the first public bath-house. In 1896 Parliament passed an act, permitting municipal and local authorities to establish public baths and laundries. Birmingham was the first city to do this, but to-day such establishments are found in almost every English city of any size. On the Continent they are not so numerous, yet to be found in all the larger cities.

United States

In the United States, the results of an extensive investigation conducted by the Federal Bureau of Labor showed the lack of facilities for bathing in the congested slum districts of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. The entire number of persons reported living in the selected districts on April 1, 1893, the date of the investigation, was as follows: Baltimore, 18,048; Chicago, 19,748; New York, 28,996; and Philadelphia, 17,060. It is explained in the report that the districts selected contain but a portion of the whole slum population of the cities included in the investigation, but were among the worst in these cities—the centers of the slum population.

The following table shows the number and percentage of families and individuals in houses or tenements having and not having bathrooms:

Since that date large progress has been made. A report of the bureau, prepared for the exhibit at St. Louis of 1904, finds that in 34 cities of the United States more or less adequate provision for public baths has been made by the municipality. Other cities are carefully considering the establishment of houses, and in some cases, notably in St. Louis, appropriations have been made for the purpose. The report describes and tabulates 88 municipal public baths and 11 non-municipal.

The municipal baths in existence may be classified in a general way into five types: The beach bath, the floating bath, the pool bath, the shower-bath, and the combined shower and pool bath. The beach and the floating baths may be said to represent the earliest type of bath, while the shower-bath represents the latest development in this direction.

Beach baths with the simplest of accommodations have been in existence for many years. The L Street Beach in Boston is, however, the oldest of them for which information could be secured, having been established in 1866. Boston now maintains 10 beach baths; Milwaukee, 4; Chicago, 3; Baltimore, 3; while 1 or 2 are found in Cleveland, Ohio; St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.; Cambridge, Mass.; Detroit, Mich., and Bridgeport, Conn.

Floating baths were established by the city of Boston as early as 1866 and by the city of New York as early as 1870. Boston still maintains 12 of these houses, New York 15, and Brooklyn 5. One or two baths of this character are maintained also by Providence, R. I.; Hoboken, N. J.; Springfield, Taunton, Worcester, and Newton, Mass.; Hartford, Conn., and Washington, D. C.

Pool baths are of various kinds. The first established by any American city, as far as known, was constructed in 1885 by Philadelphia. That city was compelled to abolish its floating baths at that time owing to the pollution of the water, replacing them with pools in various parts of the city. It now has in operation 15 pool baths. Chicago has 2 elaborate baths of this character, while similar ones are found in Holyoke (4) and Boston (1), Mass.; Newark, N. J. (3); Utica, N. Y. (1); and Kansas City, Mo. (1).

The three kinds of baths just mentioned, it will be noted, are available only in the warm season—perhaps four months in the year. While they are excellent as affording recreation and facilities for securing a degree of cleanliness, it is apparent that the best results cannot be secured thereby. Hot water is essential not only to a thorough cleansing of the body, but also to render possible the giving of baths during the season when baths are most needed and when the facilities for bathing are most lacking. The tub bath, while serving a useful purpose under certain circumstances, has now been almost entirely abandoned in public baths. It is now very generally conceded that the shower or rain bath is best adapted for all public purposes. As has been stated, these baths have been in use for many years in many of the public baths in Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. Their general establishment by municipalities in this country, however, began about ten years ago. Baths of this character were, indeed, established by private philanthropic enterprise some years pre-

City	Population of Houses or Tenements having Bathrooms				Population of Houses or Tenements not having Bathrooms			
	Number		Per cent		Number		Per cent	
	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals
Baltimore	296	1,663	7.35	9.21	3,732	16,385	92.65	90.79
Chicago	110	748	2.83	3.79	3,771	19,000	97.17	96.21
New York	138	1,888	2.33	6.51	5,774	27,108	97.67	93.49
Philadelphia	560	3,080	16.90	18.05	2,753	13,980	83.10	81.95

viously through the efforts of Dr. M. Morris and others, and had been introduced in the Charlesbank gymnasium baths by the city of Boston as early as 1889. If the two modern types of baths, consisting of showers alone, or showers in connection with a pool, are considered together, it is seen that Milwaukee established the West Side Natatorium in 1890, Chicago opened the Carter H. Harrison Bath in 1894, while other cities followed their example during the succeeding years. At the present time 39 baths of these types are in operation by various cities in the United States, and many more are under construction. Of the houses devoted especially to the furnishing of shower baths, Boston, Mass., maintains 10; Chicago, Ill., 7; New York, N. Y., 3; Brooklyn, N. Y., 2; Baltimore, Md., 2; Buffalo, N. Y., 2; Yonkers, N. Y., 2; while 1 each is maintained by Rochester and Troy, N. Y.; Cleveland, Ohio; Louisville, Ky., and Portland, Me. Of the houses containing a pool in addition to the shower equipment, Milwaukee maintains 3 and Brookline, Mass., and Syracuse and Albany, N. Y., each 1. New York and Brooklyn recently opened elaborate bath-houses in which the equipment consists almost entirely of showers. These cities have also planned a number of additional houses, one of which will contain a pool of tempered water in addition to the shower equipment.

The costs of the baths range from $461,000 (site $331,000) for a bath now being built in Boston, to $500 for one in Chicago (for building and equipment only on public land).

The exceedingly small cost of maintenance per bath is clearly shown. This cost ranges from one fourth of a cent in the fifteen municipal pool baths of Philadelphia to three or four cents in the indoor shower-baths in the larger cities. In a few of the smaller cities the cost runs considerably higher, this being due probably to the small number of bathers as compared with the size and equipment of the houses.

As regards the policy of furnishing baths entirely free of expense to bathers it is seen that at the floating baths in 9 cities no fee is charged for their use, while small fees are charged at such baths in 3 cities. In 3 cities all beach baths under the direct control of the municipalities are entirely free, while in 8 cities a small charge is made for the use of bathing-suits, etc. In 3 cities all pool baths are entirely free, while in 4 a small fee is charged. In 9 cities free shower-baths are found, while in 4 a charge is made. In 1 city the combination shower and pool baths are entirely free, while in 3 cities the privilege is contingent upon a small fee.

In considering the figures showing cost of maintenance per bath it should be remembered that in nearly all baths in which a fee is charged certain days or hours are usually set apart, during which baths are given free of charge.

A most interesting development of the public-bath movement has been the introduction of shower-baths in the public schools in a number of cities.

In certain cities a direct connection between the bath and the school is encouraged by locating the public bath near the school.

Swimming instruction during vacation is a feature of the floating, beach, and pool baths of New York, Brooklyn, and a number of other cities, while all indoor baths which maintain a tempered pool all the year, without exception, provide for instruction of this character during the entire year.

The public laundry is a feature connected with a number of the public municipal baths. The municipal bath-houses of Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, and Troy contain well-appointed public laundries where women may take their soiled clothes and in a comparatively short time accomplish the task of washing and ironing under the most desirable conditions. This feature has been a most unqualified success in all the institutions in which it exists, and is an especial boon to the poorer classes.

REFERENCES: *Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*, No. 54, 1904; *Municipal Baths*, by J. Lee, in *Charities*, March 2, 1901; *Municipal Baths*, by M. R. Maltbie, in *Municipal Affairs*, Dec., 1898.

BAUER, STEPHEN: Secretary of the International Labor Bureau at Basel, Switzerland; born at Vienna, Austria, 1865; LL.D., Vienna, 1889; studied with traveling scholarship 1890 and 1891 in Paris and London; statistician of the Chamber of Commerce in Brünn, Moravia, 1892–99; lecturer from 1893 to 1899 at the Polytechnical High School of Brünn. In 1899 he held summer courses at the University of Chicago, and in the same year was appointed to the chair of political economy at Basel, which he still occupies. He was chief of the Swiss Census at Basel in 1900, and since 1901 has been chief of the International Labor Bureau. As the result of his experiences in Austrian, French, Swiss, and American factory towns, Dr. Bauer has advocated national labor laws, international understandings concerning such legislation, trade boards of arbitration, co-operation, industrial insurance, and municipal reforms. He believes in permanency of employment as necessary to the greater well-being of the workers, in greater leisure and the useful employment of that leisure, and in the generation of an atmosphere of freedom in which all good things would grow. Author: "Die Arbeiter der Brünner Maschinen-Industrie"; "Wages and Labor Policy in Australasia"; "Night-Work of Women"; "Dangerous Trades," etc., besides numerous articles on the history of political economy, etc. *Address*: Rebgasse 1, Basel, Switzerland.

BÄUMELER, JOSEPH: Head or leader of the Separatists, who in 1818 founded the communistic colony of ZOAR. Originally a weaver, and later a teacher, he seems to have been a man of unusual organizing ability, a fluent speaker and natural leader. The community was at first celibate, but between 1829 and 1830 they began to permit marriage, and Bäumeler himself took a wife. Under his lead the community prospered greatly, and when Bäumeler died in 1837 the loss was said to be almost irreparable to the community. (See ZOAR.)

BAX, ERNEST BELFORT: Author; Socialist; born at Leamington, England, 1854; educated privately, but later studied in Germany. In 1882 he joined the Social Democratic Federation, and in 1883–84 was on the Executive Council. In 1885, in consequence of a "split" in the original body, he founded, in conjunction with William Morris, the Socialist League. Later on, the league developing anarchist tendencies, he returned to the Social Democratic Federation, and has actively participated in the work of that body ever since, having been the federation's delegate at most of the international congresses. For a time he edited the party organ *Justice*, and during the Socialist League period, together with William Morris, he edited *The Commonweal*. Mr. Bax's socialism has its foundation in the doctrine of Marx, but he is prepared to criticize certain applications of the Marxian theory of historical determinism at present current. Author: "Ethics of Socialism," "Outlook from the New Standpoint," "The Problem of Reality," "German Society at the Close of the Middle Ages," etc. *Address*: Middle Temple, London, England.

BAZARD, SAINT-AMAND: Follower of St. Simon; born in Paris, 1791; won the Cross of the Legion of Honor for the part he took in the defense of Paris (1813). He had a good position in the Prefecture of the Seine, but becoming interested in the efforts for democratic freedom, he went to the south of France and took part in the activity of the Carbonari. Returning to Paris, he joined the Saint Simonian School, and became its leading economist and editor of its journals, the *Producteur* and the *Globe*. He advocated compulsory free education, and the gratuitous giving by the State of land and capital for life tenancy *only* (so as to prevent accumulation), the State to give to each his deeds and to receive from each according to ability. In 1828 he gave, in Paris, a long course of lectures which largely made Saint Simonianism popular. In 1831 he opposed ENFANTIN, his colleague, at the head of the Saint Simonian school, on the question of marriage and divorce, and died in 1832 of a broken heart at the division of the school. His

main work is "Exposition de la Doctrine de Saint Simon."

BEBEL, FERDINAND AUGUST: Socialist; born 1840, near Cologne; educated as a turner; passed through the usual grades of apprenticeship and journeymanship, and after his *Wanderjahre*, spent in South Germany, established himself in 1860 at Leipsic. His first public activity was as an upholder of Schultze-Delitzsch's cooperative movement, to which Lasalle also at first adhered, and he became prominent in political and educational work among workingmen. He threw all his influence against Lasalle and the Universal Association when the latter was founded.

Prior to 1866 Bebel had no sympathy with socialism, but from that time his views rapidly changed. He joined the International, becoming influential enough to take a prominent part in bringing together the followers of Marx and Lasalle, thus helping to make the Social Democratic Party. When elected President of the Union of German Working Men's Associations in 1867, he persuaded the organization to unite with the International—at the time an important step in the movement toward socialism.

Bebel and Liebknecht became the leaders of social democracy in Germany in the elections of June, 1893, and continued so till the latter's death. Bebel still remains the most pronounced Socialist in the German Reichstag, to which he has been continuously elected, and the membership in which gives him the right to bitterly attack the government and to advocate socialism in brilliant speeches widely quoted throughout Germany. Bebel once summarized his views thus: "We aim in the domain of politics at republicanism, in the domain of economics at socialism, in the domain of what is to-day called religion at atheism." In 1872 he was sentenced to imprisonment for two years and nine months on a charge of lese-majesty, and has been repeatedly imprisoned since—for nine months in 1886. This, however, has only increased his popularity as the leader of German socialism. He has been elected from Glauchau-Meerane, Dresden, Strasburg, Hamburg, Saxony, and elsewhere. In 1868 he was connected with the *Volkstaat* at Leipsic, and since 1891 with the *Vorwärts* at Berlin. Main writings: "Unsere Ziele," 1869; "Deutscher Bauernkrieg," 1876; "Christentum und Sozialismus," 1883; "Die Frau und der Sozialismus," 1883 (later revised); "Die Sonntagsarbeit," 1888; "Für Volkswehr gegen Militarismus," 1898; and "Die Sozialdemokratie und das Allgemeine Wahlrecht," 1895. *Address*: Habsburgerstrasse 5, Berlin, Germany.

BECCARIA, CESARE BONESANO, MARQUIS OF: Italian political economist; born at Milan in 1738; educated at a Jesuit college at Parma. He was an able mathematician, an expert in many sciences, and belonged for twenty-five years to the magistracy, serving under the Austrians, who in 1768 formed for him a chair of political economy in Milan—the second of the kind in Italy. His famous little tract, "Dei delitti e delle pene," has been translated into twenty-two languages. Beccaria arrived at many of the conclusions of Adam Smith and of Malthus; and he is the author of the famous phrase, "The greatest happiness of the greatest number." He asserted that "coldly (rigidly) examining human nature, we see that every man is absolutely *egotistic*, and that on this basis alone legislation can be established if it is not to be knocked over constantly; that nobody cares anything for the universal happiness or for the good of others, and that every man makes himself the center of all the things that happen in the world." He died in 1793.

BECK, KARL JOSEPH: Swiss Christian Socialist; born at Sursee, Lucerne, 1858; was graduated from the University of Innsbruck (Th.D. 1885); from 1885 to 1888 vicar of the Roman Catholic community in Basel. He became active in socialism in 1888, and took part in the Labor movement instituted by the Swiss Workingmen's Association. From 1888 to 1891 he was professor of exegesis, ethics, and pastoral theology at the Theological Seminary in Lucerne; and since then he has held the chair of pastoral theology at the University of Freiburg. Since 1902 he has edited the *Monatsschrift für Christliche Sozialreform*. During the semester 1906–7 he was rector of the University of Freiburg. His political aim is to bring about a realization of religious justice in social matters, through cooperation of democracy and socialism. *Address*: University of Freiburg, Switzerland.

BECKER, AUGUST: German Socialist and journalist; born about 1810; son of a clergyman; studied for a short time theology in Giessen where he became acquainted with Georg Büchner whose political creed he adopted. He was arrested and sentenced to four years' imprisonment, but was soon liberated, whereupon he went to Geneva. Becoming a zealous communist, he published pamphlets, and wrote articles in radical papers, notably the *Rhenische Zeitung* and *Vorwärtz*. In 1848 he began to publish, in Giessen, a journal called *Der Jüngste Tag*. He was elected to the Hessian legislature, and later emigrated to America, where, after a wandering and adventurous life, he died in Cincinnati, Ohio. in 1875, as a reporter for a daily paper.

BECKMAN, ERNST: Swedish editor, educator, and social reformer; born about 1840; studied at Hernösand seminary and in England and the United States. From 1876 to 1879 he was inspector of public schools in Södermanland, where he did much to promote instruction in sloyd. He was editor of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* (Stockholm) 1880–83; studied social economy in Switzerland in 1884; and was thereafter sent by the Swedish government to study conditions among working men in England and Germany. He was a member of the first Swedish laborers' insurance committee (1884–89), and of a working men's protective committee (1891). In 1894 he was active in endeavoring to regulate labor conditions in Stockholm. He was an alderman of Stockholm from 1886 to 1895, serving on many labor committees. In 1886 he studied English charity organizations, the results of his investigations forming the basis for the organization of the Swedish charitable societies. From 1893 to 1899 he was rector of a coeducational school in Stockholm. As a member of the Riksdag (first elected in 1886) he has been active in promoting legislation for the regulation of labor disputes.

BEECHER, HENRY WARD: American clergyman and reformer; born in Litchfield, Conn., 1813;

studied at the Boston Law School; was graduated at Amherst in 1837; studied theology at Lane Seminary. In 1839 he entered upon his first pastorate, the Lawrenceburg, Ind., Presbyterian Church, but soon went to the Second Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis, where he served for eight years. In 1847 he accepted an invitation to become pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. This society had just been formed by a few leading men especially interested in temperance, the new school theology, antislavery, and other questions of reform. He labored with this people until his death, which terminated a pastorate of forty years. As a preacher and reformer he had world-wide fame and influence. In the Plymouth pastor the oppress ever found a champion for their cause. On his platform in *antebellum* days stood Frederick Douglass, the black man, pleading for his race. Here often appeared fugitive slaves whose freedom Mr. Beecher purchased with the contributions of his congregation. Here Wendell Phillips, the abolitionist, was invited to voice his convictions when driven by mobs from the halls of New York City. Here Kossuth, the exile, pleaded for his people, and $10,000 was raised for the freedom of Hungary. Here Mr. Beecher was confronted by a fierce mob which attempted to "clean out the nigger-worshiper." In 1850, in his famous star paper "Shall We Compromise?" in *The Independent*, he vigorously opposed the proposal of Webster and Clay to save the Union by moral compromise.

Beecher did much toward shaping the course of the Republican Party as a new political force. In 1863 he visited Great Britain, and there vindicated his national government. He spoke in several of its principal cities, where sympathy for the Confederacy prevailed. His life was often threatened; the press denounced him; and he frequently confronted vast, turbulent mobs, contending with them for an hour or more before they would listen to his argument. Once he reached the platform only by being carried over the heads of the dense crowd. But by his good humor, pluck, and eloquence he converted men to Northern principles. Tho a formidable opponent of the Southern policy, after the war he manifested great tolerance and compassion for the defeated states and their leaders. In 1870 he became editor-in-chief of *The Christian Union*, retaining this office till 1881. (See ABBOTT, LYMAN.) Through his voice and pen he had the widest influence of any preacher in America. Author: "Star Papers" (2 vols.); "Lectures to Young Men"; "Lectures upon Preaching"; "Patriotic Addresses"; "Evolution and Religion"; "Plymouth Pulpit Sermons." He died in 1884.

THOMAS A. BICKFORD.

BEESLY, EDWARD SPENCER: Positivist; author; born in Worcestershire, England, 1831; educated at Oxford; was assistant master in Marlborough College, 1854–59; professor of history, University College, London, 1860–93. His life has been principally devoted to the propagation of the positivist philosophy of religion, founded by Auguste Comte. He has also favored radical social reforms, and in 1863 presided at the organization of the INTERNATIONAL. From 1878 to 1901 he was president of the London Positivist Society, and in 1893 founded *The Positivist Review*, to which he is still a frequent contributor. In 1868, in recognition of his services to trade-unionism when it was suffering under unjust laws, he was made an honorary member of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Beesly is the translator of Comte's "Discourse on the Positive Spirit," and joint translator of the same author's "Positive Polity." He has written: "Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius," 1878; and "Queen Elizabeth," 1892. *Address*: 21 West Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea, England.

BELGIUM: A kingdom of Europe, formed as an independent state in 1830, with constitution (1831), and guaranteed neutrality by treaty of London.

I.—Statistics

Belgium has a population (1900) of 6,693,548, with 11,373 sq. m. It is the most densely inhabited country in the world: 589 to the square mile. About 3,000,000 of its inhabitants speak Flemish (in the north), and a slightly smaller number speak French (in the south). Almost all are Roman Catholics. Chief cities (1904): Brussels (capital), 598,599; Antwerp, 291,949; Liège, 168,532; Ghent, 162,482. Of the total population (1900) 3,324,834 were males and 3,368,714 females. Of the males 2,047,607 were unmarried; 1,146,774 married; 127,014 widowed; and 3,439 divorced. Of females 1,968,383 were unmarried; 1,143,483 married; 252,202 widowed; and 4,646 divorced. The birth- and death-rates per 1,000 inhabitants since 1847 are shown in the following table:

PERIOD	Birth-rate	Death-rate
1847–56	.....	23.52
1857–66	31.54	23.59
1867–76	32.47	21.73
1877–86	31.21	21.31
1887–96	29.04	20.92[1]
1897–1901	28.96	18.23
1904	27.60	16.89

[1] Death-rate for 1897–1900.

In 1904, the percentage of illegitimate births to total births was 6.59, having fallen from 7.20 in 1871–80.

	1880	1890	1900	1902	1903	1904
Marriages per 1,000 inhabitants	7.03	7.32	8.62	8.11	7.87	8.02
Marriages to 1 divorce	1 82	1 30	83	80	75	61

The annual numbers of suicides were: 1871–80, 441; 1881–90, 658; 1890–1900, 799; 1900–1, 856.

General education has been low but is rising. In 1902 the percentage of the population enrolled in elementary schools was lower than in any other country of western and northern Europe. In 1904 there were 859,436 pupils in 7,092 schools. In 1880, of the population more than seven years of age, 33 per cent were unable to read and write; in 1890, 28 per cent; in 1900, 22 per cent. There were, in 1904, 2,688 infant schools with 254,658 children, and 3,897 adult schools with 193,907 scholars. Middle-class public schools for boys numbered 88 with 17,112 pupils; and for girls 40 with 7,689 pupils. Royal atheneums and colleges numbered 35, with 7,641 pupils; normal schools, 58, with 4,980 students. There are 4 uni-

versities: at Brussels, Ghent, Liège, and Louvain (R. C.), with a total attendance of 3,780 students.

General Statistics

Besides these there are 80 colleges, 65 middle-class private schools for boys, 150 private institutions for girls, and numerous private primary schools, mainly under ecclesiastical care. There are 8 commercial high-schools, and 84 schools of design with 14,977 students. In 1871 the state appropriated 15,282,171 francs for primary education, and in 1903 the sum of 43,867,450 fr. Crime, measured by commitments in the assize courts, has fallen from 97 in 1890, to 72 in 1903, but commitments in the Correctional Tribunals have risen from 40,275 in 1890 to 56,754 in 1903. Commitments in police courts have likewise increased 54 per cent since 1880. The population in the workhouses (*dépôts de mendicité*) was 2,857 in 1880, and 4,781 in 1890; in the refuges there were 1,983 in 1898, and 1,733 in 1903; in the schools of charity there were 698 in 1890, and 2,222 in 1903.

In no other country is so large a proportion of the population employed in purely industrial occupations. Mining, especially of coal, is very important, and cheap fuel has led to considerable metallurgical industry. Manufacture is the most important source of wealth. Textile industries employed 169,493 people in 1896; clothing, 137,903; metal, 133,875; mining, 128,313; building, 93,942; food products, 90,285. Characteristic features are very low wages, and an unusual proportion of small industries. Belgian glass works lead the world. Brussels lace and carpets are renowned.

Engaged in Industry

(Not in private houses or public works)

Size	Enterprises		Workmen	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
With no employees...	165,000	70.08	.....	.....
1– 4 employees.....	54,500	24.09	95,000	13.92
5–49 "	14,800	5.12	177,000	25.96
50–499 "	1,500	0.63	250,000	36.66
500 or over employees.	200	0.08	160,000	23.46

Wages are low but rising. Blacksmiths (1903), made 17 cents per hour; carpenters, 15 cents; compositors, 13; laborers, 10; hod-carriers, 9; machinists, 13; plumbers, 15. (See Wages.)

Industrial Conditions

In 1896 more than one fourth of the population, without distinction of age or sex, earned less than 2 francs (40 cents) per day; 172,000 earned from 2 to 3 fr.; 169,000, from 3 to 4 fr.; and 102,000 over 4 fr. More than 100,000 men received from 3 to 3½ fr. per day; and more than 80,000 received less than 2½ fr. per day. Of the women, more than 100,000 received between 1 and 1½ fr. per day (less than 30 cents). The hours of labor are long.

Agriculture occupies a comparatively small place. In 1895, 1,204,810 persons or 18.79 per cent of the population were engaged in agriculture; and 49.5 per cent of the farmers owned their farms. These are usually very small, tho the average size is increasing somewhat. In 1895, there were 544,041 holdings of less than 1 hectare (2.47 acres). Agricultural wages, in 1895, were 1.98 fr. (38 cents) per day without food for men, and 1.22 fr. for women.

The coal industry has increased from a product valued at 169,680,000 francs in 1880 to 286,648,000 fr. in 1904. (See Coal.) There were (1903) 218 coal mines of which 123 were worked. 139,592 persons were employed in these, of whom 95,033 men, 6,976 boys, and 55 women worked underground. There were (1903) 16 pig-iron works, 35 blast-furnaces, 44 works for the manufacture of iron, 343 puddling furnaces, 35 steel-works, and 49 Bessemer converters. Of shipping, Belgium had (1904) 65 steamers and 4 sailing vessels, with a total tonnage of 102,737. The number of vessels entering Belgium (1904) was 9,063, with a tonnage of 11,176,239.

The commerce of Belgium more than doubled from 1890 to 1900. In 1904 the exports amounted to 2,183,300,000 francs; and the imports to 2,782,200,000 fr. Chief exports: coal, textiles, sugar, machinery, agricultural products. The commerce of Belgium with the leading countries was (1904): Exports to Germany, 505,473,000 francs; Great Britain, 392,324,000 fr., chiefly iron, steel, and iron and cotton manufactured goods; France, 346,670,000 fr.; Netherlands, 268,781,000 fr.; United States, 86,324,000 fr., chiefly rubber goods, glass, iron and steel work, jewelry. Imports from France, 465,684,000 francs; Germany, 351,025,000 fr.; Great Britain, 335,404,000 fr. (chiefly cottons, woolens, machinery); Netherlands, 240,873,000 fr.; United States, 222,301,000 fr., chiefly wheat, provisions, cotton.

II.—Constitution and Government

Belgium is a constitutional kingdom. The reigning sovereign is Leopold II.; the Premier, Comte de Smet de Naeyer. Legislative power is vested jointly in King, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies. The Senate has 110 members, of whom 83 are elected directly for eight years by manhood suffrage, tho heads of families, those with diplomas of higher education, those occupying certain positions, or those having certain property, may have one or even two additional votes, giving them a balance of power, much opposed by the Socialists. The 27 indirectly elected senators represent county councilors. The Chamber of Deputies has 166 members, elected for two years, one for every 40,000 people. Belgium has compulsory voting, and a system of proportional representation of minorities. The leading political parties are the Clerics or Catholics, the anti-Clerics or Liberals, and a well-organized Socialist party. The Catholics are generally strongest in the Flemish provinces, and the Socialists in the Walloon. The Senate stands: Catholics, 61; Liberals and Progressists, 43; Socialists, 6. The Chamber of Deputies: Led by the Premier, 87; Liberals and Progressists, 41; Socialists, 35; Christian Democrats, 2.

The estimated public revenue for 1906 was 558,863,927 francs; expenditures, 557,805,483 fr.; public debt (1905 consolidated), 3,117,038,048 fr. Taxation presses somewhat heavily altho the debt was largely contracted in the construction of public utilities, particularly the State railroads; and the revenue from these more than covers the interest.

The standing army numbers 49,731 men. It is recruited by voluntary enlistment, supplemented by annual levies. The war strength is 180,000 men.

Belgium was one of the first countries to develop State railroads. She began her system in

1833, and in 1904 the State had 4,008,291 meters (2,500, miles) and private companies 530,998 meters (330 miles). Belgium has more railroads per sq. m. than any other European country; and the rates are lower. In 1904 there were carried by the State roads 136,409,599 persons, and by private companies 16,455,767. The gross receipts of the State roads were 232,314,767 francs, of which 74,279,290 fr. were for passengers; and of the private roads 27,949,884 fr., of which 7,940,523 were for passengers. The expenses of the State roads were 138,381,322 fr., leaving a profit of 94,376,418; those of the private companies were 12,619,157 fr., leaving a profit of 15,330,327. The first cost of the State roads from 1834 to 1904 was 2,161,245,528 fr.; the total net receipts 1,885,332,731 fr., and the financial charges 1,740,895,391 fr.

State Railroads

On Jan. 1, 1905, there were 1,330 post-offices in Belgium. Postal receipts for 1904 were 30,095,288 francs; expenses, 15,256,520 fr. There were 1,438 telegraph offices, with 4,110 miles of line, carrying 15,586,354 dispatches; the receipts were 11,203,006 fr.; and the expenditures, 7,618,064 fr. There were 20,875 telephone stations, with 58,590 miles of telephone wire, and 47,010,611 conversations. The receipts were 4,956,011 fr. Telegraph and telephone lines are all owned and operated by the State.

III.—Social Reform

In Belgium reform ideas began to work early in the nineteenth century. The spirit of cooperation and organization came down from the Middle Ages. Belgian trade-unions are developed from old trade benefit societies which arose toward the end of the eighteenth century after the abolition of the old medieval gilds in 1795. Thus, for example, the Hat-makers' Benevolent Union was originally a trade friendly society, but became in 1838 "a society for the maintenance of prices and for resistance." Even down to the second half of the century the old spirit lingered. In 1867 the weavers at Ghent still bore on their banner the motto, "God and the Law" (*God en de Wet*).

Trade Unions

The Master Glass-workers' Association at Charleroi was established in 1836; the Free Typographical Association originated in 1842; the Jewelers' and Goldsmiths' Society in 1852. The trade-union movement in Belgium, however, early took a socialistic form. (For early Belgian theoretical and Christian Socialists, see COLINS; HUET; LAVELEYE.) Karl Marx, banished from Germany and Paris came with his friend Engels to Brussels, where they gathered around them a little band of Socialists, and here published the famous manifesto of 1847. Organization, however, did not endure till the International gained footing in Belgium in 1866. It spread rapidly in the crowded industrial cities, and especially in the mine region where men, and women too, worked long hours for piteous wages. Marx called Belgium the paradise of capitalism. Sections were formed at Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, and Charleroi, and elsewhere in the mining section. Papers were started, and some strikes were carried out. De Paepe became a leader. In 1877, however, he declared for Marxian socialism, and the movement became split. The anarchist wing, however, did not endure. A new and most important movement now sprang up, which has differentiated the Belgian Socialist movement from that of any other country, and made it one of the strongest in the world.

In the year 1879 a Ghent typewriter, an active Socialist, Edward ANSEELE, founded a cooperative bakery, and in connection with it a club, the *Voorwit*. Up to this time cooperation had not succeeded in Belgium, but this Socialist cooperative movement succeeded and spread. A similar organization, called the Maison du Peuple (House of the People), was started by the Brussels Socialists in 1882, and another at Verviers in 1884. In the next four years the movement spread through all the important Belgian cities and industrial centers. Soon the societies began selling other things than bread, till gradually the movement became one of vast size and importance. By 1893 the Maison du Peuple had 10,000 members, representing some 10,000 families, and manufactured 100,000 loaves of bread a week. It possest a large club house, which was the center of Socialist propaganda, a library, a tool store, and other property; and it provides coal, groceries, meat, furniture, clothing, medical attendance, and insurance, all at cooperative prices. It maintains a monthly, a weekly, and a daily. This cooperative society gave stability to the Socialist movement.

Socialism

In 1885 a Socialist workingman's party was organized (*Parti ouvrier belge*), and in 1893 this was able to effect in a few days a veritable revolution in the Belgian Constitution. Hitherto the Belgian Socialist had been able to accomplish little politically, because of property limitations to the suffrage. A bill to institute free suffrage was introduced into the Chamber and Senate and defeated. Immediately the Labor Party called a universal strike. M. Volders, the leader of the Labor Party, was arrested with two others. M. Buls, the Brussels burgomaster, ordered "The House of the People" closed, and prohibited meetings and processions. But this only added fuel to the flame. Collisions with the police took place. Numbers of men, women, and even children were shot down, and some mortally wounded. But the strike was won. On April 18th, only eight days after its rejection of universal suffrage, the Constituante (the Assembly) met, and a hurried plan to revise the Constitution and grant a vastly enlarged tho not universal suffrage was devised and carried, and the Labor Party declared the strike off. Since then the party has had a growing representation in the legislature, and the government has been compelled to introduce many reforms (see below). In 1902 the Socialists undertook to gain complete universal suffrage by another universal strike. This time, however, they were unsuccessful, and the attempt even resulted in some setback; nevertheless, the movement is still strong and growing. M. Vandervelde writes of it (1906):

In Belgium all labor unions and societies of any importance, with the exception of the glass-workers, compositors, and a small number of Christian cooperative societies, are affiliated with the Workmen's Party. According to the latest statistics there were 95,000 labor-union Socialists out of a total of 132,000 organized workers. The Socialist strength is thus about 72 per cent of the total. As for the cooperative societies, the great majority are not only commercial, but also political organizations. Some of them hold to the Clerical Party, and to be admitted to any of these one must fulfil his religious duties and pledge himself to the defense of "property, religion, and the family." But the other societies, much more powerful in the industrial centers, adhere to the Workmen's Party. It is necessary, on entering any of them, to accept the Socialist program and agree to the deduction from the annual profits of sums, more or less considerable, for use in the party's general propaganda.

Labor Organizations

The various local federations that compose the party present identical characteristics throughout the country. At the center is the cooperative society, whose home, la Maison du Peuple, is the home also of the friendly societies, the labor unions, the political groups, the artistic and educational associations, all of which constitute the federated organization. In Brussels, for instance, the cooperative society—la Maison du Peuple—includes about 20,000 families. Its busi-

ness averages about $1,200,000 annually. It has butcher shops, grocery, dry-goods, and department stores, a dairy and two large bakeries, which produce annually almost 12,000,000 loaves of bread of 2.2 pounds each. This society devotes annually about $10,000 to the Socialist cause, and moreover, furnishes free quarters to the seventy groups belonging to the federated organization of that city.

Similar organizations, tho in differing degrees of development, are to be found in all the principal centers. Thus, in the very bosom of capitalist society, is found another society, like a state within a state, the members of which are united, not only by their political convictions, but by economic ties that become more binding as time runs on, and that insure a stable and enduring organization.

These Belgian Socialist societies now number 238, with annual sales of $7,600,000. There are 6 Socialist dailies, notably *Le Peuple* (Brussels) and *Vooruit*, 22 weeklies, and 14 monthlies. These Socialist successes have compelled the Roman Catholic Church to make especial social efforts in Belgium. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) Dr. Varlez writes of them (1906):

Especially have the Catholic Conservatives been active, and for every working-class Socialist or Cooperative Society they have organized a similar cooperative society, only in connection with the Conservatives. These cooperative societies, altho with less enthusiasm and vitality than the working-class societies, nevertheless slowly grow. They are largely supported by the Catholic clergy in the villages and country towns of Flemish Belgium. Many, however, of the most conservative Catholics oppose these efforts to organize such societies for fear that they will one day break away from their conservative moorings. They advocate instead, organizing the working class into religious charitable and beneficial societies, in union with the Church and wealthy conservative patrons. Many such conservative and religious societies are organized, particularly in the villages, and take a great variety of forms—organizations for the cooperative purchase of food, grain, machinery, and other supplies; for the improvement in the breeding of horses, cattle, and other animals; for cooperative dairies, breweries, and the like; for mutual relief and benefits, loans and insurance; for a thousand forms —all alike, however, in being organized under the patronage of the Church and opposed to the democratic Socialist organizations. Strenuously opposed by the Socialists, Christian, and non-Christian, attacked by the freethinkers, now numerous in every country of the Latin race, these agricultural religious organizations embrace now some 100,000 of the peasantry and are still growing.

State action for the working classes has been largely on the lines of savings funds and insurance for old age and for the unemployed and also of direct protection of laborers. There are special acts dealing with contract of employment (1900); truck-system (1887); shop regulations (1896); employment of women, children and young persons (1889) with many regal decrees incidental thereto; Sunday rest (1905); safety and security of labor (1899) completed by important decrees of 1905; workmen's compensation for accidental injuries (1903). There are also other institutions created by law on behalf of the working classes, viz.: councils of experts (1889); councils of industry and labor with a view to prevent and settle trade disputes (1887); trade-unions (1898); benefit societies (1894); laborers' dwellings (1889). In 1906 there was established a bureau in aid of the middle classes, dealing with industrial education and other matters concerning the small traders, etc. The State Savings-Bank of Belgium was established by a law of March 16, 1865, and to it was added the Pension Fund, established in 1850. Its total receipts in 1905 were 1,143,900,000 francs. The movement has now become international, and any one depositing in the savings-banks of France, Belgium, or Holland can transfer his account to any of these countries without cost. Savings-banks have had a remarkable development in Belgium, owing to incessant agitation on the part of the teachers, and are due to the initiative of the city of Ghent.

State Savings-Bank

They have spread to almost all the cities and towns of the country, especially since the issue in 1881 of savings cards, to which the children can attach stamps of 10, 5, or 2 centimes (one cent), and which, when they amount to a franc, can be deposited with the savings-bank, in any branch or in any post-office. At the end of 1902 out of a total of 1,151,756 pupils 360,000 had about 10,000,000 fr. in the banks. The bank has also been allowed by different laws to make loans to various funds of social benefit, such as cooperative societies, agricultural banks, and workingmen's dwellings. At the end of 1904, seven agricultural banks had loans amounting to 7,873,000 fr., and 166 societies for erecting workingmen's dwellings had loans of over 66,000,000 fr., and more than 33,000 houses had by this means been erected.

The Old Age Pension Fund, established in 1850, permits the granting of pensions not above 1,200 francs, and made payable at different ages, between fifty and sixty. This has become of particular importance since the granting by the State, in 1900, of premiums to persons entitled to a pension through the endowment of a friendly society, or to persons of modest means, directly connected with the institution. A Department of Life Insurance was created in 1889, and connected with the savings-bank, but limited to the insurance of those who have borrowed for the construction of a workingman's dwelling. In 1894 it widened its scope, and is now open to all, with the maximum limit of 5,000 fr. insurance.

Public Labor Bureaus for the Unemployed (Bourses du Travail), mainly of a charitable nature, have existed in Belgium for some years, beginning at Liége in 1888, but have not been favored by the working classes, except at Liége itself, and have only been made use of by the least efficient, and that without large results. Their main effort has been to find places for those out of work. More recently, however, beginning at Ghent in 1901, there has developed a plan of insurance against unemployment, which has had more success, and is being largely copied throughout Belgium and in other countries. This is the creation of a public fund by the municipalities, to be increased by private gifts, and to be used in supplementing the out-of-work benefits given by trade-unions. Thus every trade-unionist receiving a small out-of-work benefit from his union, can, under due restrictions, have this supplemented by a grant from the fund of perhaps 50 or 30 per cent of the amount of his benefit. Non-unionists can get the same aid by paying dues to a special thrift fund. This plan has the advantage of being taken out of the sphere of charity and of cooperating with and calling out the efforts of organized labor. By May, 1904, there were seven such funds established by the principal cities of Belgium. The portion of the plan for trade-unionists seems to have been very successful; whereas that for non-unionists seems to have failed. Labor colonies, for the unemployed, or more truly for vagrants, are maintained by the Belgian Government at Merxplas and Wortel, and are called "Colonies Agricoles de Bienfaisance"; they are practically penal colonies for vagrants, committed by judicial authority or municipalities. They are committed for a certain period, but receive a small wage, which is kept for them. Merxplas is for those who have committed some misdemeanor; Wortel for those who

The Unemployed

have committed none, but are reduced to vagrancy. There is also a private labor colony at Haeren, near Brussels. There is a system of Central Inspection and a Superior Council of Relief. Under these each commune is responsible for its relief work, tho weak communes may combine. "Commissions d'Assistance" are created for each commune, or union of communes, with from five to ten members, among which must be a clergyman, an alderman, and a laborer. No salaries are paid, tho the laborer can be indemnified for time lost. Women are eligible. The indigent are divided into those unable to work, those willing to work, but unable to find it, and those unwilling to work. To the first class is given relief, indoor relief for the most part. Private charity in Belgium is very great, providing for at least one half of the indigents, but is controlled by the State. For the other two classes there are workhouses, refuges, and schools of charity. The workhouses are for persons able to work, but who do not. The refuges are intermediary between the workhouses and the poorhouses, for those willing to work, but unable through sickness, old age, or disability. Persons found begging can be assigned to these for seven years. In 1901 there were 6,384 in these refuges. The schools of charity are compulsory training schools for youths up to eighteen, who have become vagrants or have committed misdemeanors. The expense for these institutions is divided equally between the State, province, and commune. Very low wages are paid in the workhouses and refuges.

Important Belgian societies and institutions for social reform are:

Institut de Sociologie Solvay, founded 1901. Leopold Park, Brussels.
Office du Travail. 2 Lambermont, Brussels.
Caisse d'Epargne. 50 Rue Fossé aux Loups, Brussels.
La Bourse du Travail. 17 Rue de l'Amigo, Brussels.
La Maison du Peuple. 11 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels. (Socialist Cooperative Society.)
Ligue Belge du Droit des Femmes, founded 1892. Secretary, Mlle. Marie Popelin, Hôtel Ravenstein, Brussels.
Ligue Patriotique contre l'Alcolisme, founded 1879. Secretary, Dr. de Vaucleroy, 306 Avenue Louise, Brussels.
Société Belge d'Economie Sociale, founded 1881. Hôtel Ravenstein, Brussels.
Société Belge de la Paix et de l'Arbitrage, founded 1885. Secretary, Henry de la Fontaine, Sénateur, 81 Rue d'Arlon, Brussels.
Société Belge de Sociologie, founded 1899. Secretary, Camille Jacquart, 11 Rue Brialmont, Brussels.
Société de Moralité Publique, founded 1881. Secretary, Ed. Belleroche, 65 Rue de Stassart, Brussels.

REFERENCES: *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique*, Brussels; *L'Office du Travail de 1895–1905*, ib., 1905; *La Législation et les Œuvres en Belgique*, by S. J. Vermeersch, Louvain, 1904; *Cities of Belgium*, by Richard Grant Allen, 1897.

BELLAMY, EDWARD: American nationalist and author; born in Chicopee Falls, Mass., 1850. He graduated at Union College and studied law, but soon entered journalism, writing for many papers, principally the Springfield *Union*. His first novel was "A Nantucket Idyl." "Dr. Heidenhoff's Process," "The Blind Man's World," and "Miss Ludington's Sister" followed. All are dreamy, fantastic novels, but with such power that Mr. Howells declared that "the mantle of Hawthorne has fallen upon Mr. Bellamy." He then wrote "Looking Backward," upon which his great fame depends, and which many consider to be the ablest socialistic Utopia ever written. (See NATIONALISM.)

In *The Nationalist* magazine he has related how he came to write that book; how it took shape from an original plan to write a sort of fairy tale of social felicity—"a cloud palace for an ideal humanity"—in the shape of a great world nation. "The idea of an industrial army for maintaining the community, precisely as the military army protects it, suggested the advisability of seeing if a plan which was found to work so well for purposes of destruction might not be profitably applied to the business of production, now in shocking confusion." This idea had been vaguely floating in his mind for a year or two, but it was not until he began to work out the details of his romance that he perceived the full potency of the instrument he was using. This led to a complete recasting of the book, both in form and purpose, and the author was filled with the fervent desire to acquaint the people of his country with its beneficent possibilities—a desire which the popularity of "Looking Backward" has abundantly realized. The form of a romance was reluctantly retained, with a view to obtain a reading for the book.

The year 2000 was fixed upon as the date of the story, at which date Mr. Bellamy believed that nationalism would be in operation.

The book soon made a sensation; a Bellamy Club was started in Boston, and from that grew the Nationalist Club, and then the Nationalist movement. (See NATIONALISM.) The book reached a sale of over 500,000 copies in this country, and has been translated into most of the languages of Europe. In the beginning of 1891 Mr. Bellamy commenced the publication of a weekly, *The New Nation*, as an organ of nationalism. It was suspended, however, at the close of 1893. In 1897 he published "Equality," a continuation of "Looking Backward," and on the same lines, but a larger book. Bellamy died in 1898.

BELLERS, JOHN: Quaker; philanthropist; born about 1654. He was a member of the Society of Friends, joint lord of the manor of Coln St. Aldwyn's, and devoted to philanthropic projects. He wrote numerous pamphlets, the best known of which is "Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry," in which he proposed that the rich should provide capital and receive profit by building a college in which destitute men and women could find work. He died in 1725.

BEMIS, EDWARD WEBSTER: Superintendent of water works; economist; born in Springfield, Mass., 1860; graduated from Amherst College, 1880; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1885; in charge of the departments of history and political economy at Vanderbilt University, 1887–92; assistant professor in economics, University of Chicago, 1892–95; professor of economics and history at Kansas State Agricultural College, 1897–99; head of the Department of Municipal Monopolies in the Bureau of Economical Research, New York City, 1899–1901. In 1901 he was appointed superintendent of water works in Cleveland, O., by Mayor Johnson, a position he still occupies. An investigator and writer upon municipal monopolies and kindred questions, he has appeared frequently before courts and state commissions as expert witness for cities in cases involving the rights of the people with respect to gas companies. Mr. Bemis, while believing in municipal ownership of public-service corporations and public ownership of railways and telegraphs and a few other monopolies of that

character, does not agree with socialism in the operation and ownership of competitive industries, but believes in heavy taxation of all special privileges and in legislation safeguarding the health, education, and welfare of the community. Author: "Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States," "Cooperation in New England and the Middle States," "The Labor Organizations of America," "Municipal Monopolies," "Reports of the Cleveland Water Works." *Address*: Cleveland, O.

BENTHAM, JEREMY: Political economist; born in London, 1748; graduated at Queen's College, Oxford, at the age of eighteen. He was called to the bar in 1772, but never practised his profession. Bentham became the greatest critic of government and legislation in his day. His first publication was "A Fragment on Government" (1776); and his first important economic treatise was "A Defense of Usury," in which he tried to prove by close reasoning that when the legislature fixes a maximum rate of interest it does not benefit the right persons, but encourages deceit and raises the rate of secret interest by adding the danger of discovery. He urged that every man is the best judge of his own welfare, and that it is for the public good to leave him free to seek it. Bentham published "A Manual of Political Economy," but he influenced economic thought even more by his philosophic writings. Beccaria in 1764 had coined a convenient phrase, "The greatest happiness of the greatest number," and Bentham took this up and made it the ruling principle and chief end of legislation. This, too, he taught to be identical with the extremest *laissez-faire*. Bentham was also a great believer in education, especially of the working classes, whom he considered the most important part of the community. He aided Robert Owen by taking shares in his factory at New Lanark.

Bentham's works and life, edited by Bowring, fill eleven volumes, of which the tenth and eleventh contain the life. His chief economical works are: "Protest against Law Taxes"; "Supply without Burden"; "Tax with Monopoly" (i. e., a tax on bankers and stockbrokers); "Defense of Usury and of Projects in Arts"; "Manual of Political Economy"; "Conversion of Stock into Note Annuities"; "Invention and Discovery"; "Hard Labor Bill"; "Tracts on Poor Laws and Pauper Management." He died in 1832.

BENTLEY, WALTER E.: Founder of The Actors' Church Alliance; born in Sheffield, England, 1864. He came to the United States in the eighties, and entered on a commercial career, but soon forsook that for the stage, toured the country for several seasons as a Shakespearian actor, and attained great success. Later he sought holy orders in the Episcopal Church, was ordained by Bishop Huntington in 1892, and served in the diocese of central New York until 1897, when he was called to be vicar of St. Mark's, New York, afterward becoming assistant to the Rev. Dr. Heber Newton. While at St. Mark's, Mr. Bentley aided in forming "The Peoples Club" No. 1, and for some time was its energetic secretary. In 1899 he founded The Actors' Church Alliance, and as national secretary and organizer he extended it throughout the United States and Canada and all over Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Bentley is now rector of the Church of the Ascension in Brooklyn, where, in addition to his religious work, he has a well-equipped theater in full operation as an important adjunct to religious and social effort. *Address*: Church of the Ascension, Kent Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

BEQUESTS. See Gifts and Bequests.

BEQUEST, POWER OF: This is an inheritance of modern nations from the Roman law, which allowed three fourths of the inheritance to be willed away from the next of kin. The Koran allows two thirds, and the Mishna recognizes gifts of property to take effect on death. (See Gifts.)

BERGER, VICTOR L.: American Socialist; editor of the Milwaukee daily *Vorwärts*; born at Nieder Rehbuch, Austria-Hungary, 1860; educated in Budapest and Vienna. On account of reverses the family emigrated to the United States, where Berger at first worked as a metal polisher, later becoming a public-school teacher. A pioneer organizer in socialism, he became prominent in the Social Democracy and in the Social-Democratic Party, and has been a member of the latter party's executive board from the beginning. Tho a firm Socialist, he has been a leader of the liberal wing, for which he was criticized by members of the "orthodox" wing. He has been the party candidate in Milwaukee for the mayoralty, for Congress, and for the Senate. He has written: "Socialism, What it is and What it is Not (1900); "The Trust Question" (1900); and "Municipal Socialism" (1902). *Address*: 614 State Street, Milwaukee, Tenn.

BERLIN: Capital of the German Empire; founded in the twelfth century; prominent since the fifteenth century, and a leading city from the time of the Great Elector Frederick William (1640–88). Under Frederick the Great large manufactures grew up, and the city became an industrial center as well as a royal residence. It has recently grown very rapidly in population, as will be seen from the following figures: 1800, 172,132; 1870, 774,498; 1890, 1,578,516; 1900, 1,888,574; 1905, 2,033,900. In 1897 the capital stock of companies doing business in Berlin was 1,100,000,000 marks with an output of nearly 2,000,000,000 mk. There were (1904) 12,967 factories employing 272,768 persons. Cloth printing and dyeing, iron and steel, and clothing are the leading industries. Twelve railways pass through the city, and about 35,000 freight steamers enter the Spree annually. There has been much overcrowding, and tho a great deal has been done the evil still remains. The death-rate, however, has fallen from 32.94 in 1876 to 24.58 in 1901. Municipal lodging-houses provide cheap and sanitary lodgings for the needy, and great efforts are made to make it possible for the poor to live outside the city (see German Municipalities). The poor relief is under strict municipal control, tho about 3,000 unpaid citizens assist the paid workers (see Elberfeld System). In 1904–5 Berlin spent 14,817,364 marks on poor relief, besides 8,288,300 mk. on free hospitals for the poor.

The city government of Berlin is most efficient. The council is composed of 144 members elected for six years, one third of the seats being vacated every two years. The council elects the burgomaster and other chief officials. In spite

of its large population the city has only six seats in the Reichstag, which in 1900 were occupied by four Socialists and two Radicals. In the Landtag it has nine seats, all of which were held by Radicals in 1898. The franchise for city elections, however, divides the voters (all males over twenty-four, who are not criminals or paupers) into three classes according to the taxes they pay, a system which greatly favors the larger taxpayers.

The city has gone very far in the direction of public ownership, and with brilliant success. It owns four immense gas-works, electric-lighting plants, and water-works estimated at 65,000,000 marks; the latter give the city a net income of about 2,000,000 mk., and a sinking-fund for paying off the original cost. The sewage system is considered a model and there is a successful municipal sewage farm which enables the city to carry on a very remunerative garden trade. There are municipal abattoir and fourteen municipal markets. The street-car system is private until the plants revert to the city in 1911; but the companies pay over 800,000 mk. annually in taxes, pave the streets on which the cars run from curb to curb, and are strictly under the control of the municipality. The municipal debt of Berlin was 351,979,367 mk. in 1904, but there were assets of 749,123,593 mk. The receipts and expenditures in the same year were 181,758,962 mk. This was considered favorable, and the taxes on incomes of less than 900 mk. were remitted, and also the rent tax. The taxes in 1904–5 were 75,367,504 mk. or 38.10 mk. per capita. The University of Berlin (founded 1810) and its various educational, literary, artistic, musical, and scientific institutions make it a brilliant intellectual center.

References: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin*, 1905; *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, by Albert Shaw, 1895.

BERNSTEIN, EDUARD: Leader of the Revisionists or evolutionary wing of the German Social Democrats; born in Berlin, 1850, of Jewish parentage, his father a locomotive engineer; educated in the Werder Gymnasium. He held a position in a bank from 1866 to 1878, and then became private secretary to Karl Hoechberg, a millionaire supporter of the Social-Democratic Party. Expelled from Germany by the anti-Socialist legislation of 1881, he went to Switzerland and edited the *Sozialdemokrat*, the efficient organ of the Social-Democratic party. He resided in London from 1888 to 1901 when he returned to Berlin, and in the following year was elected to the Reichstag from Breslau (reelected 1903; defeated 1907). In 1899 he published his famous work "Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratic," the book which has led to the great "Revisionist" controversy in the German socialist party. It was written in defense of a series of articles he had contributed to the *Neue Zeit*, and which contained the following sentences:

> The Social Democracy has neither to expect nor to wish an early downfall of the existing economic system, if such is thought to be the product of a great devastating crisis. I openly declare that I have not much concern nor use for what is commonly understood as the "ultimate aim of socialism." This aim, whatever it may be, is of no importance at present; the *movement* is of *all importance* to me. And by the term "movement" I understand not only the general movement of society, that is, social progress, but also the political and economic agitation for effecting this progress.
>
> If the Social Democracy should in the present state of society actually take possession of the political power, it would at once be confronted by an unsolvable problem. It could not immediately decree away capitalism; indeed, not even dispense with it. And also, it could not guarantee capitalism the security which it must needs have in order to perform its functions.
>
> Thus the question is raised whether this state of things would not postpone the realization of socialism to a day never to come, or at least postpone it for generations. If under the realization of socialism is understood the establishment of a strictly regulated communistic state of society, then this seems as yet very distant to me. On the other hand, it is my firm belief that the present generation will see the realization of *much socialism*, if not in a patented form, yet certainly in a very material way. (*Neue Zeit*, No. 18, Jan. 29, 1898.)

Accordingly, Bernstein demanded working for socialistic reforms under the present system, expecting this system to gradually grow into socialism. These views were at once considered heretical by orthodox Socialists all over the world. English life with its practical character, and the work of English and German statisticians and political economists, had had their effect on Bernstein. He follows Marx without considering him infallible.

There was an effort to read Bernstein out of the party, but in the Hanover convention of 1899 the South-German Social Democrats stood by him almost in a body. Auer, the party secretary, was one of his sturdiest defenders. David Peus, Von Elms, Frohme, Heine, and others were with him. Vollmar could well say at the close of the convention, "The renewed attack of the 'party purifier' has been repelled." And altho the Bernstein theory was rejected at the conventions in Lübeck and Dresden, it has obtained such an influence in the party—especially among the trade-union leaders of Germany—that it cannot be driven out of Social Democracy. Bernstein's great opponent is Karl Kautsky.

In addition to the work mentioned in the foregoing, Bernstein has written "Zur Theorie und Kritik des Sozialismus," in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Berlin); "Wie ist Wissenschaftliches Sozialismus möglich?" (ib.); and "Die heutige Sozialdemokratie in Theorie und Praxis" (1906), besides numerous articles and essays. He has also edited the writings of Lassalle. *Address:* 5 Rosenheimerstrasse, Berlin W., Germany.

BESANT, ANNIE (*née* **WOOD**): English writer and lecturer; born in London, 1847. Her father dying while she was yet young, she was brought up by her mother under straitened circumstances, mainly at Harrow. She married the Rev. Frank Besant in 1867. Two children were born to them, and during a sickness of the younger Mrs. Besant fell into great doubts as to the goodness and then as to the being of God. She strove to find comfort from High Church fathers and Broad Church thought (consulting, among others, both Dr. Pusey and Dean Stanley), but failed to find relief, and became an avowed atheist. Her husband felt that he must leave her and take her children, even by force of law, from what he considered her pernicious teachings. This not unnaturally embittered her against Christianity and the Church, and she devoted all her energies to writing and lecturing for Free Thought. Becoming acquainted with Mr. Bradlaugh, she spent many years working with him, lecturing through all England, and editing *The National Reformer*. She became convinced of and advocated the necessity of neo-Malthusianism—in

limiting the number of children, especially among the poor. Gradually she came to work more among and for the poor, and at last became an avowed Socialist and was for a time the most famous and active woman worker for socialism in England. She was especially active in work for women, organizing them into unions, and in particular successfully conducted the great strike of the match girls in East London. She wrote continually, becoming a FABIAN, and the author of one of their collection of essays. Her socialism finally took her away from Mr. Bradlaugh, and more recently her religious nature has made her embrace theosophy, becoming at first the friend and confidante of Madame Blavatsky, and now practically her successor. At present it is to theosophy that she devotes her main time and thought. Her writings are very numerous, mainly brief essays or tracts on free thought, Malthusianism, socialism, and theosophy. In 1885 she wrote an interesting book of "Autobiographical Sketches."

BESANT, SIR WALTER: English author and philanthropist; born at Portsmouth, 1838; educated at King's College, London, and Christ's College, Cambridge. After graduating, he accepted the appointment of senior professor in the Royal College of Mauritius, but soon after resigned and returned to England. He was the author of numerous works, one of which had an important social outcome. It was due to an ideal pictured in his "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" that the People's Palace in East London was built—a large club house for workingmen, where they can find art, amusement, education, bathing, gymnasium facilities, etc. Besant died in 1901.

BETHEL: A remarkably successful colony for epileptics and other unfortunates at Bielefeld, Westphalia, Germany. The colony began with epileptics, tho now it embraces all classes of misfortune, bodily and otherwise. In 1867 a few Westphalian pastors and laymen, following the example of Pastor Bost of La Force, in Dordogne, France, decided that the Church had a duty toward the epileptic. A farmhouse near Bielefeld was bought; a few epileptics came; and the colony was called Ebenezer—"the stone of help." Two years later a home for deaconesses was planted close by to train workers, and was called Sarepta—"the place of purifying metal." The names are important because they show the spirit of the place. Three years later Pastor von Bodelschwingh and his wife were placed in charge. Pastor von Bodelschwingh's father was Prime Minister of Prussia; his wife's father was likewise in the Prussian Cabinet. To-day, instead of one building, there are over 150, and Bethel now receives every class of unfortunates. Indeed, any one in trouble may come. The main branches of the colony are five in number: (1) The home for epileptics, or Bethel proper; (2) Sarepta, the home for training nurses (now numbering about 1,100); (3) Nazareth, the brotherhood for training deacons (about 370); (4) Wilhelmsdorf, the colony for vagrants and the unemployed; and (5) the Workmen's Home Association, an organization for providing homes of their own for the working classes of Germany.

Among the Bethel's 150 buildings there is place for virtually any ill. It has a large idiot colony, nearly one third of the inmates being of this class. It has two orphanages called "The Good Shepherd" and *Kinderheim*, "the Children's Home." For inebriates there is the *Friedrichshutte*, "Frederick's Cot," named for the late German Emperor, and opened just after his demise. One remarkable spot on the colony grounds is the *Eickhof*, where wealthy voluntary patients, who have made shipwreck of life, through drink or fast living, may come, and, among equals of their own class and surrounded by physical comforts, be compelled nevertheless to labor with their own hands. There is also a house which welcomes those who can find no opening elsewhere, because they have been convicted of dishonesty of some kind. Such are some of the wide charities of this unique colony.

The daily life of the colonists is divided between work and prayer. The whole atmosphere of the place is religious, tho religion is forced upon none. Yet without it Pastor von Bodelschwingh would say Bethel could not live. But even the epileptic children and the noblemen's sons must work. It is the genius of Pastor von Bodelschwingh which finds work which each can do. Almost all that Bethel uses is made by the colonists: houses, furniture, clothing, food, etc. The carpenters live for the most part in a house called Little Nazareth. Near this is the tailors' home, Peniel, "the face of God"; not far away are "Horeb," the shoemaker's house; "Gilgal," the blacksmith's shop; "Sharon," the seedsman's store. There are bookbinding, book printing, and bookselling. Books made at Bethel are sold throughout Germany. There are also saddlers, basket-makers, and other trades. "Hebron" is the farmhouse of the colony. They also make bricks in Bethel, turning out 4,000,000 bricks per year.

A most important part of the colony is Wilhelmsdorf, a colony for the unemployed. But for this see LABOR COLONIES. Nor is even this all. The Workmen's Home Association makes loans to working men, on security of land and house, and so enables them to own their homes and a little land. Skilled epileptics are the architects and builders of these houses, tho to-day the work is spreading to different portions of the empire. Bethel largely supports itself by the work done by its members. Little or no pay is given even to those who give the skilled work of overseeing or directing. They are assured a home and livelihood; in case of sickness or need they know that they and theirs will be provided for with loving care; what they need they can have. Out from the training-homes, therefore, pour men and women who, with no thought of pay, give trained effort that guides the multitudinous activities of the colony, and sends out even foreign missionaries to carry on similar efforts in Africa and elsewhere. Yet money is made in many ways. Into one busy house in the colony come cast-off clothing or articles of any nature sent from all over Germany, to go out in most cases renewed and fit for use by somebody in the colony, or to be sold at low price to the peasants in the vicinity. A poor woman in Germany collected from her friends and neighbors a garretful of old corks and sent them to Bielefeld. To-day the traffic in old corks fills several houses at the colony, employs forty clerks, and brings in $10,000 per year. A wealthy patient arrived at Bielefeld who did not know how to do anything except collect postage-stamps. Bodelschwingh set him to doing this. To-day

the postage-stamp bazaar of the colony occupies a house, employs many clerks, and brings in considerable revenue. Children from all over Germany collect used stamps and send them to the colony. There is at the colony a "fragment man" who has a genius for turning into use and money the fragments which other people throw away. In more ordinary lines of trade, Bethel puts up and sells over the world pure bromide, for which epileptics have such continual need and which it is difficult to get pure. In ten years over 10,000 epileptics have been thus supplied in Germany alone.

Bethel is not, however, wholly self-supporting. It needs gifts and receives them. The royal house of Prussia takes great interest in it and gives it favors and gifts. But more particularly does Bethel rely upon the interest and gifts of the Westphalian farmers who live in the district. Pastor von Bodelschwingh is a skilled solicitor of aid. Once he asked all German parents to give him a *pfennig* for each sound and healthy child, for him to spend on the maimed and unfortunate. At present about $7,510 per year comes from the school children of Germany. Some $50,000 per year is collected for the colony by sixty regular collectors. The neighboring provinces appropriate to its use $15,300 per year. Altogether Bethel has and spends, apart from the labor colony, about $300,000 per year. It has property valued at 6,562,057 marks net.

BETHEL (SHELBY COUNTY, MO.): A communistic settlement of 4,000 acres, established about 1844 by a German-American, Dr. Keil. With little capital, but great industry, the community by 1854 had a woolen-mill, a grist-mill, several shops, and a church; the population was then 650. In 1855 Dr. Keil, with eighty settlers from Bethel, started a similar community of 18,000 acres at Aurora, Ore. Dr. Keil was president of both; and down to 1872 both properties stood in his name, but were administered by a board of trustees. In 1872, however, Dr. Keil gave each adult member a title deed to one parcel of land, tho the administration remained communistic. The life was simple and uneventful; a strict family life was maintained. Dr. Keil died in 1877, and Bethel dissolved in 1880 and Aurora a year later.

BIBLE AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE: Charles Kingsley called the Bible "the reformer's guide," and declared its keynote to be justice from God to those whom men oppress; glory from God to those whom men despise." Herr Todt, the German Christian Socialist, wrote: "Whoever would understand the social question and contribute to its solution must have on his right hand the works on political economy and on his left the literature of scientific socialism, and must keep the New Testament open before him."

Those who hold that the Bible teaches definite principles as to the formation of human society upon earth, usually maintain that the Old Testament, through its history and in the Mosaic covenant, teaches the general principles of national righteousness, while the New Testament bids us fulfil this righteousness through the life in Christ in the heart. It is held by many Christian Socialists that the Old Testament covenant teaches what may be called the law for society. It founded a theocracy on earth. God was the Universal Father; every man of the theocracy a brother. Property in land was not absolute; the land was conceived as belonging to God. No individual could own it in fee simple. He could only use it. In its use he was inalienably protected. It came to him through the family as an inalienable inheritance. If, through poverty, or misfortune, he temporarily parted with it, it returned to him in the year of jubilee. No landless, homeless class could, therefore, be *permanently* developed among the Hebrews.

The law went further. It cared especially for the poor, the opprest, the children, the fatherless, the widow. Usury (or interest; all scholars agree that the two words originally meant the same thing) was positively forbidden between members of His kingdom. The law provided for every one's independence. It not only provided land for the worker, but defended him in the ownership of clothes, tools, etc. (capital), which could not *permanently* be taken from him. If taken as a pledge, they must be returned before night. No permanent mortgage indebtedness was, therefore, possible on either land or capital—that is, the law was truly socialistic in providing in the name of organized society for both land and capital for every family. And this was *not*, be it remembered, a law of mere individual righteousness. *In order to reap its benefits, the family had to belong to the theocracy.* The Jew could take interest from a foreigner; the foreigner could be enslaved, even killed. The law was essentially national and institutional.

Such was the law of the Jewish kingdom, however and whenever developed. These conclusions are not therefore bound up with any view of the Higher Criticism. The Jews did not indeed observe it. They wandered far from it. But the law endured. The psalmists and the prophets are full of blessings on those who keep the law; are full of woes and condemnation upon the nation that wanders from it. The ceremonial was the precious shrine of a moral law still more precious. It is the moral law that is prominent. In the Psalms, Canon Fremantle has told us, there is not one word about circumcision, not a word about the passover, not a word about Sabbaths, not a word about ceremonial uncleanness. Just relation between man and man; God in the natural, the national, and social life—these are the constant themes. The same is true of the prophets. Isaiah says: "Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination to me; the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Learn to do well; seek judgment [justice]; relieve the opprest; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow." . . . Micah says: "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? . . . What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" Such was the kingdom of heaven, of the law, and of the prophets. They thundered, not against the ritual law, but against those who robbed it of its meaning. They witnessed not against sacrifices, but against sacrifices of other people's property.

But the law failed. Law could not save, as law cannot save to-day. And yet it did not fail. It was *the schoolmaster to bring us to Christ.*

"What the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh," that Jesus Christ came to fulfil. This is the *second* half of Bible sociology.

Christ's first preaching was of a kingdom.

"From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'" He sent out His disciples and the seventy to preach "the Gospel of the kingdom." Almost all His parables are about the kingdom. Of the kingdom are His main discourses. Just before His crucifixion He entered Jerusalem as a king. Before Pilate He declared that He was a king. On His cross was the inscription in three representative languages of the earth, declaring Him to be a king. After His resurrection He continued forty days "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." What did Jesus Christ mean by the kingdom of God? A kingdom implies four things. It implies a *king*, a ruler; it implies a *law*, the law of the king; it implies, *subjects* who obey, or should obey, the king; it implies a *realm*, where the king rules. What king, law, subjects, and realm does Christ refer to? Where is the kingdom of heaven? It cannot be far away, because eighteen centuries ago Christ declared that it was "at hand." It cannot be unknown, because Christ referred to it in His first utterances as something that His hearers perfectly well understood. It must by them have been understood of that kingdom of God which Moses tried to establish; of which David and the kings were faulty symbols; for which the prophets prayed and the poets sang; to which every Jew looked forward with a longing the more passionate the more it seemed deferred. Undoubtedly this was what the Jew understood by Christ's teaching. Yet it was not to be as they thought. It was to be spiritual, and for all nations. It was not to come by earthly might or by any law. It was to be chosen of men in freedom, not forced upon them; it was to come "without observation," and by the power of the Spirit. Such, in brief, is the social teaching of the Old and New Testaments. (See articles CHRISTIANITY; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; JUDAISM.)

BIELEFELD. See BETHEL.

BIMETALISM: Term designating the use of gold and silver as money at relative values set by legislative enactment, or the union of these two metals in circulation as full money, at a fixt rate; specifically that system of coinage which recognizes both coins of silver and coins of gold as legal tender to any amount, or the free coinage and concurrent use of the two metals as a circulating medium at a fixt relative value.

The final report of the (English) Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, reporting in 1888, describes bimetalism as follows: "A bimetallic system of currency to be completely effective must, in the view of those who advocate it, include two essential features: (*a*) An open mint ready to coin any quantity of either gold or silver which may be brought to it. (*b*) The right on the part of a debtor to discharge his liabilities, at his option, in either of the two metals, at a ratio fixt by law." It is usually understood to mean that the two metals are used thus at a fixt proportion to each other, as in the countries of the Latin Union, in which the ratio of 1 gold to 15½ silver by weight formed the legal basis, or as in the United States, in which the ratio is 1 to 16.

Bimetalism as an economic question is of recent date, the word having been first used by M. Cernuschi in 1869, altho the concurrent use of gold and silver as money is as old as civilization. (See MONEY.) The modern discussion of it, however, arose only shortly before the fall in the gold value of silver, which began about 1873.

History

Up to the year 1819 almost all nations issued coins of both gold and silver, as well as of other metals, and tried to regulate their relative values by royal or governmental proclamations. Altho supply and demand continually tended to change the relative value of the two metals, and altho from about 1760–1810 enormous quantities of silver poured into the world from mines in Mexico and elsewhere (so that in 1800 the world's annual silver product was nearly three times its product in 1700), the actual alteration in the relative values aforesaid was but slight. In 1803, therefore, France adopted her famous law, making fifteen and a half parts of silver equal to one part of gold in all transactions, which had the effect, despite still greater changes in relative production, of maintaining the relative values of the metals almost exactly steady at the figures named until the demonetization of silver by Germany in 1873. England, however, in 1816, under the second Lord Liverpool, took an opposite course, and demonetized silver as a standard, and ever since has used it only as a metal for subsidiary coinage. But now began a contraction of the currency of the world. The silver product of Mexico, owing mainly to revolutions in that country, fell off one half; the total gold product of the world for various reasons declined; paper currencies in France and England were retired; the United States (see CURRENCY) went through marked depressions, with all forms of wild state banking. At the same time increasing discoveries and inventions cheapened production.

By 1849 prices had fallen some 65 per cent, and money (in England, gold) had become by so much the more valuable. Contracting currency (see CONTRACTION) increased the value of loans. But suddenly (1849) came the gold discoveries of California and Australia. In 1859 thirty times as much gold was produced in the world as in 1810. Money became cheap. Prices rose. Gold threatened to be so plenty that monometalists began to talk about demonetizing it. From 1862–1865, moreover, the United States issued paper money (greenbacks, etc.) and liberated $600,000,000 of gold, which went to Europe, and mainly to England. If the gold-holders and gold-lenders were to retain any advantage from their gold, it was necessary to take some steps. Consequently they sought (the extreme believers in silver say conspired) to get possession of as much gold as possible, and then to induce the various nations of the world to demonetize silver, to make gold the only legal tender. Soon the promise of unlimited outflow of gold from the mines began to fail, and thus to vastly increase the value of their gold.

Gradually the arguments of English economists in favor of the single gold standard began to make impression, and this was deepened by indications that an excessive supply of silver from the Bonanza mines of Nevada might be expected. In 1867, in connection with the Paris Exhibition of that year, an international monetary conference was held at Berlin, and since even delegates from the United States, among others, supported resolutions advocating the demonetization of silver, the idea of gold monometalism spread.

The war of 1870–71, by securing to Germany a large sum of gold and merchantable paper equivalent to gold, in payment of the indemnity of $1,000,000,000 exacted from France, put Germany into a position to establish the single gold standard for herself. The law of Dec. 4, 1871, completed July 9, 1873, superseding the local coinage by an imperial coinage, demonetized silver by restricting its coinage to the amount regarded as necessary for change. The influence of Germany's action was felt in other quarters than the silver market, and its results everywhere had the effect of increasing the depression of silver. In 1873 Denmark, Sweden, and Norway followed her in adopting the single gold standard. Holland followed in 1875.

Silver Demonetized, 1873

In the United States, the influence of the bankers and capitalists had already caused the withdrawal of the greenbacks, the issue of interest-bearing bonds, the vote to pay both capital and interest in gold (altho in some cases it had not been promised to be paid in gold), and, besides all this, the gradual contraction of the currency; and thus, of course, the enhancement of the value of gold. (For the details, see CURRENCY.) Hitherto silver, since the beginning of the war at least, had played a small part in United States monetary affairs. During the war, and till about 1876, it was mainly a question of paper or gold. This led to unforeseen consequences. Silver—hitherto technically, altho not practically, a legal tender and standard of value—was, in 1873, technically demonetized.

(See CURRENCY.) A bill was introduced into Congress and passed Feb. 12, 1873, nominally to regulate details of coinage at the mint, but which, without mentioning the demonetization of silver, did practically accomplish this by not mentioning silver coins except for small change, and saying that no coins either of gold or silver should be coined except those therein set forth. It elicited at the time small attention. Few knew that it demonetized silver, and the most stalwart friends of silver voted for it. Silver was scarcely an issue.

But gradually, as the country saw the circulation contracting, and the opponents of contraction found that they could not obtain a paper currency, they turned to silver, and then discovered that it had been demonetized. The excitement was intense. Mr. Sherman and the few who knew what had been done were branded as traitors by the growing friends of silver. It was charged that demonetization had been carried by a conspiracy of a few Congressmen with the "gold kings" of Wall Street, to carry out "a world conspiracy" to demonetize silver and make gold the ruler of the world.

A monetary commission was appointed by Congress in 1876, which reported strongly in favor of silver, and led to the call of an international monetary conference at Paris in 1878, to secure the cooperation of the European powers in remonetizing silver. Meanwhile, the development of gold monometalism had gone on.

The Paris conference took no positive action toward silver remonetization. In the United States, however, the Bland Bill of 1878 did to an extent remonetize silver. It did not wholly, for altho, as originally reported by Mr. Bland from the House Committee on Coinage, it did propose the full remonetization of silver by authorizing its unlimited coinage at the ratio of 1 to 16 on private account, the bill, as finally passed, restricted coinage to $2,000,000 a month on government account. And the secretaries of our treasury, like the Bank of France, have been agreed in regarding their stock of gold alone as the reserve for the security of the notes they are obligated to redeem on presentation.

This was at length replaced in 1890, after almost annual attempts at a full free-coinage act, by a compromise measure, commonly known as the Sherman Act. This directed the treasurer to purchase silver bullion aggregating 4,500,000 ounces a month, or so much thereof as might be offered at market price, and to issue in payment for such purchases silver bullion treasury notes.

Meanwhile, on the Continent the gold monometalists had succeeded in permanently demonetizing silver. By an international agreement of the Latin Union in 1874, the coinage of silver had been limited; by an agreement of 1877 it ceased. The Paris conference of 1878 had been decided for gold.

We now come to the money crisis of the summer of 1893. The United States was left alone, of the great powers of the world, to deal with silver. Various events conspired to bring on this crisis. Losses on loans in the Argentine Republic compelled England to draw in her gold. Then came the failure of the Australian banks, demanding more gold from England. Austria-Hungary and Rumania decided to change to a gold standard. On the top of all this, the English Indian Government was induced (June 26, 1893) to stop the free coinage of silver. The crisis in America almost immediately followed. Silver dropt to the lowest point ever recorded. The day after the news from India, silver mines began to close in Colorado, and distress became intense. Meanwhile, some of the banks, not knowing what was coming, had begun a policy for which many of them dearly paid. It is claimed by silver extremists that the banks, or at least some bankers, planned, by reducing their circulation and by refusing credit, to create a slight pinch, to lay this to lack of confidence in the Sherman Act, and so compel Congress to repeal the Sherman Act and thus put the whole world in the hands of the triumphant gold metalists, as all the great powers, except the United States, were already. However, the banks did not know what elements were uniting to cause, not a slight pinch, but the worst monetary crisis the country had known for at least twenty years. President Cleveland was induced to summon an extra session of Congress to meet the emergency. It became impossible even for perfectly solvent manufacturing concerns to get enough money to pay their wages. Every device was used for money. Clearing-house notes were issued in large quantities. Banks in unprecedented numbers failed, altho with abundant assets, because they could not get currency to meet the demand. The calling of Congress (Aug. 7th) strengthened confidence temporarily. Large amounts of gold were obtained from England, and a little easement made. On Aug. 11th Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, introduced a bill in the House, repealing the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, but renewing the pledge to maintain the parity of gold and silver. This passed the House by a vote of 240 to 110. Then came a long contest in the Senate. After much discussion in committee and caucus, Senator Vorhees introduced a bill, repealing the purchasing clause, but more strongly pledging the maintenance of bimetalism. Finally, however, after months of talk, it passed the Senate, was accepted by the House, and approved by the president Nov. 1st. Such is a brief outline of the monetary history from which the bimetalist controversy cannot be separated, and without a knowledge of which it cannot be understood.

Crisis of 1893

Since Nov., 1893, the bimetalist controversy has turned more upon fact than upon theory.

In this country, however, the bimetalists must not be confounded with those friends of silver who have fought for bimetalism, not from any theory or belief in bimetalism itself, but simply from a desire to expand or at least to prevent the contraction of the currency, and believing the use of silver to be the most available means to this end. By no means have all the supporters of silver in the Congressional battle been bimetalists. On the other hand, by no means have all the opponents of silver been monometalists. On the contrary, many of them believe in bimetalism, but have argued that the United States cannot afford to use depreciated silver when all the rest of the world is using gold. They have held that we must adopt the gold standard, and then work for an international agreement to use silver. It will be thus seen how complicated has been the condition of the bimetalic controversy in the United States. And this is but a brief statement of the subject. The intensity of feeling on the matter can only be realized when one reads the violent language of the friends of silver, classing the gold men with the most heinous traitors to the country, and threatening violence and war if silver be demonetized. This feeling can be understood only when one realizes what a contracting currency means, and how these men believe that the demonetization of silver is a deliberate plot to contract the currency. Says one writer:

Bimetalists and Free-Silver Men not the Same

All business and productive enterprises are a speculation. The farmer borrows money expecting to sell wheat at a certain price and pay his debt in money. Meanwhile the price of wheat falls 50 per cent. Where one bushel would have

paid his debt when contracted, it now requires two bushels, and the burden of the debt has grown 100 per cent. During the past twenty years this is exactly what has occurred. Our universal, all-important standard of measure has doubled. Every debtor and producing nation except the United States is a bankrupt nation. They borrowed money for private and public enterprises when prices were high, and must pay interest and principal when prices are low. Australia, with its bountiful resources and immunity from war; Egypt, Italy, Portugal, and the Argentine Republic are acknowledged bankrupts. France, Spain, and other nations escape the acknowledgment only by falsely doctoring their books. The reason is, the burden of their debts has nearly doubled. The people of the United States have paid two thirds of their war debt since 1865; yet, measured in wheat, cotton, corn, and many manufactured articles, it will require to-day more of the products of their muscle and brain to pay the remaining one third than it required in 1865 to pay the entire debt. Only a land of fabulous resources can endure this fruitless slavery. When we consider that the private debts of the country are one half the value of the country, it is no wonder that panic, depression, idleness, and despair are upon us.

In following the monetary history of the bimetallic controversy we have already seen many of the arguments *pro* and *con*; but as that history is confused with other questions, we tabulate here the main arguments for bimetalism.

Arguments for Bimetalism

1. That there is not enough gold produced in the world to do the business of the world, and that, therefore, unless silver or some other metal be used, the sufferings must be experienced which all economists are agreed would result from a contracting or insufficient currency.

2. Bimetalists argue that even if this be not the case, on general principles two metals are not so apt to fluctuate as one, and that if one metal be driven out of circulation temporarily, the other metal will remain, fluctuating perhaps, but still fluctuating less than the vanished metal. Jevons has illustrated this as follows:

> At any moment the standard of value is doubtless one metal or the other, and not both; yet the fact that there is an alternation tends to make each vary much less than it would otherwise do. It cannot prevent both metals from falling or rising in value compared with other commodities, but it can throw variations of supply and demand over a larger area, instead of leaving each metal to be affected merely by its own accidents. Imagine two reservoirs of water, each subject to independent variations of supply and demand. In the absence of any connecting pipe, the level of the water in each reservoir will be subject to its own fluctuations only. But if we open a connection, the water in both will assume a certain level, and the effects of any excessive supply or demand will be distributed over the whole area of both reservoirs. The mass of the metals gold and silver, circulating in western Europe in late years, is exactly represented by the water in these reservoirs, and the connecting pipe is the law of the seventh Germinal, An. xi. (1803), which enables one metal to take the place of the other as an unlimited legal tender.

3. Bimetalists claim that the depreciation of silver which has taken place has been due to unfavorable legislation, and that all the financial suffering which it has caused proves what need the world has of silver. If this goes on, they argue, nothing less than a most disastrous shock to the expansion of the world's commerce can be expected. And no remedy except the remonetization of silver has been suggested.

Arguments against Bimetalism

Contrary arguments come from two main sources: (1) From those who believe in a gold monometalism, and (2) from those who consider *both* monometalism and bimetalism to be faulty, and would meet the monetary need in other ways. The arguments brought by monometalists against bimetalism are very numerous and sometimes from such different standpoints that they seem contradictory, but may be summarized here. It is urged that, however we legislate, two metals cannot be a standard at the same time, because at any given time, according to Gresham's law (see MONEY), the poorer metal will drive the better metal out. If then, it is said, we attempt to have a double standard, it really means to choose the poorer standard of the two, and thus to have all the evils of a depreciated and depreciating currency. It is urged that the fall of prices has not been due to the appreciation of gold, as bimetalists assert, but to the cheapening cost of production. Monometalists point to the danger of there being such an increased production of silver as to threaten great depreciation of its value; and therefore, if accepted as a standard, the great lessening of money values, involving general financial ruin. The only way to prevent this, they urge, is to maintain gold as the most fixt and universally accepted measure of value, and then to use various forms of credit to do the exchange of the world where gold is not sufficient, using silver, copper, etc., only for subsidiary coin. Already, they assert, credit performs 93 per cent of the exchanges of the world. (Bimetalists deny this, and say that monometalists consider too much the methods of the financiering class. They say that the vast millions of the earth's population do not use forms of credit; that retail stores use it little, farmers still less, and artizans and day laborers scarcely at all. For these credit is no relief, since they have no credit. Credit, moreover, gives out when it is most needed, and throws the world back on an insufficient amount of gold just when gold is most in demand.)

The argument against bimetalism by those who would have neither bimetalism nor monometalism is (1) that bimetalism has not worked and cannot work without international agreement, and that this is well-nigh impossible to get, it always being the interest of the capitalists of one nation to adopt a gold standard if they can only induce some other nation to adopt a silver standard; (2) that the great need in currency is of a fixt standard, which, to remain fixt in proportion to prices, must be elastic in *volume*, which is possible neither with gold nor silver; so that we require some better system than either monometalism or bimetalism. (See MONEY.)

On Continental Europe, the most distinguished bimetalists have been: Henri Cernuschi, Prof. A. Wagner, A. Schaeffle, E. de Laveleye, and Baron von Kardoff; in England: Profs. Marshall, Sidgwick, Nicholson, Foxwell, and Symes, and the Hon. G. J. Goschen; in the United States: Henry C. Carey, President F. A. Walker, Hon. William D. Kelley, Hon. John P. Jones, John B. Howe, W. F. Balch, and Elisha B. Andrews.

Of the present, the situation is so involved that it is hard to speak. The large majority of professorial economists in this country are bimetalists in theory, but believe that to be successful international agreement is necessary; and they feel that this is at present impossible of attainment. In May, 1895, a significant bimetalic conference was held in London, but for all this recent history, see CURRENCY. See also CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY.

REFERENCES: The literature on the subject is very extensive, to a great extent in articles and letters in periodicals. The arguments on the subject will be found stated in Jevons, *Investigations in Currency and Finance*, London, 1884; *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, 1875; *Reports of Committee of House of Commons on Depreciation of Silver*, 1878; *Report of Commission on Trade and Industry*, 1886; and Appendix *B* to third *Report*, by R. H. Inglis Palgrave; *Report of Commission on Gold and Silver*, 1887; S. Dana Horton, *Silver as an International Question* (an address to Congress); *American Reports from Consuls of the United*

States, No. 87, Dec., 1887; Ernest Seyd, *Bimetallism in 1886*, London, 1886; R. Giffen, *Essays in Finance*, 1880, and other dates; *Some Bimetallic Fallacies*, in *Journal Institute of Bankers*, June, 1886; Prof. Émile de Laveleye, *The Economic Crisis and Its Causes*, in *Contemporary Review*, May, 1886; Samuel Smith, *The Bimetallic Question*, London, 1887; Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, *On the Profitable Results of an Increase in the Purchasing Power of Gold*; Lawrence J. Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism in the United States*, 1885; F. A. Walker, *International Bimetallism*, 1896; M. S. Wildman, *Money Inflation in the United States*, in *Journal of Political Economy*, March, 1906; A. P. Andrew, *The Bimetallic System of Currency*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, Sept., 1900.

BIOLOGY AND SOCIAL REFORM: The connection between biology and social reform is one which tends to be brought into greater prominence with the advance of knowledge. It is not long ago since the whole class of phenomena which human society presents was regarded apart in itself and as having little or no connection with those to be observed elsewhere in the history of life. The first consistent attempt on an extended scale to connect together through the principle of development and continuity both classes of phenomena was made by Mr. Herbert Spencer. "Social Statics," which in many respects may be regarded as the starting-point of the synthetic philosophy, dates back to 1850. One of the leading ideas in this system of philosophy—in which *First Principles*, *Principles of Biology*, *Principles of Psychology*, *Principles of Sociology*, and *Principles of Ethics* have been steps in an ascending series—has been to trace this principle of development up to and into human society. Toward the elucidation of the laws at work in this society, all the work of science in lower fields has been regarded as preliminary. It was, however, with the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species" in November, 1859, that the greatest impetus was given to the study of human society from the biological standpoint. The full effect of this impetus is not yet felt in many departments of knowledge which are almost certainly destined to be eventually profoundly altered by it. For many years after the publication of this epoch-marking book the effect of the fructifying ideas which it contained was necessarily limited to a few departments of knowledge. Gradually, however, the circle of their influence has extended, until one after another of lower sciences, and particularly those connected with life, have been reconstructed and transformed. The principle of the continuity of development, structural and functional, is now well established; but in the long uphill battle which has had to be fought before the ideas connected with it obtained general acceptance, it has necessarily happened that the sciences connected with man in society have been the last to be influenced. But that they are now beginning to feel the effect of the revolution is evident. What we are coming to see is that in human society we have only the last and most complex chapter in the history of life. The historian, the political philosopher, the economist, and the student of ethical phenomena are all dealing with just the same problems, altho in different form, that science has been concerned with at earlier stages, and even to a large extent throughout the history of life. It is in the proposed solutions to problems connected with the distribution of wealth that we have at the present day the dividing lines which separate most of the various political parties into which our modern society is split up. It is with these problems, too, that the economist is largely concerned. Yet such problems in themselves constitute only an aspect of the highest and most complex phase of that struggle and rivalry of existence with which the biologist has already dealt on a lower plane. Some of the older economists, indeed, at times saw this more or less clearly. "Only through the principle of competition has political economy any pretension to the character of a science" was a dictum of John Stuart Mill. The point at which the social sciences tend to be most significantly influenced by biology may be indicated. What is becoming more clearly recognized is that, as biology would lead us to expect, the conditions affecting the distribution of wealth, which the evolutionary forces at work in human society are ever tending to develop, are not necessarily those that parties or classes desire for themselves, but rather those which are continually tending to produce the highest efficiency of the whole social organization. The old utilitarian ideal of the greatest happiness of the greatest number is not, therefore, always, or even often, the same as the ideal of the greatest utility. Thus in a sense the whole of the problem before modern socialism can be stated in biological terms: Is it a movement which is tending to produce the highest standard of social efficiency, or is it one the effect of which will be to produce the maximum of ease and comfort to the largest number of individuals? The lesson of biological science for society would appear to be that, so far as it produces the latter to the exclusion of the former, to that extent it must fail of ultimate success (but see EVOLUTION).

Breadth of the Subject

BENJAMIN KIDD.

BIRMINGHAM: City of Warwickshire, England; one of the chief industrial centers of England, and the leading hardware city of the world; population (1905) 542,959. It was an Anglo-Saxon town, and became an important industrial city even in the Middle Ages. Its great importance, however, dates from the seventeenth century, in the manufacture of swords and guns. As early as 1727 its hardware manufacturers are said to have employed 50,000 persons. By the end of the century it was known throughout the world. In the industrial revolution of the era of the eighteenth century it became a Liberal center, and in the nineteenth century a leader in reform and chartism. Evils, however, developed, and by 1873 Birmingham's municipal government was considered one of the worst in England.

In 1873 came a change. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was elected mayor, and commenced an era of municipal activity. The sum of £2,000,000 was paid for the plant of two gas companies, a large price; yet the profits the first year were £34,000, and they have since doubled. The price, too, since 1875 has been reduced from 3s. to about 2s. per 1,000 feet. Since 1889 the employees have had the eight-hour day. In 1874 the city paid £1,350,000 for the existing water-works of a private company, and since then the works have been extended, the daily supply doubled, and the cost to consumers much reduced. In 1875 Mr. Chamberlain laid before the council an Improvement Scheme, which has since been adopted, and whereby the city took forty-five acres of the most crowded and most unwholesome portions of the city, covered by 1,368 houses, condemned the whole district, and has opened in its place the

finest public thoroughfare of the city, "Corporation Street," lined by fine business blocks. These buildings have not been sold, but leased for seventy-five years. The gross outlay April, 1904, was £1,730,303, but the yearly cost is lessening and the rentals are growing. In fifty years from the time of the investment the debt will all have been paid, and the city will own these structures in clear title. Mr. Chamberlain believes that Birmingham will be the richest municipal corporation in the kingdom. The investment already pays, since the death-rate of this district has been lowered, from 60 to 20 or 25 per 1,000. The city has developed a fine sewerage system and a large sewage farm, a wholesome and agreeable tract of land under high cultivation and with rich crops. Birmingham was the first city in England to establish municipal baths. The first was opened in 1851, at a cost of £24,000, and there are now four, besides swimming-baths, Turkish baths, etc. The city has laid and owns several lines of tramway, within the city limits, but leases them to private companies on favorable terms. It is calculated that in twenty-one years this will pay for the whole investment. As the city can borrow at 3 per cent, it is a profitable investment. The companies have to pay all bills for maintenance and repairs, and are minutely supervised as to the furnishing and lighting of the cars. The city owns her own markets, having bought them of the manorial lord in 1824, and they now yield some £10,000 a year profits. The city owns more than ten parks, for its population of 500,000. Its debt, which before Mr. Chamberlain became mayor was small, is now some £15,000,000, but it has assets of £16,000,000, and the rates are almost exactly what they were in 1873.

Improvement Scheme

In 1899 the electric plant was also municipalized. In 1896 a municipal technical school was erected at a cost of £100,000; it has some 3,000 pupils. The city has other schools, colleges, art school, galleries, etc. Queen's College is connected with the London University. The municipal government is conducted by fifty-four councilors and eighteen aldermen. The councilors are elected once for three years, one third going out of office each year. The aldermen are elected by the council for six years. The city has a lord mayor who is elected annually by the council. Birmingham is now often spoken of as "the best governed city in the world."

Government

References: *History of the Corporation of Birmingham*, by Bunce, 1885; *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, by Albert Shaw, 1895; article in *Harper's Monthly*, lxxxi, 99, by Julian Ralph.

BIRNEY, JAMES G: Abolitionist; Presidential candidate of the Liberty Party (1840 and 1844); born in Danville, Ky., 1792. Originally a slaveholder, and at one time agent for a colonization society, in 1834 he freed his slaves and established an abolition newspaper. Fear of violence compelled him to leave Danville, and subsequently Cincinnati whither he had moved. He came to New York, where he was Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1842 he moved to Michigan, and a fall from his horse disabled him from further political activity. He died in 1857.

BIRTH-RATES: In nearly every civilized country, the numbers of births and deaths are matters of careful record. Unfortunately, however, this is not true of the United States as a whole. The U. S. census calls "registration areas" districts where there are adequate official returns; and the only states whose records were accepted as accurate by the census of 1900 were Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, in addition to certain counties and cities of New York and New Jersey. In Europe, however, registration has been in the main complete, beginning with England in 1838. The following tables, except where otherwise indicated, are taken from reports of the Registrar-General of England:

Birth-rate per 1,000 Inhabitants[1]

Country	1841–50	1851–60	1861–70	1871–80	1881–90	1891–1900	S. J.[2]
Austria	37.6	36.9	38.2	39.0	37.9	37.1	(1903) 35.0
Belgium	30.5	30.4	32.2	32.7	30.2	28.9	(1903) 27.5
Denmark	30.5	32.8	30.7	31.5	31.9	30.2	(1904) 29.2
England and Wales	32.6	34.2	35.4	35.5	23.5	30.0	(1904) 28.0
France	27.2	26.2	26.1	25.4	23.9	22.1	(1904) 20.9
Germany	36.1	35.3	37.2	39.1	36.8	36.1	(1904) 34.1
Norway	30.7	30.0	30.9	30.9	30.8	30.4	(1904) 27.9
Sweden	31.1	32.8	31.4	30.5	29.0	27.1	(1903) 25.7

[1] From *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, cl., 1903.
[2] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1906.

This table and the following indicate a slowly but steadily decreasing birth-rate. The United States had a birth-rate of 31.5 in the census year of 1880, tho all census birth-rates are admittedly too low. For 1890 it was 26.68. The birth-rate for 1900 was 27.2. Few of the states publish records of births. The birth-rate for Connecticut averaged 23.6 for 1850–60; 22.7, 1861–70; 24.6. 1871–80; 23.0, 1881–90; 24.1, 1891–1900, and 22.4 for 1901–2. In Rhode Island, owing probably to immigration, the birth-rate has somewhat

risen. In 1870 it was 24.0; in 1880, 22.9; 1890, 24.7; 1900, 25.8. In Massachusetts it has fallen. It was 28.08 in 1851; 29.28, in 1860; 26.25, in 1870; 24.80, 1880; 25.81, 1890; 26.16, 1900, and 24.58, 1902.

BIRTH-RATE PER 1,000 INHABITANTS

COUNTRY	1857–99	1900	S. J.[1]
Austria	38.0	....	(1903) 35.0
Belgium	30.1	28.9	(1903) 27.5
Denmark	31.3	29.8	(1904) 29.2
England and Wales	32.3	28.7	(1904) 28.0
France	23.7	21.4	(1904) 20.9
Germany	37.2	35.6	(1904) 34.1
Hungary	42.9	39.3	(1903) 36.6
Ireland	23.8	22.7	(1904) 23.6
Italy	36.6	32.9	(1903) 31.5
Norway	30.7	30.1	(1904) 27.9
Prussia	37.7	36.1	....
Scotland	32.2	29.6	(1904) 28.6
Spain	(1888-99) 35.6	34.4	(1902) 35.6
Sweden	28.7	26.9	(1903) 25.7
United Kingdom	31.1	28.2	....

[1] *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1906.

Concerning the cause of the decreasing birth-rate, the position of MALTHUS is well known. Tho attacked by GODWIN it became universally accepted. Herbert SPENCER agreed with Malthus, but held that the very fact that population tends to increase beyond the means of subsistence is the cause of human progress. He argues that the progress of civilization, produced by the never-ceasing pressure of population on the means of subsistence, leads to a diminishing birth-rate. More modern discussions of the subject have been led by Dr. George Hansen in Germany; M. Levasseur, M. Leroy-Beaulieu, and M. Dumont in France; Dr. George Blundell Longstaff and Dr. J. Milner Fothergill in England; Dr. John S. Billings, Dr. Cyrus M. Edson, and others in the United States.

Levasseur[1] argues that inequalities of production are the cause of changes in the increase of population. M. Dumont[2] argues that, tho on the surface the decrease of population is an economic question, at bottom it is intellectual, political, and esthetic; that as the desire to rise in the industrial, intellectual, political, or esthetic world increases, the birth-rate diminishes. Dr. Hansen,[3] Dr. Longstaff,[4] and Dr. Fothergill,[5] show especially the evil influences of city life upon the population, both in weakening the vitality and in diminishing the birth-rate. Says J. L. Brownell (*Annals of the American Academy*, July, 1899):

> The generalizations tentatively reached by all these inquirers are that civilization in general checks the rate of increase of population, in spite of a diminishing death-rate; that city life is, on the whole, unfavorable to the natural increase of population, and that what the economists call the "raising of the standard of life" operates in the same way.

It has been assumed that the changes in the marriage-rate and the marriage age will account in a great measure for the decreasing birth-rate; but another explanation is more than hinted at in the following quotation from Dr. John S. Billings:[6]

> It is probable that the most important factor in the change is the deliberate and voluntary avoidance or prevention of child-bearing on the part of a steadily increasing number of married people, who not only prefer to have but few children, but who know how to obtain their wish.

M. Levasseur and M. Dumont hold the same opinion. Says the former:

> "By prevision we understand the human will restraining or directing the reproductive instinct, with a view to bringing children into the world only at such times and in such numbers that the father can hope to support them and to educate them for a position equal to his own. Prevision is the characteristic of the man who reflects, and who, conscious of his responsibilities, does not leave his destiny to chance. This virtue is the palladium of human liberty. The philosopher and the economist who believe in that liberty ought, if they are logical, to recommend such prevision, recognizing that if it is useful in the great mass of actions, it is nowhere more opportune than in the grave question of the growth of the family and the education of the child. . . . It is enough to lay down as a general rule that reason should control instinct." M. Dumont says: "The real cause of the decrease of our birth-rate is the wish to have few or no children, and that wish is determined by a combination of intellectual, moral, and esthetic tendencies peculiar to our people."

Voluntary Prevention

Dr. Cyrus M. Edson[7] agrees with Dr. Billings that "the voluntary avoidance and prevention of child-bearing is steadily increasing," but thinks that the principal cause is the physical and nervous deterioration of the women of the United States; and this, he asserts, is largely due to the severe strain of modern life and education. In fact, any one who is at all familiar with the statistical and medical literature of the subject is aware that the voluntary prevention of conception is the explanation of the diminishing birth-rate that is generally accepted by physicians and statisticians.

Comparing the statistics of Europe for 1896 and the U. S. 1890, the countries with the highest birth-rates were Russia, Hungary, and Austria; and those with the lowest, France, Ireland, the U. S., and Sweden. Birth statistics are evidently affected by the extent to which prevention of births is practised in different countries, but generally speaking the more uncivilized the race, the higher the birth-rate. In India the birth-rate is said to be 48. In the U. S. in 1890, it was 26.35 for whites, 29.07 for colored, and 38.29 for whites with both parents foreign.

A large excess of the birth-rate over the death-rate, such as exists in England and in Germany, constitutes an undoubted element of national strength. In France the excess of births over

[1] Levasseur, *La Population Française*, iii., pp. 27, 218–20, 223.
[2] Dumont, *Dépopulation et Civilisation*, pp. 97, 356.
[3] Hansen, *Die Drei Bevölkerungstufen*.
[4] Longstaff, *Studies in Statistics*.
[5] Fothergill, *The Town Dweller*.
[6] Billings, *The Diminishing Birth-rate in the United States* (*The Forum*, June, 1893).
[7] Cyrus M. Edson, *American Life and Physical Deterioration* (*North American Review*, October, 1893).

deaths has been constantly diminishing, until in 1890 there was an excess of deaths over births. This condition is viewed with alarm by intelligent French writers, and is termed by M. Cheysson a "national peril." He states as among the causes of the low birth-rate of France, "the growth of large towns, debauchery, overcrowding in manufacturing centers, the French law of inheritance, and the 'moral restraint' of Malthus, practised not by the poorer class, who are prolific, but by the well-to-do classes, who are systematically sterile."

Birth-rates also undoubtedly vary with economic conditions. Von Meyr showed that births in Bavaria from 1835 to 1860 rose and fell diversely with the price of rye.

BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN OF VARIOUS CLASSES, 15–50 YEARS OF AGE[1]

CLASSIFICATION.	Paris.	Berlin.	Vienna.	London.
Very poor quarters	108	157	200	147
Poor quarters	95	129	164	140
Comfortable quarters	72	114	155	107
Very comfortable quarters	65	96	153	107
Rich quarters	53	63	107	87
Very rich quarters	34	47	71	63
Average	80	102	153	109

Mrs. L. K. Commander, in her recent book, "The American Idea" (1907), has collected a large amount of testimony in regard to the situation in the U. S., and thus sums it up:

(1) The size of the American family has diminished.
(2) The decline is greatest among the rich and educated, but also exists to a marked extent among the middle class and the intelligent poor.
(3) Only the most ignorant and irresponsible make no effort to limit the number of their children.
(4) Not only has the large family disappeared, but it is no longer desired.
(5) The prevailing American ideal, among rich and poor, educated and uneducated, women and men, is two children.
(6) Childlessness is no longer considered a disgrace, or even a misfortune, but is frequently desired and voluntarily sought.
(7) Opposition to large families is so strong an American tendency that our immigrants are speedily influenced by it.
(8) The large family is not only individually, but socially, disproved, the parents of numerous children meeting public censure.

She says that of thirty-eight physicians in New York City replying to questions, thirty said "two children" was the ideal American family; six said "one child"; one said, "having a family is not an American ideal." President Eliot of Harvard University finds that of six classes more than twenty-five years out of college, the number of children surviving born to members of those classes averaged almost exactly two to a family; while twenty-eight per cent are unmarried. Professor Thorndike of Columbia University found that of the women college graduates of Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley, from 1880–84, 55 per cent were married (up to 1903), while of graduates from 1898 to 1899, only 5.5 per cent were married (up to 1903). He says that 45 per cent of all women college graduates marry, while of the general female population who reach the age of forty, 90 per cent marry (*Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1903).

The organ of the New York Church Federation (*Federation*) says that religious belief strongly affects the birth-rate. "The maximum (family in New York) is Hebrew; the minimum agnostic. The Roman Catholic average is higher than the Protestant; the positively Protestant than the indefinitely Protestant; the indefinitely Protestant than the definitely agnostic."

[1] Presented by Dr. J. Bertillon, International Statistical Institute, St. Petersburg, 1897.

REFERENCES: *Essay on the Principles of Population*, by R. T. Malthus, 1798; *Enquiry Concerning Population*, by W. Godwin, 1820; *La Population Française*, by Levasseur; *The Diminishing Birth-Rate in the United States*, by John S. Billings, in *The Forum*, June, 1893; articles by J. L. Brownell in the *Annals of the American Academy*, July, 1894, and in *Popular Science Monthly*, Sept., 1899; *The American Idea*, by L. K. Commander, 1907.

BISMARCK, OTTO EDUARD LEOPOLD, PRINCE VON: First chancellor of the German Empire; born at Schönhausen, Prussian Saxony, 1815; studied law at Göttingen, Berlin, and Greifswald; elected to the Prussian Landtag (1847), as an ultra-royalist. In 1851 he was chosen a member of the Germanic Diet at Frankfort and continued as such till 1859, acquiring fame as an opponent of revolution, and as an advocate of a German empire under the lead of Prussia. In 1859 he was sent as minister to Prussia, and in 1862 to Paris. The same year, however, he was recalled to take the Prussian portfolio of foreign affairs. He closed the chambers, and for four years governed without them. Bismarck used the Sleswick-Holstein controversy, the defeat of Austria by Prussia at Königgrätz (Sadowa), and above all the Franco-Prussian War, which he is believed by many largely to have caused, to build up a feeling of national unity in Germany, with Prussia in the lead. King William was crowned emperor over a united Germany at Versailles on Jan. 17, 1871, and Bismarck was made a prince and a chancellor of the empire. He compelled France to cede Alsace-Lorraine and to pay an indemnity of $1,000,000,000, and then sought to develop the empire by a foreign policy of alliances against France, by building up a strong army and navy, by a high protective tariff, and by developing state monopoly. He thus became opposed both by the Liberals and by the Ultramontanes. In 1872 he expelled the Jesuits and began the so-called "kulturkampf" or contest with Rome. Against the growing power of the Socialists, he enacted strict repressive laws, at the same time fostering the paternal socialism which has had such large development in Germany.

From 1879 at least Bismarck was considered almost the leading spirit of paternal State socialism. This, however, was not to adopt a new policy in Prussia, but simply to carry out, or, rather, revert to the traditional policy of the Hohenzollerns. (See GERMANY.) It was the proud boast of Frederick the Great that he was *le roi des gueux*. Of all the governments of the seventeenth century, the Prussian was the first to seek the welfare of the whole community. The Prussian *landrecht* recognizes the State as the protector of the poorer classes, and one of its duties to supply sustenance and work for those lacking means and opportunity of earning a livelihood. It was upon these clauses that Bismarck relied when, on May 7, 1884, he declared to the Reichstag his recognition of the laborer's right to work. His drastic law against socialistic meetings and writings dates from 1878. In that year two attempts on the life of the emperor enabled Bismarck to carry through a drastic bill of repression which was rigidly enforced until its failure to be renewed upon its expiration by limitation of time.

State Socialism

Bismarck's State socialism thus seems to have come from mixed motives—partly to take the ground from under the real Socialists, partly, perhaps, from religious motives, mainly to serve and aggrandize the house with which he was so long identified. The religious flavor is not lacking. As early as 1847 he spoke and voted in the United Diet for a State loan to a private railway enterprise, and from that time forward, whether as private deputy or as minister, he never failed, when opportunity occurred, to promote the close connection

of the State and the railways, always keeping in view the ultimate end of a thoroughly nationalized system of railway communication. This he finally accomplished. (See RAILROADS.) He also established State monopolies in brandy and tobacco. When it was objected in the Reichstag in 1882 that his monopoly projects savored of socialism, he did not deny the imputation, but welcomed it, observing: "Many measures which we have adopted to the great blessing of the country are socialistic, and the State will have to accustom itself to a little more socialism yet. We must meet our needs in the domain of socialism by reformatory measures if we would display the wisdom shown in Prussia by the Stein-Hardenberg legislation respecting the emancipation of the peasantry. That was socialism, to take land from one person and give it to another—a much stronger form of socialism than a monopoly. But I am glad that this socialism was adopted, for we have as a consequence secured a free and very well-to-do peasantry, and I hope that we shall in time do something of the sort for the laboring classes."

Bismarck's return to the principles of protectionism, which movement he commenced in 1877, he also made largely for reasons of State socialism. In 1890, due to a divergence of view with the young emperor, Bismarck resigned his chancellorship and retired to his estates, tho still retaining some influence in the empire and in all Europe. He died in 1898.

REFERENCE: *Bismarck and State Socialism*, by W. H. Dawson.

BLACK, JAMES: The first candidate of the Prohibition Party for President of the United States; born in Lewisburg, Pa., 1823. Removing with his parents to Lancaster, Pa., in 1836, he worked in a sawmill, until in 1841 he entered the Lewisburg Academy. In 1844 he began the study of law, and in 1846 was admitted to practise at the bar in Lancaster, where he resided all his life. In 1840 he joined the Washingtonians, the first temperance organization in his neighborhood. It was largely due to Mr. Black's personal efforts that the Maine law movement became popular in Lancaster County and resulted, in 1855, in the election of two of the five temperance legislative candidates. He was a Republican in politics until the formation, in 1869, of the National Prohibition Party. At the convention of that party in 1872 Mr. Black was nominated as its candidate for President of the United States, and received 5,608 votes. For the four years from 1876–80 he was Chairman of the National Committee of the Prohibition Party. He was one of the founders of the National Temperance Society and Publication House. Black was the author of: "Is there a Necessity for a Prohibition Party?" (1875); "Brief History of Prohibition" (1880); and "History of the Prohibition Party"(1885). He died in 1893.

BLACK DEATH, THE: The pestilence, or series of pestilences, known by this name took place in the middle of the fourteenth century, and was a partial, if not the chief cause, of vast economic changes in England. So far as can be ascertained, the disease first manifested itself in central China in 1333, and thence spread in a westward direction toward Europe, where its force was first felt in the southern countries.

It appeared first in Italy, then crossed western Europe, and arrived at the English ports of Bristol and Southampton in the summer of 1348. Whole districts were depopulated by its frightful ravages, and altho the old chroniclers give grossly exaggerated estimates of the number of deaths, it is probable that it carried off at least one third of the population. The scenes of horror and desolation which it caused beggar all attempts at description.

One immediate result of the plague was a great scarcity in the number of available laborers, because, while all classes had suffered heavily, the poorest had yielded most rapidly to the dire disease. This scarcity of labor meant, of course, higher wages for the laborer. In the case of agricultural workers, this rise amounted to about 50 per cent, while in the case of skilled artizans, such as carpenters and masons, the same effect was felt, often more markedly. The nobles and landlords objected, and, without waiting to call Parliament together, the king issued a proclamation ordering all men to abide by the rates which had been customary before the Black Death, and neither to demand nor pay higher wages. He also forbade laborers to leave the land to which they were attached, and assigned heavy penalties for so doing. Parliament met in 1349 and made haste to ratify this proclamation by reducing it to the form of a statute—the famous "Statute of Laborers"; but such legislative measures were hopeless against the demand for workers, and the very men who passed these laws were obliged to break them to prevent their land from remaining untilled. The peasants went freely into those districts where workers were most scarce, and found ready shelter and good wages. Complaints were constantly made to Parliament, and the "Statute of Laborers" was again and again enacted with added penalties, but to no purpose.

In spite of the great rise in the price of labor the price of the laborer's food did not rise in proportion. Food did not require much manual labor in its production, and hence the rate of wages was not much felt in its price. What did rise was the price of all articles which required much labor in their production. The landlords were obliged to let their estates to tenants who worked them on their own account, paying rent to the lord, instead of, as formerly, compelling villeins to work them for the master's profit. Thus serfdom practically came to an end. The gain was not all on one side, however, as the peasants began at this time to lose those rights in the "commons" and forests which until then they had enjoyed.

Another of the important effects of the Black Death was the spirit of independence which it helped to raise in the breasts of the peasants, who now began to feel their power. The new spirit led to the preaching of John BALL, the PEASANTS' REVOLT, and the Golden Age of "Merrie England." The revolt was put down, but the victory really lay with the vanquished; and from this time serfdom practically disappears from English history, and wages remain high till the robbery of the land by the landlords in the sixteenth century.

REFERENCES: For a study of the economic effects of the Black Death, see J. E. T. Rogers's *Work and Wages*, and for a contrary view, see *Wealth and Progress*, by George Gunton.

BLACK LIST: A list published or prepared by any body of men of the names of those whom they consider faulty in any way. The term is specifically used of official lists of insolvents and defaulters. In industrial discussions it is used of lists of employees who for one reason or another—perhaps because of having led in labor agitation—employers will not employ. It is used also of lists of firms which are believed to treat their employees unfairly, and which, therefore, the preparers of the black list believe should not be patronized by the friends of fair treat-

ment. (See BOYCOTTING; also WHITE LIST.) The blacklisting or asserted blacklisting by employers of their employees who have been active in the cause of labor has been a fruitful source of complaint on the part of labor organizations. Says John Mitchell:

> Labor leaders and men interested in the labor movement have always been a shining mark for the black list. Many a man has been hounded from position to position, driven as by an invisible wind from one part of the country to another, ceaselessly wandering, ceaselessly asking for positions, doomed inevitably, after the shortest term of service, to be dismissed upon some trumped-up charge. There is nothing so terrible as this weapon of associated employers. Many a man has been driven to change his name and even to alter his appearance in the vain hope of escaping from the omnipresent and omnipotent black list ("Organized Labor," p. 291).

The black-list evil is somewhat diminished, as legislation in England and in many states of the United States has forbidden blacklisting, at least in some of its worst forms, and as a growing sense of justice has to some extent defended the laborer and even the labor agitator; and, above all, as the practise of collective bargaining between organized labor and organized capital has replaced the personal bargain. Nevertheless, blacklisting still exists. It was testified in blacklist cases at Chicago that fully half the men who went out in the great railroad strike of 1894 failed to get railway employment again. In the recent Colorado troubles, the black list was widely used. It is easy for employers to avoid the law and, by minute systematic inquiries as to former places of employment and reasons for disgrace, practise a very complete blacklisting. Some employers are even said, in letters of recommendation to discharged employees, to put secret marks showing that they are blacklisted; yet the case is difficult, because employers must of necessity know the references and character of those they employ, especially when the question is of places involving responsibility, or perhaps of safety to life and limb.

In the U. S. blacklisting is prohibited in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. In the case of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, the federal law on the arbitration of labor disputes makes it a misdemeanor for an employer to attempt or conspire to prevent an employee from obtaining employment after quitting his service. But the laws have many exceptions and are difficult to enforce. Judge Rogers, in the U. S. Circuit Court, August, 1903, refused an injunction against blacklisting, and held that an employer may give to another employer lists of his discharged men with the reasons for their discharge, provided it be honestly done.

REFERENCES: *U. S. Industrial Commission Report: Getting a Living*, by George A. Bolen, chap. ix.; *Organized Labor*, by John Mitchell, chap. xxxiii.

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE: Writer; woman suffragist; born in Orange, N. J., 1857; daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell. She graduated from Boston University in 1881, and since then has been on the staff of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston, Mass. She has been a prolific writer on woman's suffrage. *Address*: 3 Park Street, Boston, Mass

BLACKWELL, ELIZABETH: First woman to receive a medical diploma; born in Bristol, England, 1821. Her father emigrated to New York, and from there to Cincinnati in 1838, where he died, leaving a widow and nine children. The father had left but little money, and Miss Blackwell therefore opened a boarding-school. She was only eighteen years of age, but her school succeeded. In 1844 Miss Blackwell, whose energetic spirit had long been restless under the limitations which society imposed upon women, determined to enter the medical profession. For three years she taught in another school, in order to obtain means for a medical course, and then applied for admittance into the Philadelphia medical schools. She was everywhere refused. After a course of private lessons under medical professors, she finally obtained admission to the University of Geneva, N. Y., where she remained for two years, graduating with the highest honors. Her propriety and discretion won for her the esteem of students and professors alike. After graduation she visited England and France, and studied for some time longer. In 1851 she returned to New York and began the practise of medicine. At first other physicians refused to consult with her; but she overcame all obstacles and secured a large practise. In 1854, with her sister, Dr. Emily BLACKWELL, she established the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. In 1869 she went to London, where she established the National Health Society, and aided in organizing the London School of Medicine for Women. In 1878 she settled in Hastings, England, working and writing on social purity, municipal reform, the health and education of women, and other social matters. *Address*: Rock House, Hastings, England.

BLACKWELL, EMILY: Physician; philanthropist; born in Bristol, England, 1826; sister to Elizabeth BLACKWELL; came to the United States in 1832. She commenced studying medicine in 1848, but was refused admission to the medical colleges, and only allowed to attend lectures for a period in two others, till finally she was admitted to the medical college in Cleveland, O. Graduating triumphantly, she studied in hospitals and attended clinics in Edinburgh, Paris, and London. She returned to New York in 1854, and in connection with Dr. M. E. Zakrzewska (a Polish lady), established a hospital which in 1865 was given college powers. A woman's college, it has been and still is a marked success. Dr. Blackwell was one of the vice-presidents of the Society for the Promotion of Social Purity, and is the author of many tracts upon this and similar subjects. (See SOCIAL PURITY.) *Address*: Montclair, N. J.

BLAKE, LILLIE DEVEREUX: Writer; lecturer; woman suffragist; born in Raleigh, N. C., 1835. Her father dying in 1837, his widow removed to New Haven, and Miss Devereux was educated there by private tutors. In 1855 she married Frank G. Q. Umsted, a young lawyer, and resided in St. Louis and New York City, till she was left a widow with two children in 1859. She had already written stories, and published a successful novel, "Southwold." She now entered literature as a profession, residing in Stratford, Conn., New York City, and Washington. In 1866 she married Mr. Grenfill Blake, a young New York merchant, and made her home in that city.

In 1869 she became interested in the woman's-suffrage movement, and wrote and lectured continually. From 1879 to 1890 she was president of the New York State Woman's Suffrage Association. She has been active in the agitation for police matrons and for laws for the benefit of saleswomen, etc. She has written a volume of lectures entitled, "Woman's Place To-day." *Address*: 100 Lexington Ave., N. Y.

BLANC, JEAN JOSEPH LOUIS: Writer; communist; born in Madrid, 1811. In 1830 he went to Paris and became clerk in an attorney's office. Two years later he went to Arras to act as tutor. Returning to Paris, he founded, in 1839, the *Revue du Progrès Politique, Social et Littéraire*. In this he brought out his work "L'Organisation du Travail," which may be called a French forerunner of Karl Marx's "Das Kapital." In 1841 he published his "Histoire de dix Ans," which was an overwhelming indictment of Louis Philippe and his ministers, and in 1847 the first two volumes of his "Histoire de la Révolution Française" appeared. The revolution which broke out early in the next year compelled him to delay the completion of this work. His popularity among the Parisian workmen secured him a seat in the Provisional Government, where he brought forward the proposals for universal suffrage and the abolition of slavery. He was also appointed president of a government commission for laborers. In March a procession of 200,000 workmen, headed by Blanqui, offered him the dictatorship, which he refused. The Provisional Government established the Ateliers Nationaux which he had advocated, but they were started on such unsound principles that Louis Blanc opposed them and demanded their abolition. He even charged the government with plotting their failure. In June and again in August, 1848, he was accused in the Assembly of complicity in the Communist outbreak of May. Being condemned by a large majority he fled to England, where he stayed in exile for more than twenty years, finishing his "Histoire de la Révolution Française" and writing his "Histoire de la Révolution de 1848" and other works. In 1870 he returned to Paris and urged the citizens to prosecute the war to the uttermost. Till the time of his death he was elected deputy for Paris, always voting with the extreme Left. He died in 1882.

BLAND, HUBERT: Author; Socialist; born at Woolwich, England, 1856; educated for the army, but on the death of his father took to finance, and at the age of twenty-three was manager of a foreign bank in London. In 1886 he entered journalism chiefly as a critic in art and literature. He was one of the founders of the Fabian Society, has been its treasurer from the beginning, and is the only member who has been continuously on its executive committee. Mr. Bland is a regular contributor to *The London Chronicle* (daily and Sunday), and occasionally to *The National Observer* and *The Saturday Review*. In collaboration with Adeline Serjeant, he has written "A Modern Friendship." Mrs. Bland (E. Nesbit), the well-known novelist and poet, cooperates with her husband in much social reform work. *Address*: Well Hall, Eltham, Kent, England.

BLANQUI, JÉRÔME ADOLPHE: Professor of political economy; born 1798; brother of Louis Auguste Blanqui. From 1830 to his death he was the head of the École de Commerce of Paris, and in 1833 replaced J. B. Say as professor of political (and especially of industrial) economy at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. In 1838 he was elected a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, and represented the department of the Gironde in the Chamber of Deputies. His teaching in political economy was liberal and progressive. By no means a Socialist, he yet favored many socialistic principles. The brilliancy and vigor of his language is another characteristic which has aided him much. The most important of his works are: "Résumé de l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie"; "Précis Élémentaire d'Économie Politique"; and "Histoire de l'Économie Politique en Europe, Depuis les Anciens jusqu'à nos Jours, Suivie d'une Bibliographie Raisonnée des Principaux Ouvrages d'Économie Politique." This last work has been translated into several languages. Tho not of the greatest merit, it has done important pioneer work. Blanqui died in 1854.

BLANQUI, LOUIS AUGUSTE: Communist; Socialist; born at Puget Théniers, 1805; came to Paris in 1824 and became a teacher and student of law and medicine. On the breaking out of an insurrection in 1827 he joined the cause of the people, thenceforth taking his part in every Paris insurrection. He edited *Le Journal de la Société des Amis du Peuple*, and for this was imprisoned. Implicated in various conspiracies, he was, in 1836, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but was pardoned in 1837. In 1839 Blanqui organized another insurrection, which was quickly put down, and he was condemned to death, but the sentence was changed to imprisonment for life. Confined at Mont Saint Michel, and at Tours, he was freed by the February Revolution of 1848. By Feb. 25th he was in Paris organizing the Central Republican Committee. On May 15th he was captured and imprisoned for ten years at Belle Isle and in Corsica. Amnestied in 1859, he was, in 1861, accused of conspiracy and imprisoned four years. When the republic was proclaimed (September, 1870) he went to Paris and advocated the principles of the extreme Left, publishing his "La Patrie en Danger." After the Commune he was arrested by Thiers, and (1872) condemned to deportation; but on account of ill health was held in Quélern and Clairvaux, until he was pardoned by Grévy, June 9, 1879. He was elected deputy in Bordeaux in 1879, but was declared ineligible. A mystic, a revolutionist, an autocrat, Blanqui was no mean thinker, and a convinced communist. Author: "L'Éternité dans les Astres", "L'Armée Esclave et Opprimée"; "Critique Sociale," etc. He died in 1881.

BLATCHFORD, ROBERT P.: Author; Socialist; born at Maidstone, England, 1851; apprenticed to a trade in Halifax, 1864, serving seven years. In 1871 he joined the army and served till 1877. Obtaining work as timekeeper and clerk at 30 shillings a week, he married in 1880. He began writing soon after, contributing to *The Yorkshireman* and *Toby*. In 1885 he removed to London to join the staff of *Bell's Life*, and wrote for *The Sunday Chronicle* at its start in August, 1885, under the *nom de plume* of "Nunquam." He soon declared himself a Socialist, and in 1891, refusing to restrain his pen, he left *The Sunday*

Chronicle, and soon after issued the first number of *The Clarion*, in whose pages his history has since been written. In 1891 he was named as parliamentary candidate for East Bradford, but soon withdrew, having no taste for politics. He originated the "Fourth Clause," which practically laid the foundation of the Independent Labor Party. It reads, at present, substantially as follows: "That all members of the I. L. P. pledge themselves to abstain from voting for any candidate for election to any representative body who is in any way a nominee of the Liberal, Liberal Unionist, Irish Nationalist, or Conservative parties." His "Merrie England," a series of letters on socialism, which first appeared in *The Clarion*, is now sold complete for a penny, and has reached a sale of well over a million copies. *Address*: Clarion Office, 72 Fleet Street, E. C., London, England.

BLIND, KARL: Revolutionist; born at Mannheim, Germany, 1826. While a student in Heidelberg and Bonn, he began to organize revolutionary societies. In 1847 he underwent a short imprisonment for a tract, "German Hunger and German Princes." In the revolutions of 1848 he played a prominent part at Carlsruhe and Frankfort. He escaped to Alsace, but took part continually in revolutionary uprisings till he was compelled to flee both from Germany and France. He took up his residence in England, and wrote much on literary and political subjects. His views favored national as opposed to international socialism, and socialism as opposed to anarchism. He was a firm and strong supporter in 1870 of the movement for German unity.

BLIND ASYLUMS: See Deaf and Blind.

BLISS, WILLIAM DWIGHT PORTER: Born in Constantinople, Turkey, 1856; son of an American missionary; studied in Robert College, Constantinople; Phillips Academy; Amherst College; and Hartford Theological Seminary. He was settled over Congregational churches in Denver, Col., and at South Natick, Mass. In 1885 he became interested in socialism through seeing the workmen in factory villages and reading Henry George and the *Christian Union*. In 1886 he entered the Episcopal Church, and took a charge at Lee, Mass. Here he joined the Knights of Labor; was Master Workman of the Assembly at Lee, and in 1887 sent to Cincinnati as delegate from the Knights of Labor, being one of the secretaries of the Union Labor Convention. The same year he helped start, with Father Huntington, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (Cail). In 1888 he took charge of Grace Church, South Boston. He was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts by the Labor Party, but declined. He was one of the founders of the first Nationalist club in Boston in 1889, and soon after, with other clergymen, organized the Society of Christian Socialists. He started *The Dawn* and published it until 1896. In 1890 he established the Christian Socialist (Protestant Episcopal) Church of the Carpenter, which was kept up till 1896. Mr. Bliss also lectured or preached for the Christian Social Union, presenting the cause of Christian Socialism in almost every state of the Union, and lecturing also in Canada and England. He has had parishes at Alhambra, Cal., 1898–99, and at Amityville, L. I., N. Y., 1902–6. President of the National Social Reform Union (1899), Secretary of the New York Civic Council (1900). In 1906 he helped organize The Garden Cities Association of America and became its secretary. His views are those of Christian socialism. Author: "Handbook of Socialism" (1895), and numerous tracts and magazine articles on Christian socialism. Editor of "Social Science Series"; "Encyclopedia of Social Reform" (1898 and 1907); and with Dr. Josiah Strong, of "Social Progress." *Address*: 1 Madison ave., New York.

BLOCH, JEAN DE: Polish writer on peace; born at Radom, 1836, of Jewish parentage. He became government administrator of railways; was active in promoting various Polish industrial movements; and was the head of large lumber and sugar interests, but constantly engaged in philanthropic efforts for the poor. To the world he became known largely by his magazine articles in behalf of universal peace, and by his great work in seven volumes, published in St. Petersburg, 1887, and translated in abridged form into English, first under a fuller title, but in 1899 under the name "Is War Now Impossible?" He died in 1902.

BLOCK, MAURICE: Economist; statistician; born at Berlin, 1816; studied in Paris and in Germany. He was naturalized in France, and in 1843 entered the Bureau of Statistics, where he had charge of the Department of Labor. In 1862 he resigned in order to put to use the knowledge he had gained. He received several scholastic honors, was a Fellow of the Superior Council of Statistics, and was often intrusted with missions for scientific purposes. His "Le Progrès de la Science Economique depuis Adam Smith," Professor Seligman calls "a work which in some respects compares with the best production of recent times in any country." He is best known, however, by his "Traité Theorique et Pratique de Statistique" and his various statistical writings for the French Government, and in his valuable "Annuaires de l'économie Politique et de la Statistique."

BLOOMER, AMELIA: Temperance advocate; woman suffragist; born in Homer, N. Y., 1818; married (1840) D. C. Bloomer, of Seneca Falls, where she resided till 1855. At first she worked for temperance, later for woman's suffrage. In 1849, after the first Woman's Rights Convention, she commenced the publication of *The Lily*, the first paper ever owned, edited, and controlled by a woman in the interests of women. In 1852 she advocated the use by women of that style of dress which since then has been called by her name. She herself wore it for six years. Selling her paper in 1855 she went to reside in Council Bluffs, Iowa. In 1852 she had begun to lecture; this she kept up until prevented by continued ill health. She died in 1895.

BLUE RIBBON MOVEMENTS: A distinguishing feature of many of the movements for the reformation of drinking men has been the bit of ribbon, generally blue or red, worn by the reformed men and others interested. The red ribbon was adopted by Dr. Henry A. Reynolds, 1874, as the badge of the Bangor (Me.) Reform Club. Throughout the remarkable pledge-signing campaigns that followed in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island,

Michigan, Illinois, and other states, Dr. Reynolds made the red ribbon the sign of membership in the clubs he started, and they came to be known as Red Ribbon Reform Clubs. The white ribbon was adopted by Dr. Reynolds in connection with the red, the former to be worn by women and by young men under eighteen. The blue ribbon was adopted by Francis Murphy.

The idea was borrowed in England. In 1878 a conference of temperance workers was held in London, and a total abstinence campaign was determined on. The blue ribbon was chosen, and the "Blue Ribbon Army" was adopted as the name of the organization. Pledge cards were issued and scattered throughout the British Empire, and have found their way into various countries of Europe and into Africa and the Sandwich Islands. More than 1,000,000 pledges have been officially issued in addition to the pledges issued by independent workers cooperating with the movement. A change in the name from "Blue Ribbon Army" to "Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Movement" has been made, and several branch organizations, such as the "Help-Myself Society" among men and the "Help-One-Another Society" among women, have grown out of the original movement.

BLUNTSCHLI, JOHANN KASPAR: Jurist; born in Switzerland, 1808; graduated at Bonn, 1829; was professor in the University of Zurich, a member of the Grand Council of the Local Government, and strongly opposed the civil war of 1847–48. In 1848 he became professor of German and international law at Munich, and in 1861 professor of political science at Heidelberg. In 1864, with Baumgarten and others, he founded the Protestant Union, and subsequently presided over several Protestant conventions, and over the General Synod at Baden in 1867. He was in favor of a union between South and North Germany, and was elected to the Customs Parliament. Bluntschli is the author of many valuable works on politics, laws, and the sciences; his best-known book in the United States being his "Theory of the State" (translated from the sixth German edition by R. Lodge).

BODELSCHWINGH, FRIEDRICH, VON: German pastor and head of Bethel, the very successful industrial colony for epileptics at Bielefeld, Westphalia, Germany; born near Tecklenburg, Westphalia, 1831; son of a Prussian cabinet minister; educated at Basel, Erlangen, and Berlin. Interested before his university studies in agriculture and mining, he became a pastor, officiating at the German community in Paris (1858–64), and later at Dellwig near Unna. In 1866, and again in 1870–71, he served as a division chaplain in the army. In 1872 he was asked to take charge of the BETHEL colony, to which he has since devoted his life, and which he has built up in many directions into a marvelous success. *Address*: Bethel, Bielefeld, Westphalia, Germany.

BÖHM, von BAWERK, EUGEN: Economist; born at Brünn, Moravia, 1851. He entered the Austrian Ministry of Finance in 1872, where he remained until 1880. In the meantime he had received the degree of LL.D. from Vienna, and had improved his two years' leave of absence in prosecuting his sociological studies at Heidelberg, Leipsic, and Jena, under Knies, Roscher, and Hildebrand. In 1880, immediately after his installation as privat-docent at Vienna, he was called to Innsbruck. In 1889 he accepted a councilor's seat in the Austrian Ministry of Finance. The best known of the important school of Austrian political economists, his main work is his "Kapital und Kapitalzins" (1884), a critical review of all theories of capital, translated into English by W. Smart (1890), under the title "Capital and Interest" (1889), giving his positive theory of capital, and also translated by Smart as "The Positive Theory of Capital" (1891).

BOILEAU (or **BOYLEAU**), **ÉTIENNE:** Born about 1200. He joined the Crusades under Louis IX. (St. Louis), was captured, and ransomed by that monarch at a high price. At one time provost of Orleans, he subsequently became (1258–1270) Provost of Paris. Boileau, a man of noble birth and incorruptible character, suppress venality, meted out justice, established the police of Paris, and hanged his godson for theft, and a friend for dishonesty. St. Louis, as a mark of confidence and approval, sometimes sat beside him at the Châtelet, where he administered justice. The great work of Boileau was his compilation, about 1268, of the "Livres des Métiers," a code of the regulations affecting the various industries of Paris. The exordium states the intention of the compiler to treat of (1) the trades of Paris, their ordinances and the breaches thereof, with the appropriate fines; (2) fees, tolls, taxes, and dues; (3) justice and jurisdictions in Paris and the neighborhood. The third part either was not written or has been lost. The registries so formed constitute a highly valuable record of the condition of industrial society at the time—its trade privileges, masters, apprentices, their number, conduct, terms of service, holidays, quality of work and of goods, prices, middlemen, fines, dues, etc. This compilation has been regarded as a landmark in the history of economics.

REFERENCE: Article in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*.

BOISSEL, FRANÇOIS: Born at Joyeux, Vivarais, 1728. Educated by the Jesuits, he became in 1753 parliamentary attorney in Paris, but soon removed to St. Domingo. A contest with the government over his profession brought him back to Paris and kept him there twenty years. On the breaking out of the Revolution he took an extreme Jacobin position. He is best known for his "Catéchisme du genre Humaine" (1789), in which appear many of the germs of later French socialistic thought. His first writing was "Discours contre les Servitudes Publiques" (1786). He died in 1807.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION, THE: Organized under this name in 1889, and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The first great organization of the boot- and shoe-workers was the KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN, formed 1867. The Lasters' Protective Union, formed 1879, did not join the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union until 1895. The shoe-workers were among the first to join the KNIGHTS OF LABOR, and in the flourishing period of that order (1886) about half its members in New England were shoemakers. The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union had at its start a strenuous conflict between the advocates of high and low duties, won by the latter, which made the union stronger numerically than finan-

cially. Its dues were only ten cents a week, with no benefits. In 1899, however, the union was reorganized on a high-due basis (twenty-five cents a week), and one third of all its moneys was to go to a sick and death benefit fund. In 1895 a union label was adopted which has had considerable success. (See UNION LABELS.) Its organ is *The Union Boot and Shoe Worker*, published monthly. Reported membership (1905), 32,000.

REFERENCE: *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii. (1901), pp. 51–60.

BOOTH, BALLINGTON: With his wife founder and head of the Volunteers of America; born Brighouse, Yorkshire, England. Son of GEN. BOOTH, Commander of Salvation Army in Australia (1885–87), and with his wife in the United States (1887–96). In that year he separated from the Salvation Army on the ground that that organization was too autocratic and not sufficiently American, and with his wife, founded THE VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA, which has developed into a very large and national movement. *Address*: 30 Cooper Square, New York.

BOOTH, MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON: Wife of Ballington Booth, and with him founder and head of the Volunteers of America; born Limpsfield Surrey, England. Entering the Salvation Army at the age of 17, she did a large work in Paris, Switzerland, Great Britain and Sweden. In 1886 she married Ballington Booth and became with him head of the Salvation Army in the U. S. (1887) till they (1896) left that organization and founded The Volunteers of America. In 1895 she began a work among prisoners which has developed The Volunteer Prison League with work in 25 prisons and embracing upward of 50,000 men, with homes for released convicts and a large ground work. Author among other books of *After Prison —What?* *Address*: 38 Cooper Square, New York.

BOOTH, CHARLES: Sociologist; born in Liverpool, England, 1840; educated at the Royal Institute School in his native city; has been partner in the firm of Alfred Booth & Co., since 1862, and is chairman of the Booth Steamship Company. The great work of Mr. Booth's life, however, has been the careful and scientific investigation into the conditions of the life and labor among the people of London, which he personally directed during a period of more than twelve years. The results of this investigation he has published in eighteen volumes, a mine of inestimable wealth to all who would know London and its peoples. Author: "Pauperism: A Picture"; "The Endowment of Old Age"; "The Condition of the Aged Poor"; "Old Age Pensions"; "Life and Labor of the People in London." *Address*: 24 Great Cumberland Place, W. London, England.

BOOTH, WILLIAM: Founder of the Salvation Army; born in Nottingham, England, 1829; became a minister of the Methodist New Connection in 1850. He resigned his connection with the Methodist Conference in 1861, and after living for some time in the East End of London, started, in 1865, the "Christian Mission," which was the foundation of his present organization. The movement, which was even then of a semimilitary character, did not make much impression until 1878, when he named it the SALVATION ARMY. Since that time it has grown uninterruptedly and phenomenally in all quarters of the globe. His skill as an organizer is shown by the strict military discipline which he is able to maintain throughout the whole of the organization. In 1890 he published a book called "Darkest England," which contained a scheme by which he proposed to grapple with the destitution that is eating the life out of England. This has led to the important Salvation Army Social Scheme. (See SALVATION ARMY.) *Address*: 101 Queen Victoria Street, E. C., London, England.

BOSTON: The establishment of Boston as a city, in the third decade of the last century, was a part of the process of social reorganization which was necessary after the Revolutionary War. The first citizens, with the sole exception of John Hancock, had turned Tory and left the town to its fate. After the war the yeoman farmers from the surrounding country moved in and restored the industrial and social institutions of the town. The second mayor, Josiah Quincy, adapted to the city form of administration the old communal functions of the town meetings, and devoted himself unremittingly to clearing away the rather serious sanitary and moral evils which had grown with the new growth of the town.

Boston was fortunate in having from the beginning among its citizens a keen sense of local social responsibility. This led early in the history of the city to the first steps toward that comprehensive and coordinated system of charity which has ever since been characteristic of the city. Joseph Tuckerman and Dorothea Dix are two of the foremost names associated with the development of charitable endeavor in the first half of the last century. The social unrest that was prevalent in Europe in the second quarter of the last century found expression in some rather broad forms of organization among workmen which were encouraged by men like William Ellery Channing and William Lloyd Garrison. On the more romantic side its influence was seen in the establishment of BROOK FARM. The spirit of social reform in Boston, after the success of the movement led by Wilberforce in England, led to the development of the determination to wipe out the national blot of negro slavery. For some thirty years, until after the Civil War, this cause much overshadowed all other philanthropic tendencies. But so far as the life of the city in general was concerned, this period was notable as the golden age of its civilization, during which it numbered among its citizens one of the most remarkable groups of statesmen, orators, literary men, eminent divines, and public-spirited business men that have ever appeared together in any city.

A very important expression of the social spirit in Boston has come about through a series of radical sanitary reforms; the first of which took place after the epidemic of cholera in the "fifties," the others having succeeded several later outbreaks of contagious or infectious diseases. This development reached its climax in the law which gives the Board of Health power not only to condemn but to destroy unsanitary tenements; a power which has been largely used. A correlative law of equal importance is that which has practically abolished the sweating system through requiring good sanitary conditions in and about all houses in which licenses for home work are granted.

Sanitary Reforms

The growth of philanthropic effort in Boston during the past generation has been affected very largely by the great immigration, first chiefly of Irish, and later chiefly of Jews. The effort to meet the new conditions caused by this incoming tide of population has taken several forms. Thirty years ago most of the relief-giving agencies of the city were effectively organized into the Associated Charities, which has ever since been the foremost agency in securing comprehensive discriminating care of families in distress. Mrs. Mary Hemenway instituted the system of cooking schools which were later taken up by the public-school authorities. She also purchased the historic Old South Meeting House, and provided for its use as a patriotic educational center. Mrs. Quincy Shaw instituted the experimental kindergartens, which, in turn, were later made part of the public-school curriculum. Robert Treat Paine founded the two great workingmen's resorts, the Wells' Memorial and the People's Institute. Since 1890 a large number of settlement houses and other similar centers for neighborhood improvement have sprung into existence. There is at present a noticeable tendency toward federation and joint action between these different local centers, so as to secure the maximum economy of force in the detailed work of the neighborhood betterment, and to bring to bear their whole united force upon some of the larger sanitary and moral problems affecting all the more crowded districts of the city.

Municipalism

The tendency toward progressive municipal action in Boston, which was started by the first Josiah Quincy, was strengthened by the second Josiah Quincy, who established the Public Library and the Municipal Water Supply. This was continued, too, in some striking ways by the third Josiah Quincy, who greatly developed the system of public baths, instituted municipal gymnasiums, created a municipal printing plant, and endeavored unsuccessfully to have the city do all its own general repairs. The difficulty about the Municipal Repair Department was that most of the employees were unfortunately appointed through political influence, and their lack of individual skill went with a general lack of effective discipline. The Municipal Printing Plant still continues. It is much criticized; tho after its first year a group of master printers certified that its business had been conducted satisfactorily. The most important step in the direction of municipal ownership which Boston has ever taken is that of completing the subway, first under Tremont Street, then under Washington Street. When the second part of the subway was proposed, the risk having been eliminated, the company made an extremely aggressive attempt to secure for itself from the legislature the privilege of completing and owning it. This effort was frustrated largely through the activity of a body of business men called the Public Franchise League. This league has been successful also in keeping the capitalization of the gas combination down to a proper figure. A new but very promising movement in Boston is that of the Massachusetts Civic League, which is a federation of agencies for local social betterment in city, town, and village throughout the state for the promotion of progressive social legislation.

The building up of the park system of metropolitan Boston has grown into a vast enterprise, and is just now (1907) nearing completion. This system includes two large marine parks, at Revere on the north and at Nantasket on the south. A series of parkway boulevards runs completely around the city and principal suburbs, ending in and connecting these two marine parks, and including in their course the great Blue Hill Reservation on the south, and the Middlesex Falls on the north. A series of small parks along the Charles River will end in a basin which is being created by the erection of a dam near the outlet of the river. Almost all the districts of the city are now provided with ample local playgrounds.

Labor

While certain phases of the organization of labor have, as has already been mentioned, been a part of the social movement in Boston for nearly a century, for all effective purposes such organization dates here, as for the country at large, since the Civil War. The leading spirit in such effort from that time until the present year has been George E. McNeill, who is particularly known as the champion of the eight-hour day. The Knights of Labor lost their influence in Boston nearly twenty years ago. Since that time trade-unionism proper has had a slow, steady, and, in the aggregate, comprehensive growth. Boston has probably had as few great strikes as any city in the country, but it may be doubted whether organized labor is stronger in any other city. On the whole its policy has been that of moderate diplomacy, always heading toward the large end in view by securing ample representation in all the various industrial occupations, and step by step gaining the proper wage and hour conditions for the individual members. This attitude on the part of organized labor has been to a considerable degree the indirect result of the salutary point of view which has been held by many employers and by the general public. While there have been occasional adverse decisions by the courts, on the whole there has been little of that unyielding attitude of the judiciary as to labor questions which has precipitated so much difficulty in some other parts of the country. For many years organized labor has been effective also in securing amelioration of labor conditions through state legislation. In general, the uninterrupted success which organized labor has had in all directions of its activity has removed the inducement to violent or even unduly aggressive expressions.

Partly for these same reasons socialism in any of its forms has never gained substantial footing in Boston. It has been represented from time to time by socialistic propaganda of a more or less abstract or sentimental type. At times movements of this sort have had important educational results; but at present socialism as an avowed cause seems to depend upon the more recent immigrants, and distinctly ebbs and flows with the downfall and rise of the labor market. Besides the discussions of social problems which take place in trade-union and other working-class gatherings, all such questions find a free platform in the Twentieth Century Club, which has now existed for fifteen years, and which has a membership of 600 men and women representing a great variety of interests, all of which, however, have some relation toward the bringing in of a "better public spirit, and a higher social order." The City Club just now being formed will provide a non-partizan meeting-place for men of all classes and nationalities who are interested in promoting the city's public welfare.

Boston has not shown distinct activity in developing systematic educational opportunities for the study of social questions, tho many educational institutions in the vicinity have within recent years greatly strengthened the course which they offer in such subjects. The School for Social Workers, founded by Harvard and Simmons Colleges, is now in its third year, and gives promise of being successful and useful. A significant fact in connection with the life of Boston as a center for social advance is that it is the seat of the state government, the only case in the United States where a large city is also the state capital. To this fact is partly due the progressive social legislation of Massachusetts, which is being added to in greater and greater degree as years go by. This advantage, however, is balanced by the fact that Boston, unlike all other large urban centers in the United States, has not extended its political boundaries so as to include among its electorate the enlightened and responsible suburban population. The fact that the city government has recently fallen into the complete control of those who contrive to gain political power in the downtown congested districts, places the municipality in a position where for the present not much further sound progressive action can be expected. The project of a metropolitan government for Boston and its suburbs is being urged from time to time, but strong local traditions and interests in most of the suburbs make it hardly possible to secure fair consideration for a scheme of administration which the facts of the situation so urgently demand.

Socialism

The following are some of the most important socialistic and charitable organizations in Boston:

Associated Charities. 43 Hawkins Street.
Central Labor Union. Office, 987 Washington Street.
City Club. 9 Beacon Street.
Denison House. 93 Tyler Street.
Massachusetts Civic League. 3 Joy Street.
People's Institute. 1171 Tremont Street.
School for Social Workers. 9 Hamilton Place.
Socialist Labor Party. 699 Washington Street.
South End House. 20 Union Park.
Twentieth Century Club. 3 Joy Street.
Wells' Memorial Institute. 987 Washington Street.
Women's Industrial and Educational Union. 264 Boylston Street.
Young Men's Christian Association. 458 Boylston Street.

ROBERT A. WOODS.

BOUCICAUT, JACQUES ARISTIDE: French philanthropist; born in Bellême, Orne, 1810; son of a hatter. Coming to Paris, first as an employee, in 1852, he became proprietor of a small shop which he gradually developed into what is now the great "Au Bon Marché." He built up his trade by thorough organization and by selling at fixt prices and very small profit. He gained the good-will too of his employees, by improving their condition, suppressing fines, inaugurating Sunday and holiday closing, gradual promotion, giving them an interest in their sales, and taking charge of their savings at better interest than could be gotten elsewhere. In 1876 he founded for them a Provident Fund, to enable them to put by for old age. Each employee who has been five years with the house is given a small share of the profits in proportion to his salary, and also 4 per cent each year on his savings. By 1903 there were 2,796 participators, with a capital of 3,902,598 francs, and 2,207,134 fr. had been distributed since the foundation of the fund. Mr. Boucicaut died in 1877, and his son two years later. His widow ably conducted and developed the work until her death in 1887. The company has continued the work along the same lines, and under the same name, "Au Bon Marché." In 1886 Madame Boucicaut also founded an Employees' Retiring Fund, endowed with 5,000,000 fr. All employees are entitled to a pension after twenty years' service, at the age of forty-five for women, and fifty for men. Before this age limit assistance is given to the incapacitated, and to widows and orphans. In 1892 a third Relief and Pension Fund was established, amounting (1903) to 635,220 fr. To-day the great store is known throughout the world, and employs some 3,000 persons.

BOUNTIES: In social science the term "bounty" is usually applied to a premium given by a government to promote some branch of production or industry which it desires to encourage or aid. It is, however, used also for payments of money to induce men to enlist in the army and navy. In Great Britain the giving of bounties of this latter kind has been common. In the United States it has been adopted to a less extent, but in the War of the Rebellion some recruits of the Union Army received as much as $500 or more. Some, however, enlisted, received the bounty, and soon after deserted, receiving the merited name of "bounty-jumpers."

The giving of bounties to encourage industry has been practised at times by almost all nations. England, which has now in the main rejected the bounty system, formerly gave bounties for many industries, notably to encourage the herring fisheries, the Irish linen trade, and the exportation of grain. After the founding of the Royal Academy (1769), a bounty was given on the exportation of engravings. For many years, however, under the influence of free-trade ideas, the English Government has given up the bounty system in the main, tho still granting subsidies to steamship companies. (See SUBSIDIES.) France, Germany, and all the greater continental powers have held on to the bounty system much longer, especially as regards bounties upon sugar. In the United States bounties have been given for tree-planting and sugar, with subsidies and land grants to railways and steamship companies. (See SUBSIDIES.) In 1890, for example, Congress voted a bounty of two cents per pound for fifteen years on the production of domestic sugar. This was, however, ended by the tariff of 1894, altho an appropriation of $5,238,289 was later voted to continue the operation of the bounty on sugar raised before June 30, 1895.

Almost all political economists have condemned bounties in general, altho many have approved of them under particular circumstances. Adam Smith vigorously and Ricardo still more sweepingly condemned bounties, on the ground mainly that they diverted capital perniciously; and their position has been generally followed by free-traders and been criticized by protectionists. Bounties, however, have sometimes been preferred to a protective tariff by free-traders, on the ground that their working is open and direct, not covert, like a tariff. They have been denounced, on the other hand, by some protectionists, as more artificial than a tariff. A tariff, it is argued, makes the foreign exporter pay; a bounty taxes the general citizen for the good of one class. (See FREE TRADE; PROTECTION; SUBSIDIES.)

BOURNEVILLE: A model industrial village, established about five miles from Birmingham, England, by Mr. George Cadbury, the noted cocoa manufacturer, philanthropist, and Friend. Bourneville was founded in 1879, when the works of Cadbury Brothers were moved to that site; but at that time they employed only about 300 hands, and practically most of the village was created in 1895. In 1900 Mr. Cadbury turned over 485 acres of land to the "Bourneville Village-Trust," as an absolute gift, the total value (including the village) being about £200,000, to be administered for the provision of improved dwellings with gardens and open spaces for the amelioration of the condition of the workers. Factories are not to occupy more than one fifteenth of the total area. There are now over 500 cottages with a population of about 2,500. Only about one half the population work in the Cadbury mills. At first land and cottages were sold, but after 150 cottages had been sold, it was decided only to lease, in order to be sure that all should be administered in the spirit of the foundation. The rents range from six shillings and sixpence a week to thirteen shillings, including a local rate of six shillings and fourpence in the pound. Ground rent is calculated at £20 an acre, with about eight houses to the acre. Rents are calculated to return about 4 per cent on the capital. The cottages are semidetached, or in blocks of four, and there is great variety of design with a general similarity of style. Most of the later buildings have one large or two small sitting-rooms, three or four bedrooms, and a kitchen with a bath sunk in the floor, larder, closets, and sometimes an attic. The fireplaces are attractive, with tiled hearths and artistic chimney-pieces.

Gas, water, and sewage are supplied by the city of Birmingham. The roads are forty-two feet wide, with trees. Dwellings may occupy only one fourth of a lot, and one tenth of the land (exclusive of roads) must be used for parks and open spaces. Grass-plots, flower-beds, and shrubs, with low hedges or fences, add to the attractiveness.

The more attractive public buildings are: Ruskin Hall, with lecture-hall, picture-gallery, and library; a bath-house; a boarding-house; a schoolhouse for 540 children; a kindergarten; and a Friends' meeting-house. Adjoining the factory are a twelve-acre recreation ground for girls, with gymnasium, swimming-bath, tennis-court, and cricket and hockey grounds, and a fourteen-acre lot similarly equipped for boys. Various clubs, lecture courses, flower shows, etc., develop the educational, recreative, and artistic life of the village. A cooperative "Bourneville Tenants' Company, Limited" enables workmen to build their own homes.

BOWERMAN, C. W.: English labor member of Parliament; born 1851; learned the printer's trade in London. He has been a member of the London Society of Compositors since 1873; was appointed its news secretary in 1889, and elected general secretary in 1892. He was a delegate to every trade-union congress except that held at Norwich, and in 1897 was elected to the parliamentary committee of the trade-unions, presiding over the annual congress held at Swansea in 1901. He has been on the London County Council for some years, and was elected alderman in 1901. Within the past year he has been appointed parliamentary secretary to his society. He was elected to Parliament in 1906 for Deptford. Endorsed by the Labor Representation Committee. *Address*: 4 Battledean Road, Highbury, N. London, England.

BOYCOTTING: A boycott is a combination against a landlord, tradesman, employer, or other person, whereby the persons enforcing the boycott cease social or business relations with the party boycotted, and seek to induce others to withhold having relations with him. It is used also of agreements not to use certain articles or the articles of a certain manufacturer, on the ground that they have been produced in ways or under conditions condemned by the parties dictating the boycott. The word is derived from the name of Captain Boycott who in 1880 was living at County Mayo, Ireland, as land agent to Lord Erne, an Irish nobleman. The population of the region for miles around resolved to have nothing to do with him, and as far as possible to prevent any one else from having anything to do with him. His life appeared to be in danger—he had to claim police protection—and to prevent civil war the authorities had to send a force of soldiers, and Captain Boycott's harvests were always brought in guarded by a little army. Boycotts, tho largely conducted by trade-unions, are by no means confined to them. Manufacturers boycott certain dealers; railroads boycott railroads; temperance people boycott certain persons; clergymen establish boycotts; almost everybody boycotts somebody at certain times. There is record of a boycott in England as early as 1221. Boycotting, if properly conducted by parties for their own advantage, are now generally believed to be legal, tho five states—Alabama, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, and Texas—have statutes applying expressly to boycotting. Acts usually committed by persons engaged in boycotting are prohibited in other states. Says Dr. Carroll D. Wright: "If A considers a dealer, B, as dishonest, he has a perfect right to say to his friends, 'I do not trade any more with B, and I advise you not to for such a reason.' That is a boycott; we all indulge in it; it is legitimate. But when A says to his friends, 'If you trade any more with B, we trade no more with you, and if that does not succeed, we destroy your business,' that is a crime: that is not a lawful method of prosecuting one's claims." The common law seems to be that workmen associated together in a union may combine to cease dealing with an employer who refuses to comply with the union's rules, since they constitute the party aggrieved and are directly to be benefited by inducing him to yield. Injunctions, however, have been granted against boycotts and "in no case decided by the higher American courts has a boycott by workmen been specifically held legal" ("U. S. Industrial Commission Report," xvii., p. cxix).

References: *U. S. Industrial Commission Report*, xvii; *Getting a Living*, by Geo. A. Bolen, chap. ix; *Organized Labor*, by John Mitchell, chap. xxxiii.

BOYS' CLUBS: See Clubs.

BRABAZON, REGINALD: Twelfth earl of Meath; Baron Chaworth; Baron of Ardee, Ireland; born in London, 1841. He was educated at Eton College and in Germany; and after passing the Civil Service examination he entered the Foreign Office in a clerical capacity (1863). In

1868 he exchanged into the diplomatic service, and passed several years at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Berlin, The Hague, and Paris. He is interested in the industrial conditions of the people, and has been connected with many of the agencies and societies at work for the betterment of those conditions. He was the first honorary secretary of the Hospital Saturday Fund (1874), and first chairman of the Young Men's Friendly Society (1879). In 1882 he founded the Metropolitan Public Garden Association, and was its first and is its present chairman (1907). He was the first president of the British College of Physical Education, and has been at different times an alderman of the London County Council. In his philanthropic activities he is prominently identified also with the Dublin Philanthropic Reform Association (first president), and with the Christian Union for Social Service (president). He is the author of "Social Arrows" and "Social Aims"; and the editor of "Some National and Board School Reforms," "Prosperity or Pauperism," etc. *Address*: 83 Lancaster Gate, W., London, England.

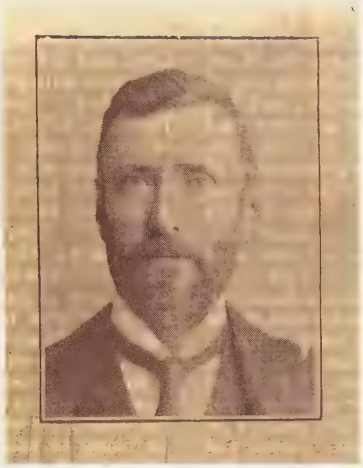
BRACE, CHARLES LORING: One of the founders of the Children's Aid Society; born at Litchfield, Conn., 1826; graduated from Yale in 1846; studied theology at the Yale Divinity School, 1847–48, and at Union Theological Seminary 1848–49. In 1850 he visited Switzerland, England, and Ireland, giving especial attention to schools, prisons, and reformatory institutions, and returned to the United States in 1852. Here he entered into active missionary labors in New York City, and was one of the founders of the Children's Aid Society, remaining its secretary and principal agent from a year after its foundation until his death. In 1854 he established the first newsboys' lodging-house in the city; in 1855 an Italian industrial school; and in 1856 a German industrial school. He devoted the remainder of his life to work among the children and youth of the poor of New York City. He died in the Tyrol, Switzerland, 1890. Among his works may be mentioned: "Hungary in 1851"; "Home Life in Germany"; "Short Sermons to Newsboys"; "The New West"; "The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years' Work among Them"; "Free Trade as Promoting Peace and Good Will among Men"; "Gesta Christi, or, A History of Humane Progress under Christianity"; and "To the Unknown God."

BRADLAUGH, CHARLES: English agitator and writer; born 1833; son of a solicitor's clerk in the East End of London. When being prepared for confirmation at the church which he attended, he expressed doubts concerning some of the doctrines taught; and on receiving a severe rebuke for daring to doubt, he turned to the street lecturers, finally becoming a speaker himself. On account of his ideas he was compelled to leave his father's house, and endeavored to gain a living as coal agent. Not succeeding he enlisted in the Dragoon Guards (1850), serving for some time in Ireland. In 1853 he returned to London and became a clerk in a solicitor's office. From that time he was known as an antitheological lecturer, and wrote under the pseudonym of "Iconoclast." He also took an active and often a leading part in the radical movements of the time.

In 1860 Bradlaugh started his paper, *The National Reformer*, which in 1868 was prosecuted by the government. The prosecution was abortive, and led to a repeal of the law under which the proceedings had been taken. In 1872 he published "The Impeachment of the House of Brunswick," which is, perhaps, his best-known literary work. In 1873 he undertook two lecturing tours in the United States. In 1875 he, with Mrs. Annie Besant, was tried for having republished an old pamphlet, "The Fruits of Philosophy." The result of the trial was that the defendants, tho "exonerated from all corrupt motive," were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of £200. On appeal, the sentence was reversed. In 1868 and twice in 1874 he was an unsuccessful candidate for parliamentary honors; in 1880, however, he was elected as junior member for the borough of Northampton. Now commenced the struggle with the House of Commons, by which his name will be best known. Refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and desiring to affirm, his seat was declared vacant. Re-elected in 1881, he was expelled by force. Again elected in 1882, but still debarred from sitting, he resigned, in order to again appeal to his constituency in 1884; and tho again elected, it was not till after the general election of 1885 that he was allowed to take his seat. In 1887 he was instrumental in getting appointed the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, and carried through Parliament an act amending and extending the truck laws. In 1888 he brought in an "Affirmation Bill," which was carried. In 1889 he was requested by the Indian National Congress to represent their national interests in the English Parliament. A consistent individualist, he combated at every step the growing tide of socialism. He died in 1891.

BRASSEY, THOMAS, BARON: English economist and writer on naval affairs; born in England, 1836; son of a railroad contractor. He was called to the bar in 1864, but never practised. In 1865 he was elected member of Parliament for Devonport, and remained in Parliament for a number of years. Naval matters engaged his chief attention, and he assisted in forming the naval artillery volunteers. He and his wife, in their yacht *Sunbeam*, have made many long voyages to all parts of the globe. In addition to numerous shorter writings on naval affairs and social questions, he has published "Work and Wages"; "British Seamen"; and "Lectures on the Labor Question." Lord Thomas has rendered assistance on various charitable commissions. *Address*: 24, Park Lane, W., London, England.

BRAY, CHARLES: Social reformer; born at Coventry, England, 1811. He became a manufacturer of ribbon, but was early interested in matters of reform on the lines of Robert Owen and Thomas Carlyle. He saw the opening of Harmony Hall in Queenwood Community (see Owen), but the failure of that experiment convinced him that such attempts were premature. He wrote "The Philosophy of Necessity" (1841), with an appendix by his sister-in-law, Mary Hennell, later published separately as "An Outline of the Various Social Systems and Communities which have been Founded on the Principles of Cooperation." He was also the author of several essays and addresses, notably "An Essay upon the Union of Agriculture and Manufactures, and upon the Organization of Industry," and of an autobiography. He died in 1884.



Rt. Hon. Sir HORACE PLUNKETT
Irish Agriculture

Count LEO TOLSTOY
Social Christianity

EDWARD CARPENTER
Economics

SAMUEL GOMPERS, U.S.A.
Trade Unionism

BRAY, J. F.: An English communist of the school of Owen of whom little is known save his book, written in 1839, "Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy; or, The Age of Might and the Age of Right." This work, to-day almost forgotten, was one of the ablest of its day, and was noticed at some length in Marx's "Philosophy of Misery" (1847) and other writings of the times. Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" says of it: "The book tries to prove that all those who perform equality of labor ought likewise to receive equality of reward." Imprest by the modern growth of joint-stock companies, Bray proposed a "joint-stock modification of society, admitting of individual property in productions in connection with a common property in productive powers." He also suggested a paper and pottery currency, whose foundation is labor.

BRENTANO, LUJO: Professor of national economy at the University of Munich; born at Aschaffenburg, Germany, 1844. He was one of the founders of the Association for Social Politics, or Socialists of the Chair, as they are called in Germany, altho belonging to the extreme right of this school. Outside of Germany he is best known by his "History of English Guilds," and his larger work on "English Trade-Unions," neither of which, however, is considered very complete or satisfactory. *Address*: Friedrichsstrasse 11, Munich, Germany.

BRETHREN OF SOCIAL LIFE: A fraternity founded by Groote and Radewin in 1376; sometimes called Brethren of the Common Lot, Brethren of the Common Life, or Brethren of Good Will. It profest to imitate the earliest Christian communities, and eventually merged into the sect of Moravians. It was composed of pious persons who sought to elevate their souls by spiritual exercises; and it was sanctioned by several popes and councils. Community of goods, industry, frugality, education of the young, and the use of the vernacular language in religious worship were some of their peculiar usages. They bound themselves by no monastic vow. In 1430 they had 130 societies, chiefly in Germany and the Netherlands. The original founders were opposed to all learning and science that was not moral and practical; but the brethren rendered valuable service to the cause of popular and free education, and have been called the pioneers of the Reformation. Thomas à Kempis belonged to one of these societies. Similar female societies were organized, each under a superior or *Martha*.

The Order of the Brethren of the Common Lot was divided into two classes, the lettered brethren, or clerks, and the illiterate; they lived in separate habitations, but maintained the closest fraternal union. The former devoted themselves to preaching, visiting the sick, circulating books and tracts, etc., and the education of youth, while the latter were employed in manual labor and the mechanical arts. They lived under the rule of St. Augustine, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion and education.

The theory of this community was that unity should be sought rather in the inward spirit than in outward statutes. Vows were not binding for life. Property was surrendered, not on compulsion, but voluntarily. All the brother houses were kept in communication with each other, and the heads of houses met annually for consultation. Particulars of their rule, domestic arrangements, etc., may be found in Ullmann's "Reformers before the Reformation," ii., 89 *sq*. Luther and Melanchthon spoke with approval and sympathy of the brotherhood in their time. Its flourishing period extended from 1400 to 1500. Most of their houses were built between 1425 and 1451, and they had, in all, some thirty to fifty establishments. During the sixteenth century the Reformation broke them down, in common with other monkish establishments; or, rather, they crumbled to pieces as needless amid the new developments of the age. By the middle of the seventeenth century the brotherhood was ended.

BREWERY WORKERS. See United Brewery Workers.

BRIAND, M. ARISTIDE: French independent Socialist, appointed Oct. 23, 1906, in the cabinet of M. Clemenceau, as Minister of Public Instruction. He has had charge of the important agitation for the separation of Church and State in France.

BRICKLAYERS AND MASONS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA: Organized 1865; one of the largest American trade-unions, not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The organization is almost purely protective. Early in its history strikes were numerous, but latterly the union has been among the most successful in developing agreements with employers. In 1886, partly through the efforts of Mr. W. H. Sayward, Secretary of the Mason Builders' Association, a system of joint agreements as to collective bargaining and arbitration was developed, and the system was spread. In 1906 the union reported 90,000 members. Its organ is *The Bricklayer and Mason*.

Reference: *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii. (1901), pp. 118, 374–75.

BRIGHT, JOHN: English statesman, born at Greenbank, Lancashire, 1811; son of Jacob Bright, a Quaker cotton-spinner. In his sixteenth year he entered his father's factory, but early became interested in temperance, parliamentary reform, and other questions of the day. The reform struggle of 1832 moved him deeply. In 1839, when the Anti-Corn Law League was formed, he and Cobden were the leading members of it, and commenced a free-trade agitation throughout the kingdom. Bright became M. P. for Durham in 1843. His eloquent and energetic advocacy of free trade produced at last the repeal of the corn laws. He was associated with Cobden in a movement for financial reform, and later with a movement to reform the system of electoral representation. He came to be with Cobden the head of the so-called "Manchester School," and vigorously opposed the ten-hour movement and almost all industrial legislation. Being a member of the Peace Society, as well as of the Society of Friends, he strenuously opposed the war with Russia in 1854. Some of the severest denunciations of war ever uttered are to be found in his speeches. In 1857 he was elected from Birmingham, and long represented that city. He strongly condemned the then existing game laws of Great Britain. In 1868 he accepted the presidency of the Board of Trade in Gladstone's administration, and worked for the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Irish Land Act, aiming at peasant proprietorship. In 1870 he resigned from office on account of ill health, but took office again in 1873–74, and 1882 as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1886 he op-

posed the Home Rule bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone. In 1883 he became lord rector of the University of Glasgow. He died in his boyhood's home, March 27, 1889.

BRINKERHOFF, ROELIFF: Philanthropist; born at Owasco, N. Y., 1828; educated in the common schools and at Auburn and Homer academies; taught school for two years, and at the age of eighteen served as tutor in the home of General Jackson. He studied law with Judge Brinkerhoff at Mansfield, Ohio, and in 1852 began the practise of law. From 1855 to 1859 he was editor and proprietor of *The Mansfield Herald*. At the outbreak of the Civil War he entered the army, attained the rank of colonel, and for meritorious service was made brevet brigadier-general. After the war he resumed the practise of law until 1873, when he became cashier of the Mansfield Savings Bank, of which he is now president. Since 1878 he has been a member of the Ohio State Board of Charities, and is now its chairman. He was president of the national Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1880, and vice-president of the International Prison Congress at Paris in 1885. Officiating for many years as vice-president of the American National Prison Congress, he was made its president at the death of General R. B. Hayes. He is the author of "The Volunteer Quartermaster"; and "Recollections of a Lifetime." *Address*: Mansfield, Ohio.

BRISBANE, ALBERT: American Fourierite and social reformer; born in Batavia, N. Y., 1809, of wealthy parents of Scotch-English stock. He was liberally educated, and traveled extensively in Europe and in Asiatic Turkey. Becoming deeply imprest with the inhumanity and injustice of the present social system, he studied in Paris the views and philosophy of FOURIER, and then presented them to American readers in two books: "Social Destiny of Man" (1840), and "A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association." These had an immediate effect on the members of BROOK FARM, and contributed largely to turn that colony into a Fourierite phalanx. Horace Greeley, William Henry Channing, Charles A. Dana, and others were also deeply influenced by him. Greeley opened the columns of the *Tribune* to Brisbane by allowing him to purchase for two years (1842–44) a column of the paper in which to advocate Fourierism. Later Brisbane published two volumes of "Sociological Series" (1876). He also invented several mechanical devices of importance. He died in Richmond, Va., 1890.

BRISBANE, ARTHUR: American editor; born at Buffalo, N. Y., 1863; son of Albert BRISBANE; educated in public schools and in France and Germany. He entered the field of journalism as a reporter on the *Sun*, and later became editor of the *Evening Sun*. From 1890 to 1897 he was on the editorial staff of the New York *World*, and since 1897 has been editor of the New York *Evening Journal*. Mr. Brisbane follows in the main his father's socialist views, but believes they should be worked out in opportunist and political methods. *Address*: Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y.

BRISSOT, JEAN PIERRE (surnamed **De WARVILLE**): French sociologist and revolutionist; born at Chartres, France, 1754. Educated for the law, he entered the office of a procurator at Paris, but early devoted himself to political science. His "Théorie des Lois Criminelles" and "Bibliothèque Philosophique de Législateur" brought him notoriety and the favor of Voltaire, D'Alembert, and others. These works were imbued with the philosophy of Rousseau, and contain the saying, afterward made famous by Proudhon, "La propriété, c'est le vol." A facile writer, he wrote for papers unworthy of him, but later went to London and started *Le Journal du Lycée de Londres* to unite all the savants of Europe. Returning to Paris, he was lodged in the Bastile on an unfounded charge. Released after a few months, he recommenced pamphleteering, and, having met some abolitionists in London, he organized in Paris a Société des Amis des Noirs. He visited the United States, but returned to play a leading part in the French Revolution. He edited the *Patriote Française* and in the National Assembly leagued himself with the Girondists, then often called the Brissotins. He bravely suffered death on the guillotine with the Girondists, Oct. 30, 1793.

BRITISH ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, THE: Founded at a meeting held at University College, London, on Nov. 20, 1890, the Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, M. P., being in the chair. The object of the association is the advancement of economic knowledge by the issue of a journal and other printed publications, and by such other means as the association may from time to time agree to adopt. The journal represents all shades of economic opinion, and is the organ not of one school of economists, but of all schools. The annual subscription is one guinea. There is at present no entrance fee. Any member may at any time compound for his future yearly payments by paying at once the sum of ten guineas. The current numbers of the journal, issued in March, June, September, and December, and published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., are sent to members free of charge. The price is 5 shillings each copy, or 1 guinea (net) for the annual volume bound.

BRITISH EMPIRE, THE: The growth of the British Empire is in many ways the greatest social reform fact in the world. According to Hazell's "Annual":

The area of the British Empire was estimated at 8,329,000 sq. m. in 1837, and in 1861 it was about the same figure. Of the total, 9,115,000 sq. m. are under settled government, the self-governing colonies alone covering about 7,000,000 sq. m.

In 1837 the population of the British Empire was 168,000,000; in 1861 it was estimated at 175,000,000; in 1871 at 235,000,000; in 1881 over 254,000,000; in 1891 nearly 372,000,000; and in 1901 it had reached over 400,000,000.

In 1837 there were about 25,750,000 British in the United Kingdom and about 1,500,000 in the colonies, making a total of 27,250,000. In 1905 there were 43,220,000 British in Great Britain and 10,780,000 in the colonies, giving a total of 54,000,000.

The total revenues of the empire amounted to about £75,000,000 in 1837, the United Kingdom having a revenue of £50,000,000, and India and the colonies about £25,000,000. In 1903 the revenues of the empire amounted to £317,000,000.

Sir Robert Giffen, at the meeting of the British Association in Sept., 1903, put forward the following estimates as to the aggregate income and wealth of the people of the British Empire:

	Aggregate Income	Capital or Wealth
United Kingdom.....	£1,750,000,000	£15,000,000,000
Canada.....	270,000,000	1,350,000,000
Australasia.....	210,000,000	1,100,000,000
India.....	600,000,000	3,000,000,000
South Africa.....	100,000,000	600,000,000
Remainder of empire...	200,000,000	1,200,000,000
Totals.....	£3,130,000,000	£22,250,000,000

THE BRITISH EMPIRE 1905 AND 1906[1]

Name and Date of Acquisition	Area, Square Miles	Population	Public Revenue £	Public Expenditure £	Imports £	Exports £	Public Debt £	Miles of Railway	Tonnage Entered and Cleared
Europe: The United Kingdom	121,115	43,219,788	143,370,404	141,956,497	551,038,628	371,015,321	796,736,491	22,433	105,619,344
England	50,939	32,344,230							
Wales	7,376	1,808,747							
Scotland	29,785	4,676,003							
Ireland	32,583	4,390,208							
Cyprus	3,584	237,022	215,360	140,284	386,661	387,541	314,000		653,316
Islands	421	360,907						8	14,954,337
Asia: Empire of India (Empire, 1877)	1,766,642	294,361,056	84,699,000	81,213,000	95,948,000	116,092,000	(2)	23,692	10,926,560
Native States	679,393	62,769,795						3,204	
Straits Settlements	1,542	595,782	1,018,644	1,067,091	31,229,021	24,479,536		15	16,901,204
The Federated Malay States	24,951	678,595	1,983,849	1,419,238	3,625,894	6,867,000	283,520	305	1,767,183
Wei-hai-wei (1898)	2,857	150,000	15,032	16,311					
Labuan I. (1847)	31	8,411	4,440	5,445	154,275	94,915			
North Borneo (1877)	31,000	200,000	75,954	52,215	305,884	317,099		105	319,082
Sarawak (1888)	41,000	500,000	94,370	90,193	392,645	617,229			95,181
Hongkong I., with Kowloon and Lema Islands (1841)	32	446,217	680,904	537,623			341,799		
Ceylon (1795)	25,333	3,740,562	1,961,554	1,780,988	6,820,000	6,726,700	5,391,209	392	10,316,738
Islands	2,336	451,045							
Australia: The Commonwealth of Australia	2,972,918	3,925,000	11,460,315	3,984,710	70,118,896	90,587,270	228,775,395	14,593	27,152,668
New South Wales (1788)	310,700	1,417,870	11,336,918	11,195,075	27,285,958	33,007,835	82,321,998	3,220	9,005,401
Victoria (1851)	87,884	1,205,513	7,509,000	6,982,000	17,859,171	19,707,008	52,141,000	3,401	6,857,554
South Australia (1836)	903,690	389,727	2,725,724	2,693,495	7,450,714	8,665,000	28,907,195	1,882	4,280,890
Queensland (1859)	668,497	523,266	4,249,385	3,607,803	6,052,104	11,153,383	39,069,227	3,363	1,798,455
Western Australia (1829)	975,920	254,309	3,698,703	3,745,224	6,072,480	10,271,511	16,244,208	2,107	3,335,895
Tasmania (1825)	26,215	174,233	866,030	857,846	2,554,454	3,007,400	9,307,456	620	1,874,173
New Guinea and Isles (1888)	90,540	350,000	39,107	38,041	62,367	62,891			50,890
New Zealand (1840)	104,471	851,063	7,282,870	6,635,902	13,290,094	14,748,348	59,912,000	2,441	2,215,229
Fiji Isles (1874)	7,435	121,074	138,166	124,918	489,095	554,707	180,515		330,208
Pacific Islands	800	30,000	21,000	21,000	99,000	65,000			196,000
Africa: Cape Colony (1815)	276,995	2,409,804	8,505,270	9,033,501	19,985,245	29,862,535	39,379,104	2,919	11,255,599
Basutoland (1868)	10,293	348,848	100,794	72,393	298,140	127,057			
Natal (1856)	29,434	1,108,754	4,160,145	4,071,439	11,078,650	9,400,771	10,019,143	718	3,984,614
Bechuanaland Protectorate	386,200	120,776	32,443	82,938					
Orange River Colony (1900)	48,326	385,045	786,049	780,535	3,251,098	2,263,925			
Transvaal (1900)	113,642	1,354,200	4,465,000	4,358,000	19,451,048	12,969,912			
Rhodesia	750,000	575,894	457,201	858,572	1,858,569	20,739		1,592	
British Central Africa (1889)	42,217	3,000,500	62,100	117,518	212,500	46,500			
East Africa Protectorate (1888)	200,000	2,500,000	163,000	403,300	752,315	236,191		584	1,508,000
Uganda Protectorate (1894)	86,000	4,000,000	51,474	180,881	123,198	52,848			
Somali Coast Protectorate (1885)	68,000	153,000	39,888	35,836	372,200	193,100			
Zanzibar and Pemba (1888)	640 & 380	200,000			1,131,760	1,171,240			128,344
Nigeria, Northern	320,000	35,000,000	520,400	510,646					88,000
Nigeria, Southern	48,000		579,475	582,348	1,792,468	1,718,717			
Gold Coast Colony (1868)	120,000	1,500,000	683,365	681,001	2,082,544	980,942	2,252,975		896,834
Lagos (1861)	20,700	1,500,000	401,331	409,397	804,147	1,146,323	1,261,000		
The Gambia (1664)	3,700	163,718	49,795	76,024	306,149	311,283	none		
Sierra Leone (1791)	34,000	1,100,000	275,479	270,493	702,827	418,631	589,447		
America: The Dominion of Canada (1763)	3,653,946	5,371,315	14,236,125	12,661,861	52,923,021	43,593,918	53,260,493	19,747	15,841,175
Newfoundland (1497) and Labrador	42,200	216,615	502,726	478,657	1,929,175	2,119,650	4,450,000	658	1,785,049
British Guiana (1814)	120,000	4,000	557,351	501,704	1,444,084	1,632,000	1,104,000	95	793,532
British Honduras (1786)	104,000	302,172	61,494	54,316	358,780	380,540	34,735		502,747
Islands	7,562	39,088	2,358,315	2,201,392	7,861,615	6,060,109	5,784,237		
Totals	15,777	1,633,570							
	11,876,745	400,543,713	317,000,000	306,593,791	970,653,545	833,140,745	1,474,067,147	95,910	235,930,873

[1] Some of the totals are for 1906 and therefore not the sum of the figures in the columns. Most of the details are for 1905 or very recent returns.
[2] £132,887,000 in England; £81,529,000 in India.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY: Founded 1839, its first president being Thomas Clarkson. The objects of the society are: "The universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade; and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves." The society publishes a journal, *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Secretary, Travers Buxton, 51, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S. W., London, England.

BROADHURST, HENRY: English trade-unionist; M. P.; born near Littlemore, Oxfordshire, 1840; the son of a journeyman mason. He worked at his father's trade till 1872, when he was elected to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress, becoming a most indefatigable worker, and serving as secretary of the committee from 1875–90. In 1880 he was returned to Parliament from Stoke-upon-Trent. In 1885 he was elected from the Boardsley division of Birmingham; in 1886 from Nottingham (West), and in 1894–1906 from Leicester. He was re-elected from Leicester Jan., 1906, but retired in March. He has been a member of two royal commissions, and in 1886 was appointed Under Secretary of State for Home Affairs. He is a Liberal in politics, and for a long period opposed the new trade-unionism, eight-hour legislation, etc. He has, however, changed his position on the eight-hour bill, and was in 1894 deemed one of the most progressive members of the Trade-Union Parliamentary Committee. Broadhurst is the author, together with Sir R. T. Reid, of a "Handy Book on Leasehold Enfranchisement," and has written also an autobiography. *Address*: 4, Elm Gardens, Brook Green, W. London, England.

BROCKWAY, ZEBULON REED: Prison reformer; born in Lyme, Conn., 1827. Became clerk of Connecticut State Prison, 1848; then deputy superintendent at Albany, 1851; and superintendent in Monroe County, N. Y., 1859; in Detroit, Mich., 1861; in Elmira State Reformatory, 1876–1900. It was mainly through his efforts that Elmira introduced the system of the Indeterminate Sentence, which has led to such general and successful reforms in prison systems. See *Elmira*. In 1900 he retired, but in 1905 was elected Mayor of Elmira, being nominated by both parties. *Address*: Elmira, N. Y.

BROOK FARM: A cooperative association formed in 1842 on a 200-acre farm nine miles from Boston, by a group of highly educated people. The association carried on farming and maintained an excellent boarding school, the pupils being members of the associated family. Owing to the character of the leaders and their friends, the life at Brook Farm took on many refined and charming aspects, which gave it great fascination for the general public, and which rendered the lives of the members exceedingly rich and interesting. Most of the distinguished men and women of the day were visitors at Brook Farm, and it became a center of intellectual and artistic life. All the members were stockholders and took more or less part in the manual labor of the farm. Meals were taken in common in a central hall. There were about 115 members.

The spirit of the place voiced the transcendental religious feeling current at that time, but there was no distinction made as to creed, and every one was free to worship as he chose. The members were, however, sustained in their efforts by an exalted belief in the possibility of social regeneration, and the founding of a heaven upon earth. Miss Peabody wrote in *The Dial*: "There are men and women who have dared to say to one another, 'Why not have our daily life organized on Christ's own idea? Why not begin to move the mountain of custom and convention?'" Later she further described the group of people who had resolved to make this attempt: "In order to live a religious and moral life they feel that it is necessary to come out in some degree from the world, and to form themselves into a community of property, so far as to exclude competition and the ordinary rules of trade; while they reserve sufficient private property for all purposes of independence and isolation at will. They make agriculture the basis of their life, it being the most direct and simple in relation to nature. A true life, altho it aims beyond the highest star, is redolent of the healthy earth. The perfume of clover lingers about it. The lowing of cattle is the natural bass to the melody of human voices."

Bodily and mental labor were paid at the same rate at Brook Farm, it being believed that since intellectual labor involves higher pleasures than bodily labor, it therefore is to some extent its own reward; while bodily labor involves a greater sacrifice on the part of the individual. The hours redeemed from labor by cooperative work were to be used, not in acquiring wealth, but intellectual goods. Real wealth consists, so the Brook Farmers declared, in the "leisure to live in all the faculties of the soul."

The first years of the Brook Farm experiment have been called its transcendental period, and it was then that the idealism of the movement and its spiritual vitality seemed to be at their height. A change occurred when Fourierism, then making a stir in the reform world, was introduced and accepted at Brook Farm. A new element came in with the influx of more working-class people, and the building of mechanics' workshops and a large phalanstery. The change, though honestly undertaken, proved in the end fatal. The dream period of the earthly paradise was over, and the Brook Farmers awoke to the painful discovery that they were ill-adapted to carry on practical enterprises. A disastrous fire, unprotected by insurance, compassed the final ruin of the experiment, which had lasted about six years. Its leader throughout, as well as its founder, was George Ripley, accomplished scholar and devoted idealist, who had received encouragement and assistance from men like Dr. Channing, Rev. Theodore Parker, Dr. J. C. Warren, and many others. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Bronson Alcott were frequent visitors at Brook Farm; while Hawthorne lived there for a time. George William Curtis and Charles A. Dana were both members. The association maintained a periodical called *The Harbinger*.

References: *Brook Farm*, by Lindsay Swift, New York, 1900; *Memoirs of Brook Farm*, by J. T. Codman, Boston, 1894. There is also an interesting account of the life at Brook Farm in the *Life of Isaac Hecker* (Father Hecker, founder of the Paulist Fathers), by Eliot. Hawthorne's *Diary* contains references to his experiences at Brook Farm, while his novel *Blithedale Romance* is to some extent founded upon his impressions of the place.

BROOKS, JOHN GRAHAM: American economist; born at Acworth, N. H., 1846; was graduated

from Harvard Divinity School, 1875; studied for three years at German universities. He became a lecturer on economic subjects, was for two years instructor at Harvard University, and later lectured for several years in the extension department of Chicago University. Mr. Brooks was appointed expert in the United States Department of Labor in Washington, and in 1893 made a report on workingmen's insurance in Germany. He is president of the National Consumers' League and of the American Social Science Association, and is the author of a book entitled "The Social Unrest." *Address*: 8 Francis Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

BROTHERHOOD OF THE COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH: Organized 1895 with headquarters in Maine. Its avowed objects were: (1) To educate people in the principles of socialism. (2) To unite all Socialists in one fraternal association. (3) To establish cooperative colonies and industries, and, so far as possible, concentrate these colonies and industries in one state until said state is socialized. As a result the colony of "Equality" was organized in 1897 in Skagit County, Wash., with 620 acres. In 1898 this colony became autonomous, since when the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth has had a nominal existence only. See EQUALITY.

BROTHERHOOD OF THE KINGDOM, THE: This organization, established in 1892, is the outgrowth, mainly in the Baptist denomination, of the earnest work of two men in New York City, but it now holds yearly undenominational conferences at Marlborough, N. Y., and performs considerable practical work through its members. Its aim is to work for the kingdom of God in the most inclusive sense. (See BAPTISTS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL REFORM.) The principles and methods of the brotherhood are thus stated:

(1) Every member shall by personal life exemplify obedience to the ethics of Jesus.
(2) Each member shall propagate the thoughts of Jesus to the limits of his or her ability, in private conversation, by correspondence, and through pulpit, platform, and press.
(3) Each member shall lay special stress on the social aims of Christianity, and shall endeavor to make Christ's teaching concerning wealth operative in the Church.
(4) On the other hand, the members shall take pains to keep in contact with the common people, and to infuse the religious spirit into the efforts for social amelioration.
(5) The members shall seek to strengthen the bond of brotherhood by frequent meetings for prayer and discussion, by correspondence, exchange of articles written, etc.
(6) Regular reports shall be made of the work done by members in such manner as the executive committee may appoint.
(7) The members shall seek to procure for one another opportunities for public propaganda.
(8) If necessary, they shall give their support to one another in the public defense of the truth, and shall jealously guard the freedom of discussion for any man who is impelled by love of the truth to utter his thoughts.

No sectarian or theological tests are required of members.

The brotherhood has an executive committee of five, with power to manage all ordinary business. The only officer is the secretary, who is also the treasurer. The annual dues are $2, and all funds remaining over and above the necessary expenses are employed in the publication and distribution of literature. Chairman of the Executive Committee, Rev. Leighton Williams, D.D., 312 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York City. Corresponding Secretary and treasurer, Rev. Charles L. Carhart, Dorset, Vt.

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS, THE: One of the oldest trade-unions in the United States; not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. After earlier ineffectual efforts at organization, twelve engineers organized in 1863 a Brotherhood of the Footboard, which in 1864 took the name of the Grand International Union of Locomotive Engineers. William D. Robinson, who is called the father of the Brotherhood, was chosen chief grand engineer (1863). Mr. P. M. Arthur was chosen chief in 1874, and so continued till 1903, largely shaping the character of the Brotherhood, making it one of the strongest, but also one of the most conservative of American trade-unions. His policy was to conduct the Brotherhood on purely "business" principles, and strictly in its own interest, not aiding other unions in strikes, etc., unless it could be clearly proved that it would directly benefit the association. The brotherhood has had few strikes, and no other union has been more successful in obtaining agreements with employers. It has an Insurance Fund, begun 1867. It had (1905) 47,000 members. Its organ is the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal.*

REFERENCE: *Report of the United States Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii (1901), pp. 821–25.

BROTHERHOODS, RELIGIOUS: Societies organized for philanthropic purposes, most numerous in the Middle Ages. Some of them being established without the authorization of the Church, they fell under the charge of heresy, and in several cases assumed the nature of separate sects, such as the Beghards, Beguines, Apostolic Brethren, Flagellants, etc. The last-named society was subjected to severe persecution by the Church.

The old building corporations, from which sprang the Free Masons, belong under this head. Most of them were regarded with fear and suspicion by the Church, on account of their symbolism and secrecy. The brotherhoods that asked and received the sanction of the ecclesiastics were not secret, but devoted to the promotion of religion by stricter and more constant devotional exercises, or to the assisting of strangers, travelers, the unprotected, the destitute, the sick, and the opprest. The noblest work was often done by these organizations. They were most numerous in Italy, Rome alone containing 100. (See articles COMMUNISM; MONASTICISM.)

BROUSSE, PAUL: French Socialist; born at Montpellier; studied medicine in Paris, becoming doctor in 1867. From 1870 to 1871 he worked on the *Droits de l'Homme*, and in 1871 was condemned to three months' imprisonment. Escaping to Spain, he joined the anarchistic Spanish section of the International. From Spain he went to Switzerland, and meeting there BAKOUNIN, became a leader of the Jura Federation, organizer of the anarchist section in Italy, and editor of anarchist publications. In 1879 he suffered imprisonment in Switzerland, and after his release went to London. Here he met Marx and Engels, and, renouncing anarchism, adopted socialism. In 1880 he returned to France, and edited *Égalité* and *Prolétaire* in 1882, with Malon and his followers, separating from the Guidist Socialists, and forming the "Broussist" section, or so-called "Possiblists." In 1887 he was elected to the Paris Municipal Council, and has since been a foremost leader of one section of the French

Socialists, but ever ready to work with any party, a policy which has resulted in his now calling himself Republican Radical. His main writings are "Le Suffrage Universel et le Problème de la Souveraineté du Peuple" (1874) and "La Crise" (1879).

BROWN, JOHN: American abolitionist; born in Torrington, Conn., 1800. Originally intended for the Church, he was compelled to give up study for this purpose on account of inflammation in the eyes. He then took up the business of a tanner, which he carried on for twenty years. In 1840 he started business as a wool dealer in Ohio, and in 1849 removed to Essex County, N. Y., and began to reclaim a large tract of land which had been granted to him. In 1855, having an intense hatred of slavery, he went to Kansas in order to vote, and fight, if need be, against the establishment of slavery in that territory. He soon became renowned in the fierce border warfare carried on between Kansas and Missouri, and gained especial celebrity by his victory at Ossawatomie. A son of his was killed in one of these affrays, and this tended to deepen his hostility to the Southern Party. After the border agitation had been settled by a general vote, Brown traveled through the northern and northeastern states declaiming against slavery, and endeavoring to incite and organize an armed attack upon it. In October, 1859, at the head of seventeen white men and five negroes, he commenced hostilities by a night attack upon Harper's Ferry, overpowering the guard and capturing the arsenal. The next morning he made prisoners of forty or fifty of the chief inhabitants of the town; but instead of at once retreating to the mountains with arms and hostages, as his original design had been, he lingered on in the town till evening. By this time the townsmen had recovered from their astonishment, militiamen began to pour in, and after a short but desperate conflict Brown and his handful of followers were captured. Brown was tried at Charlestown for treason and murder, found guilty, and sentenced to death on the scaffold within forty-eight hours. He met his death calmly Dec. 2, 1859. It may safely be said that his execution hastened the downfall of slavery in America, and his name has become a household word among abolitionists. He was a man of stern and uncompromising moral principle, and singularly brave and honest. Whatever his rashness or fanaticism, there is no question that he offered himself as a sacrifice to the overthrow of a gigantic social and political wrong.

BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS: American editor, lawyer, and politician; born at Salem, Ill., 1860; educated in public schools, Whipple Academy, Illinois College, Jacksonville (valedictorian), and Union College of Law, Chicago. He practised law at Jacksonville from 1883 to 1887, and afterward at Lincoln, Neb. From 1891 to 1895 he was a member of Congress, and from 1894 to 1896 edited the Omaha *World-Herald*. He wrote the "silver plank" of the Democratic platform and was nominated for the presidency by the Democratic Party in 1896. He made a phenomenal campaign, and received 176 electoral votes against McKinley's 271. In 1897–98 he lectured on bimetalism, and at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he raised a regiment and became its colonel. In 1900 he was again nominated for the presidency by the Democrats, Populists, and "Silver Republicans," receiving 155 electoral votes against 292 cast for McKinley. "Imperialism" was declared by the platform to be the paramount issue. After the election Mr. Bryan established *The Commoner*, a political weekly, at Lincoln, Neb. In 1904 he supported Mr. Parker, the Democratic nominee for the presidency. From 1903 to 1906 he traveled around the world, and on his return to New York was accorded the greatest ovation ever given to a private American citizen. For his views, see DEMOCRATIC PARTY. *Address*: Lincoln, Neb.

BUCHANAN, JOSEPH RAY: Labor editor of the New York *Evening Journal*; born at Hannibal, Mo., 1851; educated in the public schools. Having learned the trade of a printer, he went to Denver, Col., and engaged in the newspaper business. He became interested in labor and political reform in 1879, and took active part in the movements. For some time he published a labor paper in Denver under great difficulties. In 1887 he went to Chicago, and in the following year to New York. He became prominent in trade-unions, among the Knights of Labor, and in the Union Labor Party. In 1892 he helped to organize the People's Party at Omaha. He was twice a candidate for Congress from the sixth district of New Jersey. Since 1904 he has been a member of the editorial staff of the New York *Journal*.

Buchanan is a Socialist of the opportunist school. He believes in ultimate ownership and operation by the State of all industries of a public nature, and private ownership of those things which are for private use; but in accomplishing change would pursue line of least resistance. He has written "The Story of a Labor Agitator" and many short stories and economic treatises. He is a public speaker of wide experience. *Address*: Montclair, N. J.

BUCHEZ, PHILIPPE JOSEPH BENJAMIN: French communist: born at Matagne-la-Petite, 1796; became a doctor of medicine, 1825. He was one of the founders of the French CARBONARI, and barely escaped condemnation to death for his part in the Belfort conspiracy. He then joined the Saint Simonian school, and worked on the *Producteur*. When this passed into the hands of Enfantin, he left it to found, with Roux Lavergne, a so-called neo-Catholic school, combining Catholic and revolutionary ideas; and from 1831–38, altho with some breaks, he brought out his *l'Européen*. A *résumé* of his ideas appears in his *l'Européen* for 1835, in which he declares that it is time to realize the social principles of Christianity. His idea was to reach communism through industrial cooperation, and in 1831 he founded a cooperative association of cabinet-makers, thus introducing cooperation in France, and to the spread of this movement he devoted the rest of his life. (See COOPERATION.) In the revolution of 1848 he was a follower of Louis Blanc, and was in the chair as president of the National Assembly on the memorable May 15th. After the *coup d'état* of 1851 he returned to his studies and to private life. His main works are: "Essai d'un Traité complet de Philosophie" (1839–40), and "Histoire parlementaire de la Revolution Française" (1833–38 and 1845–47). He died in 1865.

BUFFALO: A city and port of entry in New York State with a population in 1905 of 376,618. Up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century the expression of a social conscience in Buffalo was sporadic. It then began to take form in certain definite movements traceable in the history of the present reform organizations of the city.

Out of the financial stress of 1873 came the Charity Organization Society, the first in America. It was inspired by Rev. S. Humphrey Gurteen, from England, then rector of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, and it followed the lines of the London Society. Some of the strong men who founded it are still with it, and through them its scope and influence have steadily increased. The society is chiefly remarkable for its church district plan, whereby 122 churches, of all denominations, have accepted responsibility for the relief needed in certain defined neighborhoods.

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The advantages of this system are the volunteer visitors thus made available and the education and coordination of the usually ineffective church relief. The main disadvantage is the difficulty of insuring that a family placed in care of a church will have the benefit of adequate aid and constructive effort. This is met by careful supervision of the work of uncertain churches, families being removed from their care when necessary. Four of the largest churches have established social settlements in the districts for which they are responsible, thus coming in close touch with the individuals intrusted to them, and bringing to bear upon the neighborhood what social and educational influences are possible. In the last ten years, through the efforts of the Charity Organization Society in these ways, the city outdoor poor relief has been reduced from $118,000 to $32,000 per annum, and the number of families thus aided from 4,166 to 880. There being no other strong organizations for improving the conditions of the poor, this society has taken a leading part in attacking the social causes of poverty, in enacting and enforcing laws drawn with this end in view, and in establishing and maintaining such admirable institutions as the Fresh Air Mission and the Fitch Crêche. The following special committees, all of them active, indicate the scope of this broader work: Fitch Crêche, Tenement House, Tuberculosis, Penny Savings, Children, Defective Children, Mendicancy, Public Lodging House, Family Desertion, and Public Playgrounds.

Another of Buffalo's oldest and strongest organizations is the Civil Service Reform Association. Organized in 1881, it took an active part in a campaign for the national civil service law which was passed in January, 1883, and for the state law which was signed by Grover Cleveland in May, 1883. It is worth remarking that George William Curtis said of this campaign, "There is no force in the country more united, enthusiastic, and effective than the Buffalo contingent." Buffalo was one of the first three cities to adopt municipal civil service rules, in Jan., 1885. The progress made since then is found in the fact that in 1884 only 7 per cent of all city offices were filled by competitive examination; in 1889, 49 per cent; in 1894, 75 per cent; in 1900, 84 per cent; and in 1906, 87 per cent.

In 1894 a subcommittee of this association organized the Good Government Club, which had a useful existence of six years. Three years after this ceased to exist, there arose, as an entirely separate and new movement, the present Municipal League. This organization is energetic and fearless, and has attained a large measure of success. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that it not only publishes before election the records of candidates for office, but openly and actively works for the best men and the best measures.

The status of municipal ownership in Buffalo may be judged by the fact that the Municipal Ownership League has been lost to sight and hearing. The only experiment in this direction is the water-works, and there is small sentiment for anything further. Indeed there is lacking that very public consciousness which it is claimed municipal ownership develops. An example of this is the failure of the public to agree on a site for the much-needed union station, a perennial subject of public discussion. The various reform organizations of the city are able to inspire strong support, however, and though, as in most cities, this is from a limited number of social servants, yet the city as a whole has waked to united action, as at the time of the Pan-American Exposition; and it is through such organizations and special efforts that a public consciousness is developed. The city is divided by Main Street into the East and West sides, and it would take a strong body to fuse these, and other factions, as it would to free the city from the grasp of the railroads. The organization best fitted to fulfil this function is the Chamber of Commerce, and there are already indications that this competent body is waking to its opportunities and responsibility.

An important step for the future of progressive, united public opinion in Buffalo has been taken within the year in the organization of the Civic Conference. The following business and social reform associations are affiliated with this conference and meet monthly for the discussion of problems affecting the common welfare: Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturers' Club, Black Rock Manufacturers' Association, Society for Beautifying Buffalo, North Buffalo Business Men's Association, Builders' Exchange, West Side Business Men's Association, Municipal League, East Buffalo Business Men's Association, Buffalo Credit Men's Association, Retail Grocers' Association, Charity Organization Society, Referendum League, Mutual Progressive Association of Walden Avenue, North East Buffalo Business Men and Citizens' Association, South Buffalo Citizens' Association.

Three fourths of the population of Buffalo are foreigners, largely Germans, Italians, Poles. A splendid system of schools, a remarkable public library, good tenement laws, well enforced, progressive labor laws, also enforced, and a strong Board of Health have prevented conditions of life and work from reaching the unmanageable stage of larger cities. The death-rate (14.14 per thousand) is phenomenally low. There are but few large tenements, and the houses are detached and present throughout the city an appearance of comfort, thrift, and pleasantness unsurpassed by any city in this country. At the same time there are communities sprung up about some of the large industries—one, especially, just outside the city line—which present conditions that cry for betterment. The city has made a beginning, with two public-bath

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stations, six playgrounds, and various parks, to meet the growing population in the crowded quarters, but it is only a beginning. The system of parks, most of them out from the crowded districts, is extensive and beautiful, though not yet completed. It includes a zoological garden, a botanical garden, ponds for boating and skating, and a wading pool. In one park is situated the Albright Art Gallery, perhaps the most beautiful in the country, and near it the Historical Building. At both of these buildings frequent public lectures are offered, and are well attended, as are those of the Natural History Society.

The Buffalo Public Library deserves special mention, for hardly a library in the country has a circulation so wide in proportion to the population. Its elaborate system of school libraries is also remarkable.

Another institution common to all cities but beyond the ordinary here is the Young Men's Christian Association. The main building is one of the finest of its kind in the country, and is used in such a way as to make it a strong influence in the community.

Two young but active organizations for social reform are the Consumers' League and the City Federation of Women's Clubs, mentioned together because they are both composed for the most part of women. The former is especially effective in enforcing the child labor laws; and the latter has taken up the cause of children in the matter of school lunches and medical examination.

The Society for Beautifying Buffalo, now in its sixth year, has accomplished something, and is on the way to become a strong organization for making Buffalo a beautiful and healthful community. Its committees are on Sculpture and Monuments, Playgrounds, Home Cultivation of Flowers, Abatement of Smoke Nuisance, Forestry, Architecture, Removal of Overhead Wires, Billboards and Signs.

The labor-unions in Buffalo are not strong. There are 174 local unions with a membership of 29,590, a gain of 4.2 per cent over a year ago. There have been no distinguished leaders, and no great battles to enlist working men. They have had a steady growth, following rather than leading the general development of organized labor, but their influence in the city to-day is not profound. The strongest organizations are to be found in the building trades and railroads. *Progress*, the official organ, has a circulation of 40,000, and does much in the way of education concerning social-reform movements.

Socialism in Buffalo is a wavering light. There are the usual two parties, the Labor Socialists being the more active, but either going little beyond weekly discussion.

Buffalo is on the eve of an important political event in the shape of a new city charter. It was prepared in skeleton form by an eminently fit commission and has the backing of most intelligent citizens. It provides for the election by the people of but two of the administrative officials, the mayor and controller, all others to be appointed, and for the establishment of but one house in place of the present Board of Aldermen and Council. It is believed that this will center the attention of voters upon the vital points, and focus responsibility. It should do much to rid Buffalo of the inefficiency and petty graft that still persist in spite of the fact that the balance of power is held by the independent voters. Headquarters of some of the civic societies in Buffalo:

Central Labor Union, 37 East Huron Street.
Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Commerce Building.
Charity Organization Society, 19 West Tupper Street.
City Federation of Women's Clubs, 485 Auburn Avenue.
Civic Conference, Chamber of Commerce.
Civil Service Reform Association, 19 West Tupper Street.
Consumers' League, 404 Seneca Street.
Corrupt Practices Society, Fred Gratwick, Ellicott Square.
Municipal League, Ellicott Square.
Neighborhood House, 79 Goodell Street.
Referendum League, Louis Stockton, Erie County Bank Building.
Society for Beautifying Buffalo, 37 Allen Street.
Social Labor Party, 19 West Mohawk.
Watson House, 282 Babcock Street.
Welcome Hall, 404 Seneca Street.
Westminster House, 424 Adams Street.
Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 86 Delaware Avenue.
Young Men's Christian Association, 45 West Mohawk Street.
Young Women's Christian Association, 19 West Mohawk Street.

JOHN R. HOWARD, JR.

BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS: Cooperative organizations, created for the purpose of encouraging wage-earners and others in the systematic saving of small sums by making periodic payments on stock; and of utilizing such accumulated sums in making advancements or loans to their members with a view to assisting them in buying or building homes. As commonly applied, the term "building association" includes building and loan associations, mutual loan associations, savings-fund and loan associations, cooperative banks, cooperative savings and building-loan associations, and homestead associations, all of which have the same general features. They derive their rights and powers from the statutes of the different states in which they are organized, and while their general purposes and aims are substantially the same, they differ widely in details of management and methods of operation.

The origin and early history of building associations is a matter of some doubt, altho it is known that they existed and flourished several hundred years before the Christian era. John Henry Gray, in his work on the "Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People of China," gives an interesting account of how these societies were first established by Pong Koong, a man of great wealth during the Hon dynasty. They were recognized institutions of that country as early as the year 200 B.C., having some of the prominent features of later building and loan associations, such as the payment of dues and interest at stated periods, competitive bidding for loans, repayment of loans in instalments, a system of fines for non-payment, and an equal division of profits. In England such societies existed as early as 1781 ("Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia"), and "building clubs" were known in Birmingham in 1795. The first association concerning which there is definite information is the Greenwich Union Building Association, established in 1809, and mentioned in "East's English Reports" (Pratt *vs.* Hutchinson, 15 East, p. 511). In Scotland, such associations were organized by the Earl of Selkirk in 1815. The first building association in the United States was The Oxford Provident Building Association of Philadelphia County, organized Jan. 3, 1831, at Frankfort, Pa., now within the corporate limits of Philadelphia. The constitution and by-laws provided for a payment of $5 for membership fee, and a monthly payment

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of $3 per share. A loan of $500 per share was authorized to the stockholders offering in writing the highest premium. No member could hold more than five shares; and at the semiannual elections each member was entitled to one vote for each share of stock held. The association was to continue until every member had an opportunity of purchasing a dwelling-house, after which the assets were to be divided. A fine of twenty-five cents per share for failure to pay the monthly dues was provided, as well as a fine of twenty-five cents for appearing intoxicated at a meeting. The Oxford Provident matured in ten years, and a second association, bearing the same name, was organized Jan. 30, 1841; this matured in March, 1852, and was followed by a third association, likewise bearing the same name.

From Pennsylvania the cooperative movement spread with wonderful rapidity, until now there is scarcely a state in the Union in which building and loan associations are not operating. Associations were organized in other states as follows: Maryland, 1843; New Jersey, 1847; Illinois, 1849; New York, 1851; Massachusetts, 1852; Ohio, 1857; Georgia, 1866; Texas, 1867; Kansas, 1868; Minnesota and Arkansas, 1869; North Carolina and Iowa, 1870; Louisiana and Tennessee, 1873.

The fundamental principles underlying these associations may be stated as well given by Judge Seymour Dexter, in an address delivered before the United States League of Building and Loan Associations, at Put-in-Bay, 1902:

Fundamental Principles

First: The bed-rock foundation principle of the successful building and loan association movement in America is direct financial cooperation by men of comparatively limited financial resources in the matter of building and owning homes.

Second: The next important principle in the superstructure to be reared on this bed-rock foundation principle, is the payment by these men into a common fund, in regular periodic payments, the sum of which they have severally agreed to pay; to the end that the sum total of such periodic payments will amount to a sum sufficient to be used advantageously by some one contributing to the common fund, in building or buying a home, and for the use of which he pays interest into the common fund and gives a satisfactory security for the accumulated fund thus received, and in addition to the interest continues to pay his regular periodic payments, which are accumulating to pay back the sum he has received, and if continued long enough will equal and cancel such amount.

Third: That the necessary machinery may be set in motion to easily, economically, and safely put these principles into operation, the men proposing to contribute such regular periodic payments unite to form an association, under the laws of the state in which they reside, that they may have corporate powers, elect from their own number officers executive, as a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, and a board of directors, and of this board the executive officers are *ex-officio* members—these officers to be elected annually.

In the association the amount of each periodic payment which each is to make is represented by shares, and those contributing to the common treasury are known as shareholders.

Fourth: The fundamental principles of this association are:

The shareholders are localized; they reside chiefly in the village or city where the association is located.

All the meetings of its board of directors are open and may be attended by any shareholder.

Loans from the common fund are made only to its own shareholders, and if a person wishes to borrow who is not a shareholder, he must unite with the association and become a shareholder before he can become a borrower.

Every shareholder who can give satisfactory security is equally entitled to borrow the funds of the association.

The loaning of its funds is made at periodic times, fixt by the association, of which every shareholder has due notice, at an open meeting; and in the event two or more shareholders want to borrow the same money, the right of priority to a loan is settled by an open bidding for such right of priority, any sum bid above regular periodic interest inuring to the benefit of the common treasury, and through it to all shareholders alike.

A premium is not a fundamental principle in the building and loan association scheme, except to settle right of priority to a loan when two or more shareholders, having each satisfactory security to offer, want to borrow the same money at the same time.

A system of fines for default in payment of dues or interest at or before the periodic time fixt for such payment, such fine not being imposed for the purpose of revenue to the treasury, but as a penalty for tardiness, to stimulate shareholders to prompt payment and the formation of the habit of prompt payment of an obligation at or before the time it is due.

The Board of Directors, except the secretary and treasurer, rendering their services to the association without receiving pay for such services.

No agents paid a commission or other specific sum for securing new shareholders to join the association.

Mutuality in the mode of distributing profits, so that every dollar paid into the common treasury in the form of dues, interest, or other incidental income, shares equally.

That when a free shareholder withdraws his shares and receives his accumulations, he shall be obliged to leave a certain percentage of the profits credited to his shares, which reverts to the association, that percentage being large enough to insure against loss upon the loans in which his accumulations have been invested.

The building and loan association is practically a cooperative savings-bank. It differs from the ordinary savings-bank mainly in its methods of receiving deposits and lending money. Its chief advantage for the people over the ordinary savings institution is that its funds are used by the members themselves to advance their own interests, while the funds deposited by wage-earners in the old line savings-banks are largely borrowed by business men and corporations, and used to advance the interests of capital. Another point in favor of the building and loan association is in the fact that every member has a voice and vote in the management of it, and shares in the total profits. Every member is a stockholder, and therefore entitled to all the rights and subject also to all the liabilities of a stockholder.

Varieties

There are three forms of these associations: (1) The original, known as "terminating," now no longer in use; (2) the serial; and (3) the permanent. In the terminating association all members were supposed to commence their payments at the beginning of the association; but when stock was issued subsequently, the member was required to pay back dues equal to the payments made by members who started with the association, and usually in addition a bonus to make the new shares equal in value to those of his fellow members. There was no distribution of profits. The earnings were kept intact until the association was ready to close its business, when they were divided pro rata to all shareholders. All stock being of equal value, the life of the association was limited to the time required to mature the par value of the shares; when the non-borrower received the full value of his stock, the mortgage of the borrower was canceled, and the affairs of the association wound up.

The serial association was the first attempt to remedy the defects of the terminating society. Under this plan members join the association in series, which are issued at regular intervals of usually three or six months. Each series is practically a terminating association, except that the earnings, instead of being kept intact, are distributed at regular intervals before the opening of a new series, and the principles of copartnership applied in the distribution of profits. Each series of shares runs independently of the other and matures separately, the values of the shares in the same series being kept equal. New members are required to pay back dues only to the date of issue of the last series. This plan obviates the objection of a liquidation of the association every ten or twelve years. Each series is matured whenever the monthly or weekly dues, together with the distributed earnings, equal the face value of the shares. New series being regularly issued, the association itself becomes perpetual. When a person enters the membership of a serial association he pays a membership fee, and subscribes for one or more shares of stock on which he agrees to make a monthly or weekly payment of fifty cents or one dollar per share until maturity of the series or withdrawal before then. Should he fail to pay his monthly or weekly instalment or dues within the required time, he is called upon to pay a fine into the treasury of the association. Should he at any time transfer his shares of stock to another person, payment of a fee is required for making the transfer on the books of the association.

The permanent association differs from the serial association in that a person may become a member of it at any time without paying back dues. In a permanent association the profits are divided annually or semiannually among the members, and credited to their respective accounts. The shares of each member are dealt with separately in conducting the affairs of the association. A person may withdraw from

either a serial or a permanent association at any time with a share of the accumulated profits. In a serial association the percentage of profit that may be taken out by a withdrawing member is generally fixt by the rules of the association at a lower rate than is awarded the member who stays in the association until the series matures. This is done to insure the participation of the withdrawing member in any possible and unforeseen losses that may befall the association. In permanent associations the withdrawing member usually is entitled to receive the actual dividends declared to his shares, provision for the payment of any losses being made by setting aside a portion of the profits at each periodical distribution to a contingent fund from which all losses are paid. In some states both serial and permanent associations are required to set aside to such a fund a certain percentage of their profits before distribution, to insure the equal participation of all members in the losses of the association. Originally, in the permanent associations, all the stock issued was paid for in weekly or monthly instalments of dues. Later, what is now known as "paid-up stock" was also issued. The full face value of this stock is paid for at one time and the member receives thereon regular semiannual or annual dividends in cash. With these exceptions paid-up stock is practically the same as running stock, and shares the same rights and liabilities. It is not issued at all times, but only when the association can profitably loan the money; and it may be called in and paid off if the association has no use for the funds. The member has the right to withdraw it at any time, just as running stock. Paid-up stock is of great advantage to associations in that it furnishes and makes available for loaning purposes larger amounts of money than can be accumulated from instalment stock.

General Methods and Characteristics

In a building and loan association a member subscribes for one or more shares of stock, on which he pays a certain weekly or monthly amount, denominated "dues," till the aggregate sum paid in, plus the dividends credited, amounts to the face value of the stock; when the member is entitled to receive from the association in cash the face value of the shares held. The difference between a stockholder in a building association and a stockholder in an ordinary corporation, is that in a corporation the stockholder usually pays the full value of the stock upon acquiring it; while in a building association the member, by small payments and dividend accretions, matures the face value of the shares. The funds of a building and loan association are made up of membership fees, dues payments, and moneys received from sale of stock, interest on loans, premiums for priority of loans, fines for non-payment of dues, and fees for transferring stock. The income of the association is augmented by low expenses, the officers (except the secretary, treasurer, and attorney) usually serving without pay.

When a member desires to buy or build a home, he endeavors to borrow from the association as much as he may require for the purpose, by obtaining an advancement of the par value of his shares. He applies to the association when it has money to loan; and if he offers a higher premium for the use of the money than any other member, the loan is awarded him. On securing the right to the use of the money, he designates his proposed real estate security; and when the title has been approved by the association's attorney and the security found ample by the association's appraisers, being usually required to be one third more in value than the loan applied for, the money is advanced him, and he gives the association a mortgage on the property for the amount. He also assigns his stock to the association and agrees to keep up his required payments thereon. After securing the loan, the borrower also pays to the association, in addition to his regular dues, premium and interest on the loan. When the face value of the borrower's stock is equivalent to the amount of money loaned him, the association applies the stock to the payment of the mortgage, and the member has his canceled mortgage returned to him. The borrower is not, however, required to continue his loan until maturity. Should he desire to pay it off sooner, he can at any time have the value of his shares applied to the cancelation of the loan; and by paying in one sum the balance still due, he can have his mortgage canceled. In case of default in payments for a stipulated time, usually provided in the by-laws, the entire loan becomes due and payable, and the association then has the right to recover for balance due on the loan by foreclosure of the mortgaged premises.

The premium referred to is a payment over and above interest, intended as a bonus for the right of priority in securing a loan, the borrower agreeing to pay a stipulated sum as compensation for the present use of the money advanced him. The original form was known as the "gross premium plan," in which the premium bid was deducted from the loan, the borrower receiving the difference in cash, altho required to pay interest on the face value of the shares loaned until the full face value of the shares was matured. The "net plan," which was the next form, was a modification of the gross plan, the borrower being required to pay interest only on the net amount of money received as a loan, the premium being deducted in advance as under the gross plan. Under the "instalment plan," which became the most popular form, the borrower receives the full face value of his shares, and agrees to pay a certain number of equal monthly or weekly payments as premium, usually a certain number of cents per share, which payments are continued during the term of the loan. The premium is, however, coming in to disuse in the evolution of the building association scheme, mainly because interest rates have declined; and where interest rates are within the legal limit, loans are usually made at a straight interest rate without a premium, the right of precedence to a loan being determined by the board of directors, either according to the order in which the applications were filed, or according to the security offered.

Building and loan associations have long been recognized as exerting a most beneficial influence upon the community, so that the states, and even the national government, have accorded them exemptions from many forms of taxation. Thus, under the War Revenue Act, building associations which made loans only to their members were exempt from stamp taxes on all documents executed by them, except checks and drafts. In most states they are exempt from the usury laws. There are also exemptions from taxation on shares of stock, on mortgages, and on securities. These special favors and privileges are accorded these associations on the theory that they promote thrift, encourage home-owning, and thereby increase the amount of taxable property, so that the state can well afford to grant them these special rights.

Statistics

The first reliable statistics concerning the building and loan associations of the United States are contained in the ninth annual report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor, published in 1893. There were at that time 5,598 local and 240 national associations, a total of 5,838. The total assets of the locals were $473,157,454; of the nationals, $55,715,431; a total of $528,852,885. Of the 5,838 associations in the country, 5,796 reported the total shareholders and 4,269 reported

the number of male and female shareholders. The total number of shareholders was 1,745,725, an average of 301.2 shareholders to each association. The number reported according to sex was 1,227,442, of whom 919,614 were males and 307,828 females; 5,776 associations reported 456,004 borrowers, an average of 78.9 borrowers to each association; 4,444 associations reported the number of homes acquired by their borrowing shareholders as being 314,775. In 4,422 associations reporting, 28,459 buildings other than homes have been secured. The total number of mortgages foreclosed was reported by 5,440 associations as 8,409, having a value of $12,217,126, the loss on such foreclosures being $449,599. The department also undertook to ascertain facts as to the kind of people who patronize building and loan associations, to learn if the original purpose of these associations, which is to enable persons of small means to secure homes for themselves and to save their earnings, had been preserved. It was impossible to learn the occupations of all the shareholders in all such associations; but it was learned that in 909 local associations, reporting 159,223 shareholders, 111,383, or 69.96 per cent, were practically working people. In 12 national associations, reporting 15,547 shareholders, 8,403, or 54.06 per cent, belonged to the working class. The department therefore concludes that "these figures show conclusively that the building and loan associations of the country are being used by the classes for which they were originally established."

In November, 1904, the Department of Commerce and Labor issued a bulletin (No. 55) on "Building and Loan Associations of the United States," in which is considered very fully the origin and growth of these associations, their fundamental principles, plans of issuing shares and making loans, treatment of distribution of profits, withdrawal plans, etc. The report says:

> Some estimate of the great financial importance of these institutions may be gained by an inspection of the following table, which shows the assets of building and loan associations for each year from 1893 to 1903, inclusive. The figures in this table have been compiled from the reports of the various states exercising supervision over these associations, and have been estimated from the remainder of the country. These assets consist chiefly of loans secured by real estate owned by members of the associations, altho a certain proportion consists of loans on other collateral, cash on hand, real estate, and property owned by the associations, etc.
>
> Reference to the total of this table shows that in the year 1893 the assets of these institutions had reached the enormous figure of $528,852,885. As was observed in the report which covered the year 1893—
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> A business represented by this great sum, conducted quietly with little or no advertising, and without the experienced banker in charge, shows that the common people, in their own ways, are quite competent to take care of their savings, especially when it is known that but thirty-five of the associations now in existence (1893) showed a net loss at the end of their last fiscal year and that this loss amounted to only $23,332.20.
>
> In 1894 the assets had increased by 74 millions of dollars to a total of nearly 603 millions; in 1895 they had increased by 22 millions to nearly 625 millions; in 1896 an increase of 27 millions brought the total up to nearly 652 millions; while in 1897 the year in which the greatest assets are shown, an increase of 13 millions of dollars brought the total up to nearly 665 millions. During the following four years, 1898 to 1901, the assets of these institutions had decreased by 59 millions of dollars, a relatively small amount, bringing the total down to approximately 606 millions, but in 1902 an increase of nearly 4 millions is shown—the assets for this year being $609,599,096, or over 80 millions more than the assets shown for 1893, the first year of the decade, by the report of the Department of Labor. In 1903 there was a considerable decrease in the total assets, due to the failure of a large company in New York and to the fact that several large building and loan associations in Ohio were organized into trust companies.
>
> Considering the figures shown for 1903 for the various States, it is seen that Pennsylvania ranks first with 1,196 associations, having assets of nearly 118 millions of dollars.

ASSETS OF BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS, 1893 TO 1903

STATE	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
California	$18,093,591	$20,820,082	$21,500,520	$21,470,310	$21,791,929	$20,771,227	$20,285,454	$18,935,884	$17,881,576	$18,199,867	$19,863,852
Connecticut	477,345	790,605	1,931,663	2,707,926	3,243,935	3,627,828	3,774,526	4,157,804	4,245,648	4,145,197	3,851,539
Illinois	75,771,559	81,796,350	82,639,258	80,105,574	73,399,193	63,451,758	54,104,602	47,896,148	43,684,290	40,303,852	39,432,282
Indiana	26,623,795	30,090,926	34,347,023	38,095,148	37,924,418	34,888,815	31,435,588	29,037,826	29,292,668	30,018,407	30,935,098
Iowa	7,365,002	9,500,000	11,000,000	11,877,312	11,506,982	11,529,393	10,189,634	8,208,405	6,910,866	5,656,469	*5,056,469
Maine	1,375,227	2,193,956	2,469,884	2,691,446	2,912,964	3,099,999	2,975,716	2,862,178	2,865,381	2,854,627	2,932,206
Massachusetts	13,053,330	18,384,671	20,552,667	22,906,692	24,597,843	25,793,354	26,744,647	27,721,748	28,674,208	30,391,666	32,919,739
Michigan	7,399,805	9,500,000	10,000,000	11,584,316	11,192,783	10,840,010	10,108,471	10,118,876	9,386,764	9,906,074	10,746,299
Minnesota	15,739,680	15,837,910	14,891,796	11,747,055	10,363,952	6,300,532	5,616,152	4,469,004	2,903,859	2,409,275	1,548,983
Missouri	35,841,560	33,404,596	28,000,000	26,352,955	22,497,709	18,255,186	13,835,817	11,448,395	9,394,373	8,228,266	7,771,791
Nebraska	3,073,503	3,888,001	3,924,778	3,771,834	3,554,788	3,428,728	3,332,782	3,097,356	4,314,745	4,758,294	5,343,429
New Hampshire	1,447,489	1,445,411	1,666,921	1,853,070	1,903,058	1,939,788	1,955,567	1,857,506	1,874,219	1,805,117	1,753,560
New Jersey	31,714,681	39,341,081	38,882,110	43,379,195	46,614,092	48,780,328	46,100,000	51,125,050	52,891,594	52,870,672	54,767,687
New York	33,008,532	45,023,735	50,168,683	54,490,228	61,584,719	64,740,036	60,034,789	59,653,737	56,796,941	53,952,387	43,099,606
North Dakota	257,833	218,386	297,379	313,150	379,320	392,992	364,130	393,263	438,684	463,544	570,941
Ohio	67,626,374	86,047,104	92,121,051	96,906,524	99,770,161	101,089,277	102,409,700	105,502,112	105,374,307	110,951,257	101,221,442
Pennsylvania	81,870,964	90,700,000	99,519,918	107,008,101	111,714,871	112,605,767	112,120,437	110,493,510	110,817,281	113,886,020	117,861,779
Tennessee	12,897,305	13,150,000	13,425,765	14,880,752	7,464,891	6,406,925	5,241,551	3,778,571	3,419,319	3,186,577	3,066,696
Wisconsin	3,197,142	3,350,000	3,495,676	3,500,000	3,568,440	3,582,923	3,490,470	3,580,125	3,462,630	3,595,934	3,819,760
Other States	91,417,968	96,871,020	93,864,626	95,903,063	109,247,483	107,912,314	108,119,304	108,581,676	111,347,509	112,015,594	112,087,688
Total	$528,852,885	$602,553,834	$624,700,318	$651,544,641	$664,993,531	$649,423,380	$628,239,337	$614,119,175	$605,966,842	$609,599,096	$599,550,855

* Figures for 1903 not being available, those for 1902 are used as being approximately correct.

The following table has been compiled from the annual reports of the various state departments having supervision of building and loan associations, and gives their present status. The figures for "Other States" are estimated:

State	1904			1905		
	No. of Assns.	Membership	Assets	No. of Assns.	Membership	Assets
California	141	59,848	$21,306,042	142	55,055	$22,586,871
Connecticut	16	4,033	3,712,383	13	3,016	1,446,535
Illinois	502	80,375	40,975,601	505	83,425	42,897,266
Indiana	377	110,496	29,988,987	357	106,779	31,073,129
Iowa	60	16,500	4,700,000	60	16,550	4,746,627
Kansas	43	22,585	5,803,300	47	25,547	6,475,166
Louisiana	45	20,830	7,423,968	46	22,030	8,126,254
Maine	35	8,539	3,097,237	35	8,694	3,192,473
Massachusetts	129	88,692	35,614,047	130	95,287	38,725,081
Michigan	53	31,096	11,410,575	53	32,016	12,121,325
Minnesota	21	5,044	2,364,604	21	5,044	* 2,364,604
Missouri	127	18,464	7,782,018	125	17,700	7,580,608
Nebraska	60	23,499	6,217,350	60	28,999	7,269,297
New Hampshire	15	5,160	1,728,275	16	5,280	1,799,363
New Jersey	373	127,989	56,892,122	386	128,984	59,369,216
New York	290	105,492	41,883,842	272	108,519	42,527,841
North Dakota	5	1,070	696,337	7	1,450	801,052
Ohio	699	320,215	102,578,070	674	299,904	109,741,189
Pennsylvania	1,223	319,459	123,448,958	1,257	329,852	128,053,425
Tennessee	17	4,590	2,978,213	18	4,423	2,796,342
Wisconsin	55	10,861	4,021,485	54	11,800	4,191,603
Other States	1,045	295,085	104,171,400	1,048	296,257	108,879,780
Total	5,331	1,679,922	618,795,414	5,326	1,686,611	$646,765,047

* Figures for 1905 not being available, those for 1904 are used as being approximately correct.

The principal periodical in the United States devoted exclusively to building and loan association interests is *The American Building Association News*, published monthly in Chicago and Cincinnati. This is the official organ of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations, and of a large number of the state leagues. Its files are a valuable source of information regarding building associations.

The United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations, composed of representatives of the several state leagues of building associations, was organized in Chicago, Ill., April 15, 1892, and meets annually in different parts of the United States. Judge Seymour Dexter, of Elmira, N. Y., was its founder and first president. It has for its motto: "The American Home: the Safeguard of American Liberties." Its proceedings are printed yearly, and form a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject.

Building associations exist also in Europe in considerable numbers, tho not to such an extent as in the United States. For information in regard to them, see Cooperative Banks.

H. F. Cellarius.

References: Among publications treating of building and loan associations, those deserving special mention are: *Treatise on Cooperative Savings and Loan Associations*, by Seymour Dexter, New York, 1889; *A Treatise on Building Associations*, by Charles N. Thompson, Chicago, 1892; *How to Manage Building Associations*, by Edmund Wrigley, Philadelphia, 1880; *The Working Man's Way to Wealth*, ib.; *Building and Loan Associations* in *Bulletin* (No. 55) *of the Bureau of Labor* (Department of Commerce and Labor), Nov., 1904; *Proceedings of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations* (published annually since 1893).

BUILDING TRADES, UNIONS IN THE: These are among the larger and more important labor-unions, which in recent years have had especial attention drawn to them, because of a considerable number of large and unusually complicated lockouts, strikes, prosecutions of walking delegates, and other labor difficulties that have developed in various cities, and especially in Chicago and New York.

There seem to be two reasons why the building trades have had more labor difficulties than in most lines of industry. The first is the large number of distinct trades and crafts, often engaged at the same time on the same building, each with its separate local and national organization, any one of which is able, by calling out its men, to embarrass the contractor and seriously delay if not render impossible the work of the other crafts engaged upon the building. The second reason is that since in the United States, unlike methods in England and Europe, the various processes of building are usually sublet to subcontractors by the general contractor who does perhaps the masonry, the subcontractor, doing often only a few days' work on a building, can if he will violate a trade agreement with a union and yet finish his job before the union can hold a meeting and call a strike, with the result that the various building trade-unions have been compelled to lodge more authority with their agents as to strikes than is the case in most trades. The result of these two facts, the number of distinct trades involved in one place at one time, and each with a walking delegate entrusted with unusual power, has developed situations of extreme complexity and confusion, alike to employers and employees. This situation has led to more factional and jurisdictional fights between crafts, and even between rival organizations in the same craft, than in most trades. Sometimes contractors have had to endure vexatious delays while rival unions have fought as to which should do a certain job. The United Board of Building Trades in New York has had generally some 70 local unions represented in it. The Building Trades Council of Chicago represents 32 trades with some

30,000 members, while the distinct Building Material Trades Council of Chicago has some 43 unions with 33,000 members. These boards and councils, composed of the walking delegates of these unions, meeting originally simply to consult unofficially and to aid one another in getting the best conditions for their unions from various contractors, have almost invariably developed great power. The building trades represent to a large extent skilled laborers quickened and not seldom demoralized by city commercial life. A contractor wanting a large number of skilled men, but perhaps only for a few days, must get his men through collective bargaining. He cannot take time generally to engage a man here and a man there. Hence the power of the walking delegate, who has his men in hand, a power probably generally used by the walking delegate for the good of the men—hence largely high wages in the building trades—but also a power admitting of great evils. Walking delegates have learned to sell their power usually for the benefit of their unions but sometimes for their own pockets. Contractors have been willing to pay large sums —many believe that the first offers came from contractors—to call off strikes. Contractors have even been willing to pay to have strikes called upon rival contractors or to have paid emissaries in the ranks of the walking delegates. (See WALKING DELEGATES.) "Graft" has undoubtedly largely been used both by walking delegates and contractors.

The first Board of Delegates in the building trades in New York dates from 1884, but had little power. By 1890, however, it had become strong, till in 1894 it divided into two hostile boards which in 1902 merged in the United Board of Building Trades of New York, and it was hoped both by employers and employees that this would end the confusion of the building situation. Corruption, however, soon developed. One firm was said to have paid $2,000 to have a strike called off.

Sam Parks (see WALKING DELEGATES), business agent of the structural iron workers, developed his phenomenal power and began his corrupt career. The George A. Fuller Company was accused of having brought him from Chicago and of backing him financially to secure immunity for their enterprises, which, honestly or dishonestly, they certainly had. Charges and counter charges were made.

The year 1903 saw protracted and almost continual strikes in the building trades. Finally, through the efforts of the New York Civic Federation, a Board of Governors of the employers and representatives of eighteen unions held a conference and a General Arbitration Board was organized composed of two arbitrators elected by each employers' association and two elected by each union. Only members of unions party to the agreement are to be employed, and the employees are to enforce this clause on all contractors. Employers cannot order a lockout nor the unions a strike before the matter in dispute is brought before the General Arbitration Board and settled.

In Chicago there were conditions at least as complicated, a strike much more violent, a connection with disreputable politics, and corruption probably much more open and general, ending in a victory for the employees, tho the better elements in the unions have combined with the contractors to form a new Chicago Building Trades League, largely on the same lines as the New York agreement.

For main unions in the building trades, see under their respective names.

J. R. COMMONS.

REFERENCE: *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*, ed. by John R. Commons (1905), chapters iii. and iv.

BUONARROTI, PHILIPPO: Communist; born in Pisa in 1761. On account of his revolutionary ideas he was early compelled to flee to Corsica, and published there his "Friend of Italian Liberty." In 1792 he came to Paris, and was naturalized. For complicity with the conspiracy of BABEUF he was condemned to deportation. After much suffering he escaped to Geneva, and later to Brussels, where he wrote his "History of Babeuf's Conspiracy" (1828). In 1830 he returned to France, and secretly worked for communism, exerting much influence upon Blanqui and other leaders. He died in 1837.

BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH: Established in New York, 1899, by Geo. H. Shibley; removed in 1900 to Washington, D. C. It has conducted investigations into railroad consolidations in Massachusetts and into trusts, wholesale prices, freight rates, and certain gas plants. Since 1901 Mr. Shibley has devoted the efforts of the Bureau mainly to direct legislation, having established also a People's Sovereignty League, of which he is president. *Address*: 11 Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

BURGESS, JOSEPH: English Labor leader; born at Failsworth, Lancashire, England, 1853. At the age of eight he worked part time in a cotton mill; at eleven, he worked full time. In 1884 he became a journalist in the interests of labor, editing *The Oldham Operative*. From 1885 to 1889 he was on the editorial staff of *The Cotton Factory Times*, from 1899 to 1891 he was manager of *The Yorkshire Factory Times*, and from 1891 to 1894 editor of *The Workman's Times*, London. In 1892 he published proposals for the founding of an independent labor party. This party was founded in 1893, and Mr. Burgess was elected a member of the first national administrative council. He was the party's candidate for Parliament at a by-election in Leicester, 1894, and at the general election in 1895, and has served as organizer for the Independent Labor Party both at Leeds and in Glasgow. Elected in 1902 to Glasgow Town Council, he contested, in 1906, the Camlachie Division of Glasgow. Mr. Burgess has fought all his elections as a Socialist, against Liberal and Tory candidates. He is the author of several stories evidencing his interest in labor. *Address*: Factory Times Office, Huddersfield, England.

BURIAL SOCIETIES: Friendly societies found mainly in England, constituted in the usual manner, but with the express object of supplying a fund for paying the funeral expenses of the members on their death. (See FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.) It became customary to enter the names not only of adults, but of children, in such societies. The proceedings of the criminal courts have shown that, in some instances, children on whose lives such an insurance was effected have been killed or allowed to die of neglect, and the alarm created by such instances was enhanced by the discovery

that children were frequently insured in more than one society. Legislation in England was enacted to remedy this. In the United States burial societies have had little development, their place having been filled by provisions embodied in the various friendly societies, secret orders, or trade organizations.

BÜRKLI, KARL: Swiss Socialist, born in Zurich, 1823. He became a tanner, and was converted to socialism (1845) by the writings of Fourier. Bürkli founded the first *Konsumverein* in German Switzerland, and in 1851 was elected to the Cantonal Council because of his socialist program, and advocacy, for the first time in Switzerland, of direct legislation. Since then he has played an important part in Swiss politics as a firm Socialist. In his seventieth year he opened the Zurich International Congress. He has been a voluminous writer from 1851–91.

BURNS, JOHN: Political labor leader, born at Battersea, London, 1858; son of an engineer. He began to earn his own living at the age of ten, working in a candle factory, his first wages being three shillings a week. Later he was apprenticed to a local engineering firm. Burns early became an enthusiastic trade-unionist, and in 1877 was arrested for persistently speaking on Clapham Common. On being released (in 1879) he joined the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and prominently advocated shorter hours. In 1880–1881 he was engaged as an engineer in West Africa. In 1883 he became a Socialist, and joined the Social Democratic Federation, becoming its leading working-class member, but also an omnivorous reader and student. In 1885 he stood as Socialist candidate for Nottingham, and received 598 votes. For two years he led the "unemployed" agitation in London. In 1886 he was arrested with Hyndman and others for speaking in Hyde Park, and on acquittal his speech ("The Man with the Red Flag") was printed and widely sold. On Nov. 13, 1887 ("Bloody Sunday"), he was imprisoned six weeks for breaking through the police lines, and speaking in Trafalgar Square. In 1889 he was elected to the London County Council from Battersea. The same year he showed marvelous skill in managing the Dock Strike, and in organizing the unorganized; and he became the foremost leader of the "new unionism." Coming to believe in the "progressivist" policy of advancing socialism through any party, he left the Social Democratic Federation, and has been criticized by its leaders ever since, at times even being considered by them a traitor to their cause. At the general election in 1892 he was easily elected M. P. for Battersea, and in 1893, receiving the highest number of votes at the Trade Union Congress, became chairman of the Parliamentary Committee.

On the London County Council Burns's work has been continuously good and increasingly onerous, and he has had a large share in its onward march. The attitude of its Works Committee, with fair wages, hours, and conditions of labor, and its system of direct employment without contractors, is largely due to him. In Parliament his work has been none the less solid: witness the adoption of the eight-hour day in government workshops, and his interest in all reforms. Burns has been steadily reelected from Battersea, including the election of 1906. He is an independent trade-unionist and Socialist, and altho increasingly denounced by the extremists in the labor movement, who do not believe in his opportunist methods, he has gained the admiration and confidence of all parties wherever he has served: on boards of arbitration between employers and employees, in Parliament, and in positions of trust. He is a total abstainer and strenuous for justice to all. In December, 1905, he was asked by the Liberal prime minister, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, to enter the Cabinet as president of the Local Government Board, the first English workingman to be a Cabinet officer. He has a salary of £2,000, and has charge, among other things, of the great movement and fund authorized by Parliament for the unemployed. *Address*: 37 Lavender Gardens, Battersea, London, S. W., England.

BURROWS, HERBERT: English Socialist, born in Suffolk, England, 1845. The son of a Methodist local preacher, he studied at a private school and entered the civil service. He was one of the original founders of the Social Democratic Federation, of which he is still a member, and to the cause of which he has devoted himself so energetically as on occasions to deliver seven addresses a day. He was one of the organizers of the dock laborers, and has represented the federation in several Socialist congresses. In 1895 he was treasurer for the Match Girls' Union, and a very active friend of its cause. He is interested in theosophy, as well as socialism, and secretary of the Match Makers' Union. *Address*: 99, Sotheby Road, Highbury, London, N., England.

BURT, THOMAS: Member of Parliament; born in Northumberland, 1837; the son of a miner. Following his father's profession, he became secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Union in 1865. In 1874 he was elected to Parliament from Morpeth, with Alexander Macdonald, the first "labor member" to sit in Parliament. He has represented Morpeth ever since. Burt is president of the Miners' National Union (since 1882); was British representative at the Labor Conference in Berlin, 1890; president at the Trades Union Congress in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1891; and has been active on various commissions, etc. In politics he is a Liberal. *Address*: 20, Burdon Terrace, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England.

BUTLER, BENJAMIN F.: American lawyer; politician; born at Deerfield, N. H., 1818; was graduated at Waterville College, Maine; studied law at Lowell, Mass., and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He soon became distinguished as a criminal lawyer and Democratic politician. In 1853 he was elected to the Legislature, and in 1859 to the State Senate. A brigadier-general of militia, at the outbreak of the Civil War he marched at once to the South with the Eighth Massachusetts Brigade. In February, 1862, he commanded the military forces sent from Boston to the mouth of the Mississippi, and for seven months held military command of New Orleans. His administration here has been violently denounced, and brought down upon him the intense hatred of the Southern people, because, altho he maintained order and enforced sanitary regulations, he compelled the rich secessionists to relieve the wants of those whom their rebellion had impoverished. Relieved of his command he was moved to Virginia and North Carolina, and cooperated with General Grant in his movement upon

Petersburg. In 1866 he was chosen member of Congress from Boston, and two years later was one of the managers in the impeachment of President Johnson. Butler had been a Republican; but as soon as the Greenback and Labor movement began he fell in with it, and in 1878 he was the candidate of this movement for governor of Massachusetts. He received 109,435 votes as against 134,725 for the Republican candidate. In 1879 he was again defeated; but in 1882 was successful as the Democratic nominee. Two years afterward he was the presidential candidate of the Greenback-Labor and Antimonopoly parties, receiving about 133,000 popular and no electoral votes.

Altho very wealthy, General Butler kept near to the heart of the "common people," and few men of his time had as large a following among the working men, especially in Massachusetts. He died in 1893.

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CABET, ÉTIENNE: French communist; born at Dijon, France, 1788. The son of poor parents, he received little education, but worked his way up till he became a teacher in the *Lycée*. Later he studied both law and medicine. In 1815 he became founder and director of the "Fédération Bourguignonne" for the defense of the national territory, and became connected with the Carbonari, his father before him having been a fiery patriot. About 1820 he went to Paris, and the Revolution of 1830 found him in the first line of its adherents. Up to 1839 he followed the varying fortunes of a Parisian extreme republican, writing various histories of the French revolutions and defending the most extreme acts of the "Mountain." Being tried for this and condemned, he fled to England. Here he read Moore's "Utopia," and devoted henceforth his life to the cause of communism. In 1840 he published his "Voyage en Icarie," an attractive communistic romance. In this he proposed, first, a transitional period of fifty years, and then a complete communism. In the transitional period taxation was to be more and more levied upon the wealthy. Wages favorable to the poor were to be fixt by law. Five hundred million francs were to be spent in providing work and dwellings for the poor. The army was to be disbanded as rapidly as possible, and employed on public works. Under Cabet's full communism all over 65 were to be retired on an allowance. All others able to work were to be set to compulsory work—men from 18 to 65, women from 17 to 50. Everything was to be done to make the work attractive. The family was to be maintained intact, save that at the age of five years children were to be educated in communism by the State. There was to be one official journal; none others were to be allowed. The city of Icaria is described with minute detail.

Great interest was created by the thoughts voiced in Cabet's work, and it was decided to establish an Icaria in America. Cabet bought 1,000,000 acres of land in Texas, and sent, in 1848, sixty-nine trusted followers to prepare the way. Arriving in New Orleans in March, they heard of the revolution in Paris, and debated whether or not to return. They decided to go on; but their ranks were soon decimated by fever, and they returned to New Orleans, where they met Cabet. There was a stormy interview and Cabet was much denounced; but in March, 1849, Cabet, with 280 followers, went to Nauvoo, Ill., where they hoped for a better climate than in Texas. Meanwhile, Cabet had been condemned in Paris to imprisonment on a trumped-up charge of fraud. He returned to Paris, and had the sentence reversed. Returning to Nauvoo, he found the community prospering, having, in 1855, 500 members. There was, however, continual dissension, and Cabet, with 200 followers, left for St. Louis, where he died (1856). The colony, however, survived, and only finally disbanded in the year 1895. (See ICARIA.) Cabet, it should be added, gave a somewhat religious cast to his thought, writing a book, "Le Vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus Christ," and indeed several other books arguing that Christianity is communism.

REFERENCES: *Icaria*, by Albert Shaw; *French and German Socialism*, by R. T. Ely, and other histories of socialism. (See COMMUNISM.)

CADBURY, GEORGE: English manufacturer and philanthropist; born at Edgbaston, Birmingham, 1839; educated under the auspices of the Society of Friends, to which his family belonged. One of the most successful and prosperous cocoa manufacturers in the kingdom, his relations with his employees would seem to be almost ideal. He is chairman of the firm of Cadbury Brothers, Limited, and also of the *Daily News* Publishing Co. His great title to fame rests upon his splendid achievement in the founding of Bourneville, which is known all over the world as "the model village." *Address*: Manor House, Northfield, Worcester, England. (See BOURNEVILLE.)

CAIRNES, JOHN ELLIOT: Political economist; born at Castle Bellingham, County Louth, Ireland, 1823; graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and called to the bar in 1857, but never seems to have practised. In 1856 he competed successfully for the Whately professorship of political economy in Dublin, and held it for five years, the full period during which it was tenable. During this period he published several essays and lectures, especially one on "The Slave Power," defending the cause of the North in the American Civil War, and winning by it a high reputation for economic thought and analysis. In 1865, he was appointed professor of political economy at University College, London; and when, in 1872, ill health compelled him to resign, he was made professor emeritus. Of the Ricardo-Mill school, Cairnes ranks perhaps second to Mill himself. He maintained sharply that political economy has to do only with what is, not with what ought to be; and his whole treatment was conservative and of the old, orthodox, and *a priori* school, having little to do with the induction of the historical school. While of the school of Mill, he criticized him very sharply on many points, so that the "Dictionary of Political Economy" declares the effect of Cairnes's last and greatest book to have been mainly destructive in shaking faith in the

finality of Mill's conclusions. Cairnes's literary skill and his logical ingenuity are perhaps his most marked characteristics. He was the author of: "Political Essays"; "Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded"; and "The Slave Power." He died in 1875.

CALVIN, JOHN: French Protestant theologian; born at Noyon, Picardy, France, 1509. His influence on social reform, whether for good or for ill, was far from slight. Prof. John Fiske says of him ("The Beginnings of New England," p. 58): "It is not easy to speak of Calvin with enthusiasm, as it comes natural to speak of the genial, whole-souled, many-sided mirth- and song-loving Luther. Nevertheless, it would be hard to overestimate the debt which mankind owes to Calvin. The spiritual father of Coligny, of William the Silent, and of Cromwell must occupy a foremost rank among the champions of modern democracy. Perhaps not one of the medieval popes was more despotic in temper than Calvin; but it is not the less true that the promulgation of his theology was one of the longest steps that mankind has taken toward personal freedom. Calvinism left the individual man alone in the presence of his God. . . . In the presence of the awful responsibility of life all distinctions of rank and fortune vanished; prince and pauper were alike the helpless creatures of Jehovah, and suppliants for His grace."

It is easy to see from this in what direction Calvin's contribution to human thought and life must lie. By crushing the individual under the sovereign decrees of God, he frees him from all lesser bondage. Calvin's sociology becomes intensely individualistic. He defends private property as morally necessary, as tests of justice and integrity. The communism of the New Testament he tries to prove was not communism. He is the first theologian to defend interest. The State and the Church he regarded as wholly independent, yet alike in Church and State the one supreme ruler is God. Luxury he condemned as sin. He considered it the duty of the Church to provide for the poor, and to this end he revived the temporal duty of the diaconate. He died in 1564.

CAMPANELLA, TOMMASO: Italian monk; born 1568; entered the Dominican Order when quite a boy, but devoted much of his time to the study of philosophy. In 1599 there arose a conspiracy in Calabria against the Spanish rule. Campanella, as an Italian patriot, was charged with conspiracy and heresy, and imprisoned in a dungeon in Naples for nearly twenty-seven years, being repeatedly tortured to make him confess his heresy, but with no avail. During his confinement he wrote several works, one of which was his "Civitas Solis" (published 1623). When released he retired to Rome, and afterward to Paris, where, enjoying the friendship of Richelieu and a pension from the king, he ended his days in peace. The "City of the Sun" is a dialogue between a Knight Templar and a sea captain. The captain tells of a wonderful city he had visited, and describes minutely all that he saw, especially the methods of education and the laws by which the city is governed. It much resembles Plato's "Republic." Work is common to all, but the hours are to be only four, and slavery is repudiated. There is to be community of wives and of goods. Money is not received, even from foreigners. A translation of the "City of the Sun" may be found in Morley's Universal Library. Campanella died in 1639.

CAMPBELL, HELEN STUART: American author; born at Lockport, N. Y., 1839; educated in public schools. Her interest in social problems was first aroused in 1877. She became convinced that the improper preparation of the food of the poor was at least partly responsible for the craving for intoxicating drinks, and in 1878 she went South, organizing the first cooking-schools there, and publishing a book on housekeeping and cookery. Through the reading of her book, "Miss Herndon's Income," published in 1885, the editor of the *New York Tribune* was moved to engage Mrs. Campbell to make a thorough investigation into the conditions of the working women and children of New York City. After a year's work the result was published in "Prisoners of Poverty." She then went abroad to investigate the same conditions in London, Paris, and several Italian cities, resulting in her "Prisoners of Poverty Abroad." Later she received the prize offered by the American Economic Association for the best treatise on "Women Wage Earners." She was one of the organizers and first officers of the Consumers' League of New York, and was associated also with the first clubs established for working girls. Mrs. Campbell is interested in all social questions: the child-labor problem, arts and crafts movements, etc. In addition to the works already mentioned, she is the author of "Household Economics" and many other books. *Address:* 170 West Seventy-sixth Street, New York City.

CANADA: The largest of the British possessions, having an area of 3,653,946 square miles. It includes the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and the Northwest, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island. Newfoundland is not in the Dominion and to Newfoundland belongs a part of Labrador. The population of the Dominion in 1901 was 5,371,315. Of these, 1,649,371, mainly in Quebec, speak French; 108,112 are Indians. Ontario has a population of 2,182,947 (capital, Toronto, 262,149). Quebec 1,648,898 (capital, Quebec, 68,840. Montreal 267,730), Nova Scotia 459,574 (capital Halifax, 40,832). New Brunswick, 331,120 (capital, Fredericton, 7,000. St. John 40,711). Manitoba, 360,590. British Columbia, 250,000. Prince Edward Island, 103,259; Alberta has 183,000; Saskatchewan, 300,000; Keewatin, 9,800; Yukon, 27,219; Mackenzie, 5,216; Ungava, 5,113. Vital statistics are not collected.

Statistics

A so-called "American invasion of Canada" began in 1898–99. In 1902, out of 67,379 immigrants into Canada 26,388 came from the United States. In 1903 there were 49,473 out of 128,364; in 1904 it was 45,229 out of 130,331, and in 1905 it was 43,652 out of 146,246. It is estimated that they brought with them five to ten million dollars. One hundred and twenty-two U. S. factories have branches in Canada.

Education is advanced. There were in 1905 20,225 schools, 1,114,878 pupils, and expenditures of $12,407,876. There are 18 degree-granting bodies, with 30 colleges. All schools are under government and almost wholly supported

by government grants and local taxation. Education is compulsory, but the law is not very thoroughly enforced. In Ontario, Quebec, and the Northwest territories there are separate schools for Roman Catholics.

There are 1,249 papers (117 dailies).

The most important industries of Canada are agriculture, forestry, fisheries, mining. Out of 63,422,338 acres of occupied land, 30,166,033 are improved. Wheat and oats are the main crops. The forest area is estimated at 1,248,798 square miles. The total value of the fisheries (1904) was $23,500,000. The total value of mineral produce (1905) was $68,574,707; gold, $14,486,833; coal, $17,658,615.

In 1901 the income from manufactures was $569,817,720, or $106.08 per head. Manufactures are carried on extensively and increasingly, employing over 400,000 persons.

Income (1906), $80,139,360. Expenditures, $67,240,641. Public debt, $377,678,580. Canada has a protective tariff with a preferential, adopted 1897, in favor of the United Kingdom and colonies, and more than half her revenue is derived from duties.

Exports (1906), $256,586,630. Imports, $294,267,616. The leading exports and their values in millions of dollars were (1906): wood and manufactures, 34; cheese, 24; gold-bearing quartz, 12; wheat, 33; bacon, 11; cattle, 11; wheat flour, 6. The leading imports were iron, steel, and manufactures of, 41; coal and coke, 21; wool, manufactures of, 15; cotton, manufactures of, 8; sugar, molasses, 9. The imports (1905) from the U. S. were, in millions of dollars, 166: from Great Britain, 73; Germany, 6; France, 7. The exports to Great Britain were 113; the U. S., 77.

Of the railways "Hazell's Annual" (1907) says:

"There were in 1905 65 railway lines working in the Dominion of Canada, with a total mileage of 20,601. The government own about 1,519 miles of railway, and a magnificent system of canals. In 1905 there were 767 miles of electric railways. The principal railway systems are those of the Canadian Pacific, with 8,298 miles; Grand Trunk of Canada, 3,570 miles; Intercolonial, 1,449 miles; Canadian Northern, 1,880 miles. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, which was approved by Parliament in 1904, and is being built with government aid, will extend across the Dominion from Moncton, New Brunswick, on the east coast, to a terminus on Kaien Island, at the mouth of the Skeena River, on the Pacific coast. Its total length will be 3,500 miles. The contract between the government and the Grand Trunk Pacific Company is that the company shall construct in eight years the western division of the line, from Winnipeg to the Pacific, the government guaranteeing the principal and interest of three fourths of the bond issue necessary for construction, and paying a cash subsidy for the mountain section, which will eventually amount to between £1,600,000 and £2,000,000. The company guarantees the remaining one fourth of the bond issue, and becomes proprietor of this section. As to the eastern division, from Winnipeg to Moncton, the government will construct it and when complete it is to be leased to the company (who are to have free use of the line for the first seven years) for fifty years, when it reverts to the government, tho the company are then to retain the terminals and such branch lines as they may select. The company will work both sections when they are completed."

In 1905 the receipts of the Canadian railways were $106,467,199, and their working expenses $79,977,574. Their paid-up capital was $1,248,666,414. They carried 25,288,723 passengers and 50,893,957 tons of freight.

Telegraph lines (1905), 37,808, of which 6,590 were government lines. Post-offices, 10,879.

Canada has a network of canals and river and lake navigation making 2,700 miles. In 1905 30,811 vessels passed through the Canadian canals carrying 233,545 passengers and 9,371,744 tons of freight.

Constitution and Government

The crown is represented by a governor-general with a privy council chosen by himself. Each province has a lieutenant-governor appointed by the governor-general in council and a separate Parliament. The Federal Parliament has a Senate nominated for life (from Ontario 24 members, Quebec 24, Nova Scotia 10, New Brunswick, 10, Manitoba 4, British Columbia 3, Prince Edward Island 4, Alberta 4, Saskatchewan 4), and a House of Commons, elected every five years on a low suffrage (from Ontario 86, Quebec 65, Nova Scotia 18, New Brunswick 13, British Columbia 7, Prince Edward Island 4, Manitoba 10, Saskatchewan 5, Alberta 5, Yukon 1). Bills passed by Parliament must receive the assent of the governor-general, and may be disallowed by the king within two years. The governor-general is Earl Grey; premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. From 1867 to 1896 the Conservatives were in power except for five years. In 1896, largely on the Manitoba schools question, the Liberals, under the lead of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, won 118 seats to the Conservatives' 86, and the Independents' 8. This lead was increased in 1900. In 1904 Sir Laurier's government won a majority of 52 in a house of 214. The chief issue was the railroad question, the Conservatives favoring steps toward state ownership.

The Canadian militia is under the command of a major-general of the British army. Its peace training strength is 46,000. There is no active marine militia.

Postal savings-banks, under charge of the government, were established in 1868. In 1905 they had 165,518 depositors and $45,368,320 on deposit. The growth of the general banking business shows the prosperity of the Dominion.

	1868	1898	1905
Discounts.....	$52,209,050	$223,806,320	$603,685,367
Deposits.....	33,653,594	236,161,062	567,846,789

Social Reform

Social reform in Canada is not largely advanced, perhaps because the need has not seemed pressing. Land has been easy to get and employment has been good. The wages are not high. Free grants of 160 acres in Manitoba are readily secured.

Nor have such reform movements as have developed had marked characteristics. For the most part they have been connected with the

reform movements of the U. S. Most American trade-unions have branches in Canada as in the U. S., and the statistics of the American Federation of Labor include many Canadian unions. Nevertheless an Annual Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has held twenty-two meetings, and the organization of labor has recently made considerable progress. The recent English labor political successes have had influence in Canada.

As the result of a general Trades Congress held in Victoria, B.C., 1906, an Independent Labor Party has been formed. It is to work after the model of the English party. Although socialistic, it is not called upon to accept the Socialist program at the present juncture. The Socialist delegates mainly voted with the majority on this matter. There is, however, a small Socialist party with some successes in British Columbia. The Socialist vote in 1903 was 8,025. Canada, however, is in the main individualistic. Municipalism and cooperation are little developed, tho the Dominion Government has made some experiments in the direction of State socialism. It has established agricultural experiment stations at various points. Cooperative creameries, under State supervision, are now found all through the Northwest. When a shipping ring threatened to monopolize the cattle trade, the government slipped in and ran cattle steamers of its own.

Nevertheless trusts have much power. The Hudson Bay Company, with stores in almost every town and city, largely controls retail trade. Cooperation, apart from the dairies, consists only in a few bakeries, stores, and credit societies. At Marysville, near Fredericton, New Brunswick, Mr. Alexander Gibson has developed a sort of "Canadian Pullman" for the employees of his saw and cotton mills.

Charity organizations exist in most cities.

Strictly speaking, Canada has no poor law, and no "poor rates," but the relief institutions, though mainly private, are largely supported by municipalities. In the cities large numbers receive outdoor relief, usually with some work test. There are in the Dominion 75 hospitals, 18 asylums for the insane, with many other institutions of various kind, for relief or prevention.

References: *Statistical Year Book of Canada*, by George Johnson, F.S.S., Government statistician, Ottawa; *Statistical Abstract for the Several Colonial and other Possessions of the United Kingdom*, annual, London; *Self-Government in Canada and How It Was Won*, F. Bradshaw, London, 1903; *Canada in the Twentieth Century*, A. G. Bradley, London, 1903; *Canada and the Empire*, E. S. Montagu and B. Herbert, London, 1904; Sir *Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*, J. S. Willison, 2 vols., London, 1903; *How Canada is Governed*, J. G. Bourinot, Copp, 1902; *Canada and the Canadian Question*, Goldwin Smith, Macmillan, 1891.

CANALS: Artificial waterways for the purposes of navigation or irrigation. (See Irrigation.) Navigable canals may be divided into those used for inland navigation and those used for shortening sea voyages. With a long and honorable history canals have for the last fifty years been overshadowed in importance by the railway, but are now experiencing a deserved and needed revival.

Canals are of importance, because, first, they can carry certain freight cheaper and better than railroads; secondly, by carrying goods where speed of transport is of small moment, they free the railroads to do more rapid work; thirdly, for certain lines of commerce they can compete with railroads in rates, and so lower railroad rates.

It is evident, therefore, that the railroads should be allowed no longer, through a mistaken policy, to ruin canals, or buy them and control them. Many therefore, not Socialists, hold that government should care for, own and operate canals on some large, comprehensive system. Every argument for the nationalization of railroads applies to canals with added force. (See Railroads.)

History

The oldest large canals known were the royal canal of Babylon, at least 3500 B.C., and some in Egypt, probably 7000 B.C. Important canals were later built at Alexandria and Rome. The Grand Canal of China, 650 miles long, was constructed in the thirteenth century. Canals, were, however, of small use till the invention of locks in Italy in the fourteenth century, after which several important canals were constructed, particularly in Italy and France. Peter the Great began in 1700 the immense system of canals in Russia which connect St. Petersburg and the Caspian Sea and afford continuous navigation, 1,434 miles. The modern era of canal construction dates, however, from the success of the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, from Worsley to Manchester, commenced in 1759, and lengthened to Liverpool in 1772. A canal mania at this time broke out. Dividends in some of the canal companies amounted to 100 per cent. In Ireland the Grand Canal was built in 1765. Louis I. of Bavaria in 1846 completed a project of Charlemagne in connecting the Main and the Danube by a canal 108 miles long. The Danish Canal, connecting the North Sea and the Baltic, was finished in 1785. The great Gotha Canal in Sweden was completed in 1832. The first canal in America was built at South Hadley, Mass., in 1793. In 1817 the Erie Canal in the United States was commenced, and finished amid great enthusiasm in 1825. The original cost was $5,700,000. In 1852–53, altho the tolls had been reduced to about one third the original amount, the revenue was over $3,000,000 per year.

From 1825–70 interest in canals was wholly eclipsed by that in railroads. In 1870, however, interest in them revived.

In October, 1884, an International Inland Navigation Congress was held in Bremen, and has met nearly every year since. The great Manchester Ship Canal, which enables the largest steamers for India or America to load at Manchester, was commenced in 1885, and opened January 1, 1894, costing $75,000,000. It is mainly controlled by the city, which has a majority of the directors. The North Sea Baltic Canal was commenced in 1887, and finished in July, 1895.

The Erie Canal is by far the most important long canal of the world, tho not the longest, it being, with feeders, 352 miles long. It was long paralyzed by the adverse interests and influences of the New York Central Railroad, but in 1883 all tolls were removed and an active agitation commenced to make it an effective competitor of the railroads. In 1896 a referendum was taken of the state to spend $9,000,000 to deepen it to 9 feet. This was carried, but the amount was insufficient, and in 1903 a referendum was carried authorizing the expenditure of enough to make it a great barge canal, navigable by vessels of 1,000 tons. It has been estimated that this will cost $101,000,000, or $41,000,000 more than the cost to date.

Other great canal systems in the U. S. are the Chesapeake and Ohio, opened in 1850, and 184 miles long, and the Illinois and Michigan, connecting the Great Lakes with the Mississippi. It was opened in 1898, and is 96 miles long. It has been vastly improved by the Chicago Drainage Canal, begun in 1892 and completed 1900. It has also been mooted to make it a great ship canal, allowing ocean steamers to ascend to Chicago from New Orleans. The Morris Canal, 101 miles long (1830), connects the Hudson and the Delaware. The Delaware and Raritan, 43 miles long (1831–34), connects those rivers, and, therefore, New York and Philadelphia. Canada has im-

portant canals besides the Welland Canal. The following table shows

THE GREAT SHIP CANALS OF THE WORLD

Canal	Completed	Length miles	No. of Locks	Cost[1]
Suez	1869	90.	None	$100,000,000
Cronstadt and St. Petersburg	1890	16.	None	10,000,000
Corinth	1893	4.	None	5,000,000
Manchester	1894	35.50	5	75,000,000
Kaiser Wilhelm	1895	61.	.....	40,000,000
Elbe and Trave	1900	41.	.....	25,200,000
Welland	1833	27.	26	6,000,000
Sault Ste. Marie (American)	1855	1.6	1	6,033,533
Sault Ste. Marie (Canadian)	1895	1.125	1	3,770,621

[1] Cost of construction to state.

The Suez Canal is usually considered the most important completed canal, tho more vessels pass the Sault Ste. Marie canals. It is much the longest and without locks. In 1900 there passed through it 3,441 vessels with 13,509,237 tonnage. The net profits in 1899 were 54,153,500 francs.

For the Panama Canal, see PANAMA.

CANTILLON, RICHARD: A writer of Irish race, living in Paris in the first half of the eighteenth century, of whose life little is known, but whose little book, "Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en Général," the earliest edition of which was published in Paris in 1755, seems to have exerted a very profound influence upon the economic thought of his century. For what is known of his life, see article "Cantillon" in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy." Cantillon's opinions were those of the mercantilist school, modified by the ideas of the Physiocrats, and all stated with unusual scientific precision and method. For a very favorable estimate of his work, see the article by Jevons upon "Richard Cantillon and the Nationality of Political Economy," in the *Contemporary Review*, 1881. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY.)

CAPE COLONY: See SOUTH AFRICA.

CAPITAL may be briefly defined as "that part of wealth which is devoted to obtaining further wealth" (Alfred Marshall, "Economics of Industry," p. 5). Says J. S. Mill ("Political Economy," i., iv., sec. 1): "What capital does for production is to afford the shelter, protection, tools, and materials which the work requires, and to feed and otherwise maintain the laborers during the process. Whatever things are destined for this use, destined to supply productive labor with these various prerequisites, are capital."

Definitions

Knies defines capital as "wealth set aside for the satisfaction, directly or indirectly, of future needs. This satisfaction may be obtained by the individual by lending his wealth at 'usury'—usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury—or by reserving means for future production, as in the case of the husbandman and his corn or cattle, or by laying up for himself a treasure which will be a delight for many days." President Francis A. Walker ("Political Economy," sec. 73) defines capital as "that part of wealth, excluding unimproved land and natural agents, which is devoted to the production of wealth." E. v. Böhm-Bawerk defines capital as "the complex of goods that originate in a previous process of production, and are destined, not for immediate consumption, but to serve as means of acquiring further goods. Objects of immediate consumption, then, and land (as not produced) stand outside our conception of capital."

There are three questions which are still in dispute in connection with the concept of capital: (1) *Is all capital the result of labor, and ought we to exclude the forces and free gifts of nature?* This question is important when attention is directed from the consideration of the function of capital to that of the function of the capitalist, or owner of capital. The ownership of land and gifts of nature that have merely been appropriated must be defended by somewhat different considerations than the ownership of wealth that has been deliberately produced and saved. For this reason it is probably best with the above authors not to include under the term capital any of the so-called free gifts of nature. Of course it is not always easy to draw the line, as in the case of made land, between the free gifts of nature and the work of man, and yet, altho in some cases the line may be invisible, and therefore hard to place, there is a line and an important line, and usually it can be at least approximated. (2) *Does the distinction between capital and non-capital depend on the intention of the capitalist, or, in other words, the owner of the potential capital?* Thus Professor Marshall, in the "Economics of Industry," argues that a doctor's carriage, when used on professional visits, would be capital, but when used for pleasure merely would not be capital. To this it may be answered that the distinction lies not so much in the intent as in the *use* that actually is made; tho of course usually what is intended for production of wealth is used for that purpose, so that the same article may sometimes be used as capital and sometimes not. The final question is, (3) *Does capital include what are called immaterial, as distinct from material qualities?* This question is somewhat similar to the first. In a general sense immaterial qualities are certainly often, and perhaps usually, the truest capital. Thus we say a man's capital is his health, skill, strength; but in political economy it is more usual and probably wiser not to speak of immaterial capital, because it is different from material capital, and obeys different laws. Capital, therefore, is generally used in political economy in the restricted sense of *material wealth, not the free gift of nature, used for the production of more wealth.*

We now come to consider some different kinds of capital, and first the common distinction made between Circulating and Fixed Capital. In the words of Mill: "Capital which fulfils the whole of its office, in the production in which it is engaged, by a single use is called *Circulating Capital.* "Capital which exists in any durable shape, and the return to which is spread over a period of corresponding duration, is called *Fixed Capital.*"[1] Another convenient distinction is made by Professor Marshall ("Economics of Industry," p. 19) into *Remuneratory Capital* and *Auxiliary Capital.* He says:

Different Kinds of Capital

"*Remuneratory Capital* or *Wage Capital* consists of the food, clothes, shelter, etc., which support labor.

"*Auxiliary Capital* is that which aids labor. It consists of tools, machines, factories, and other buildings that are used for trade purposes, railways, canals, roads, ships, etc.; also raw materials."

Passing now to the theory of capital, we are met at once by the utmost diversity of opinion, and have therefore to consider the history of theories of capital.

[1] "Political Economy," Book I., chap. vi.

The word capital (connected with the Latin *caput*, or head) was originally a mere adjective in the phrase "capital stock," and so used as late as Adam Smith. But it soon came to be used elliptically for the whole phrase, and the single word capital is used in the modern sense at least as early as 1635, in Dafforne's "Merchant's Mirrour." This gives us some clue to the history of the treatment of capital by economists. It has been mainly connected with interest, the phrase "capital stock" being contrasted with the interest accruing from it. In a primitive society there is little capital. Weapons and implements for the hunt and for fishing constitute the total equipment. Later, in the pastoral stage, flocks and herds represent the chief forms of capital, while developing agriculture calls for somewhat more complicated tools and implements. Only after the invention of machinery, however, does capital emerge as an independent factor in production. It is because of the capitalistic system which they ushered in that the inventions which were made in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century may without exaggeration be said to have caused an "industrial revolution." Since Watt perfected the steam-engine in 1776, machine methods of production and the factory system have displaced hand methods and the domestic system in nearly every department of manufacturing industry. With every step in this development the importance of capital has increased until to-day in the Western world the man who is without capital and who is unable to command it is forced almost of necessity to become the hired employee of the man who has capital. The wage system is thus the natural supplement to privately owned capital and is rightly included in the conception of the capitalistic system of production.

History of Theories of Capital

The best history yet written of the various theories of capital is undoubtedly Böhm-Bawerk's "Capital and Interest: A Critical History of Economical Theory," a translation from the German "Kapital und Kapitalzins." This book has been largely used in the following account. The problem of capital Böhm-Bawerk states substantially as follows:

He who owns capital can generally obtain from it a permanent net income called interest. This has notable characteristics. It owes its existence to no personal activity of the capitalist. It flows into him even where he has not moved a finger. It seems in a peculiar sense to spring from capital, or, to use a very old metaphor, to be begotten of it. It may be obtained from any capital, from goods that are barren, as well as those that are fruitful; from perishable goods, as from durable; from goods that can be replaced, and from goods that cannot be replaced; from money, as from commodities. Finally, it flows into the capitalist without ever exhausting the capital from which it comes, and therefore without any necessary limit. It presents the remarkable picture of a lifeless thing producing an everlasting and inexhaustible supply of goods. Whence and why this endless flow of wealth? This is the theoretical problem of capital and interest. This is different, says Böhm-Bawerk, from the social and political problem. The theoretical problem asks why there *is* interest on capital; the social and political problem asks whether there *should* be. Yet it is doubtful if we can keep the two questions apart. "Whether there should be" certainly depends upon "why there is," and "why there is" is not unaffected by "whether there should be." Yet they are two questions, and for the sake of clear thought we should try to keep them separate, and to answer the first question first. Yet, historically, in political economy, the second question received the first treatment. Ancient political economy evidenced a deep disapproval of interest, as witnessed in the prohibition of interest between Jews in the Mosaic code and in many passages from classic literature. (See USURY.) The reason is not far to seek. Credit had little place in production. Machinery was simple. Almost all loans were for immediate consumption, and, as a rule, to people in distress. The creditor was usually rich, the debtor poor, and the former, therefore, in the light of a man squeezing something from the poor man. Yet was there little study of the question. Plato, Aristotle, the two Catos, Cicero, Seneca, Plautus —all condemn interest, and yet assign little reason for so doing. Aristotle's argument was: Money is by nature incapable of bearing fruit. The lender's gain, therefore, must come from a defrauding of the borrower. The strong condemnation of interest by the Mosaic law and the early Christian Church is well known. Yet there was usually but little reason given, and some of the reasons that were given are far more rhetorical than logical. Gradually Greek and then Roman legislation came to allow interest, and so the practise spread. The Middle Ages, however, witnessed a revival of the condemnation of interest. The Church strenuously condemned it (see CANON LAW), first categorically, and then, as the desire for interest and the seeming need of interest increased, with more show of argument and attempt at reason. Gonzalez Tellez falls back on Aristotle's argument. Thomas Aquinas (*q. v.*) does the same in a different form. He argues that he who loans money passes over money and all that comes from it, and therefore has no right to the interest that springs from it. Interest again he considers as the hypocritical and underhand price asked for a good common to all—time. Time is simply a pretext used by usurers to get more than they give. But time is a common good, given to all equally by God. This was the general position of the canonists, tho steadily and quietly exceptions and excuses were introduced permitting interest under this pretext or that.

The Problem of Capital

Ancient Theories

Medieval Theories

The Protestant reformers usually approved of interest, altho with more or less reserve; at least this is so with Zwingli, Luther (in his later days), Melanchthon, and Calvin. The last named, however, is the only one who gives careful reason for his approval. His argument is that interest is legitimate, because, tho money itself be barren, money is used as a house is used, for gain of convenience or rent, and therefore that the lender of the money is entitled to interest as his share of the gain. Molinæus, taking somewhat the same ground, opposed the canon prohibition of interest. Besold and Grotius followed hesitatingly in the same line till Salmasius (about 1640) poured out a flood of writing defending interest, and was followed by Bacon, North, Locke, Steuart, Hume, Galiani, Vasco, Beccaria, Mirabeau, and Bentham.

Protestant Views

But this already brings us to modern times, when capital and interest, having become matters of such vast moment, have elicited far more careful and scientific study. Turgot comes first. He defends interest on the ground that capital is always the equivalent of rent-bearing land, and therefore should receive interest as land brings forth fruit. This theory Böhm-Bawerk calls the "Fructification" theory, and condemns because, in his opinion, it explains nothing. Adam Smith has no definite position, but throws out various hints about the origin of interest, some of which are contradictory. Adam Smith's neutral position could not be long held. The question of labor and capital became the burning question of the nineteenth century. Five answers have been developed through the century, and more or less side by side; so that we shall do best not to attempt to follow chronological order, but to see the separate schools as markedly and distinctly as possible.

The Fructification Theory

First, Böhm-Bawerk puts what he calls the "colorless" answer, which, like Adam Smith's, is a confused answer, altho made by Ricardo, Torrens, McCulloch, and several continental writers. Ricardo, for example, tho he sharply and at length gives his conception of the law that governs *the rate* of return to capital, scarcely gives any *reason* for the return, save that, if capitalists did not receive any interest, they would not invest.

Ricardo

We come, next, to what Böhm-Bawerk calls the "*Productive*" theory, that capital actually produces wealth, and that therefore the capitalist who gets his interest simply gets what his capital produces. This theory is subdivided into four theories: (1) That capital serves toward the production of goods; (2) that it serves toward the production of more goods than could be produced without it; (3) that it serves toward the production of more value than could be produced without it; (4) that it serves toward the producing of more value than it has in itself. The first two of these theories Böhm-Bawerk calls the "Naive Productive" theories; the third he calls the "Indirect Productive" theory, and from the last theory spring such important theories that he considers them by themselves as "Use" theories.

The Productive Theory

Among the "Naive Productive" theories we have those of J. B. Say, who first broached this theory in 1803, brilliantly but not clearly, and more recently of Roscher, Leroy-Beaulieu, Scioloja, and others. Böhm-Bawerk's answer to this theory is simply that it has not been proved that capital in itself produces goods. Capital undoubtedly, as Roscher argues, enables labor to produce *more* goods; but the amount of return to capital has by no means been proved to be equal to the amount of value of the increased amount of goods it enables labor to produce.

The "Indirect Productive" theory, that capital produces more *value*, was first taught by Lord Lauderdale in 1804, and then by his greater follower, tho not disciple, Malthus. Malthus carefully defines profit as "the difference between the value of the advances necessary to produce a commodity, and the value of the commodity when produced" ("Principles of Political Economy," 2d ed., p. 262); but he does not equally carefully show why there should be this difference of value, tho he does in general point to capital as the producer of more value. Henry Carey and Peshine Smith in America and the painstaking Thünen and Strassburger in Germany Böhm-Bawerk assigns to this school.

We come now to the "Use" theories, which, tho an offshoot of the "Productive" theories, quickly grew into an independent life of their own. This theory is that capital, apart from its substance value, has a use value, and that the capitalist who draws interest is thus rewarded for sacrificing the use of capital during the period of production. J. B. Say first suggested this, together with his "Naive Productive" theory, Hermann worked it out, and Menger gave it its best form. It is largely a German theory, Nebenius,

Use Theories

Marlo, Bernhardi, Mangoldt, Schäffle, Kneis, besides Hermann and Menger, all following it in one form or another. Böhm-Bawerk, however, rightly maintains that there is no independent "use" of capital aside from capital, and that therefore this non-existent "use" cannot be the cause of interest; but even if it does exist, as apart from the substance of capital, it simply adds to the problem by raising two problems in place of one. What is this independent use of capital?

Abstinence Theory

Next in order is the famous "Abstinence" theory, made prominent in the lectures of N. W. Senior at Oxford University, and later in his "Outlines of the Science of Political Economy" (1836). Adam Smith and Ricardo declared labor to be the source of value. Senior amended this by saying that value is due to scarcity (utility being assumed), and that labor *and abstinence* account for scarcity. Hints of this had appeared before in Ricardo and in Adam Smith's opposition of "future profit" to "present enjoyment," but Senior first worked it into a careful and logical system. According to this, capital is the result of labor, but of labor applied not to immediate results, but to far-off results; and, therefore, since its owner has sacrificed immediate results to distant ones, he is indemnified by interest. He is able to secure this indemnification because the exchange value of goods depends, according to Senior, partly on the usefulness of the goods, partly on the limitation of their supply; and the limitation depends upon the number of those willing to abstain from immediate consumption of wealth to devote it to capital. The "maximum of price" is the sacrifice with which the buyer could himself produce or procure the goods; and the "minimum of price" is the cost of production. Under competition these approximate. But the cost of production consists of the sum of labor and abstinence requisite for the production of the goods. If abstinence is always requisite for production, it can always command its money return.

The trouble with this theory is that it makes too sweeping a generalization from an idea containing an element of truth. Like the other theories it mistakes a part of the truth for the whole explanation. The theory is now generally discarded (see ABSTINENCE, REWARD OF), yet it has had many followers, and some of them most distinguished, such as J. S. Mill, Jevons, Cairnes, Roscher, Schüz, Max Wirth, Rossi, Molinari, and Garnier. Bastiat accepted the doctrine under a developed form. Bastiat's great social law is "service for service." He argues that he who provides capital not only sacrifices present enjoyment, but does positive service by allowing the laborer to have now what otherwise he could only obtain later by great sacrifice of his own tools. But this only confuses. He who sacrifices in order to prevent sacrifice certainly does so, but this is only one sacrifice, and cannot receive return for two.

We pass then to the next group, which Böhm-Bawerk calls "Labor" theories, because under various forms they try to prove that interest is payment to the capitalist for labor performed. The main advocates of this are James Mill, McCulloch, Courcelle-Seneuil, Rodbertus, Schäffle. Under one rorm or another they all argue that capital is stored-up labor, and that interest and profit are simply the price paid for stored-up labor. But how, then, does it happen that the capitalist eventually gets back all his capital; that is, all his stored-up labor, and yet gets interest too? Courcelle-Seneuil argues that interest is payment for the labor of storing up capital. This is artificial. Its falsity may be seen in the fact that interest has no connection with this, being often greatest where this so-called labor is least, and vice versa.

We come then to what may be called the Socialist, or the "Exploitation" theory. According to this, all goods that have value are the product of human labor, and indeed, economically considered, are exclusively the product of human labor. The laborers, however, do not retain the whole product of their labor, because capitalists, taking advantage of their command over the indispensable means of production, as secured to them by the institution of private property, secure to themselves a part of the laborer's product. The means of doing so are supplied by the wage contract, in which the laborers are compelled by hunger to sell their labor-power to the capitalist for a part of what they, the laborers, produce. Interest is thus a portion of the product of other people's labor, obtained by exploiting the necessitous condition of the laborer.

Exploitation Theory

The way had been prepared for this by Adam Smith and Ricardo, in teaching that labor is the source of value; tho Ricardo abandoned this doctrine before his death. Hodgskin in England and Sismondi in France were the first to really state the theory, and they only in a mild and general way; but it was soon taken up with strength and in earnest by Proudhon in France and Rodbertus in Germany, and then by the great Socialist leaders, Lasalle and Marx. Of the Socialists, Rodbertus and Marx have worked out the theory most carefully. Rodbertus is considered by most political economists the most careful, altho Marx has worked out the theory the most brilliantly and the most popularly. Rodbertus accepts almost as axiomatic the premise that labor, economically speaking, is the source of all value. Rent he defines as "all income obtained without personal exertion, solely in virtue of possession" ("Soziale Frage," p. 146). It includes two kinds of rent—land rent and profit on capital. Rent owes its existence to two facts: economically, that, with machinery and division of labor, laborers can produce more than they require to support life; and legally, that private property in land and capital enables their owners to employ laborers who, not having land and capital, and needing them for production, are unable to work except in service for these capitalists, and are driven by hunger often to give to the capitalists all they produce except what is barely necessary to support life. The form which this compulsion originally took was slavery, the origin of which was contemporaneous with that of agriculture and landed property. To-day contract has taken the place of slavery; but since capitalists own substantially all the land and capital, they have the laborer as equally at a disadvantage as under slavery, and can take from him under contract as much as before under slavery. Thus, says Rodbertus, "The contract is only formally and not actually free, and hunger makes a good substitute for the whip. What was formerly called food is now called wage" ("Soziale Frage," p. 33).

Thus all rent is an exploitation, or, as he says in effect, a robbery of the product of other people's labor ("Soziale Frage," p. 150). The amount of rent increases with the productivity of labor; for under the system of free competition the laborer can receive little more than his maintenance, no matter how much he produces. The division between rent of land and rent of capital Rodbertus believes depends upon how much labor value is represented in land and in capital, since labor is the measure and source of all value, even rent being the product of labor, tho conditioned by the possession of wealth. Nevertheless, except in a posthumous tract on "Capital," Rodbertus does not favor the abolition of private property in either land or capital. He ascribes to it an educating power, a "kind of patriarchal power that could only be replaced after a completely altered system of national instruction, for which at present we have not got even the conditions" ("Erklärung," p. 303).

Karl Marx

Marx's theory is the same, tho worked out in a different way. The utility of a thing, he argues, is its *value in use*. But this value is not something in the air. It is limited by the properties of the commodity, and has no existence apart from that commodity. The commodity itself is the use value. Now use values exchange. They are measured. To be measured they must have some characteristic in common. What is this? It is not in their *qualities*; their qualities are very different. Things that exchange must have the same *quantity* of exchange value. What is the thing that they have the same quantity of? If we discard their qualities as use value, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor. This must be the measure of their exchange value. So the value of all goods is measured by the quantity of labor contained in them or in labor time. But labor is of different value in different individuals; therefore, we must take the "socially necessary labor time"—i. e., the labor time required to produce a use value under the conditions of production that are socially normal at the time, and with the socially necessary degree of skill and intensity of labor. Now the problem of capital and of interest and profit is this: One man sells the commodity which he possesses for money, in order to buy with the money another commodity which he requires. This course of circulation may be exprest by the formula: Commodity, money, commodity. But there is another course of circulation. Men buy commodities in order to sell, or—money, commodity, money. But in this circuit, men buy commodities in order to sell at an advance. The real circuit is M., C., M'. (M' representing the sum advanced plus an increment). This is the characteristic circuit of capitalistic industry. It applies seemingly only to the merchant's capital, but it is true of all industrial capital. The manufacturer, every one in commerce, even the farmer, buys something—invests, that is—in order to sell what he buys, or what springs from what he buys, at an advance. Whence the advance? This is the problem. He buys material at its market value; he sells the material at the market value; how is he enabled to sell at a higher price than he buys? Whence this surplus value? This is the problem of Marx's book—his famous "Capital." The surplus value cannot originate in anything outside the circuit, for nothing pours economic value into his hands. It cannot originate in the circuit itself, for he cannot continually buy commodities under their value, nor continually sell above their value. Whence his profits? He can only sell for more than he buys by adding labor to it. Labor is thus the only source of *surplus value*. But if he put labor into it, either his own or hired, he pays for that. How does the capitalist sell for more than he puts in? He must buy material and labor at their value, sell the result at its value, and yet draw out more than he puts in. How? Marx answers this by saying that there is one use value which possesses the peculiar property of being the source of exchange value; this is labor or labor-power. It, labor-power, is offered for sale on the market on the double condition that the laborer is personally free—for otherwise he would be a slave, not a seller of labor-power; and that, secondly, he is deprived of all means of independently using his labor-power, otherwise he would work for himself. The present condition of society furnishes these conditions. The capitalist makes use of this. The value of the commodity labor-power, like that of all other commodities, is regulated by the labor time necessary for its reproduction;

in this case, by the labor time necessary to produce the maintenance of the laborer. The capitalist gets the laborer to work for him. He gives him his labor-time value—that is, maintenance, the value necessary to maintain and reproduce him. But the laborer gives the capitalist more labor time than this. If in six hours the laborer produces enough to maintain him, and works ten hours, in the four hours he produces for the capitalist this "surplus value." Surplus value, therefore, according to Marx, results from the capitalist getting the laborer to work a part of the day for him without paying for it. In the laborer's day, thus, we have "necessary labor time" and "surplus labor time," the source of "surplus labor value." Capital is not thus a command over labor, but a command over *unpaid* labor. All surplus value, in whatever form it be disguised, as profit, interest, rent, or any other, is only the material shape of unpaid labor. Bitterly, upon this foundation, does Marx trace the history and expedients of capital to lengthen the time and intensity of the working-day in order to get more surplus value.

The answer to this theory, which will be seen to be, in another form, the same as Rodbertus's, may be very varied. It is perhaps sufficient, however, to say that it has not been proved that labor is the source of value. Exchange is not based simply upon labor-time value. Use value does affect exchange. A good natural voice, uncultivated by any labor, has exchange value. Unimproved natural commodities have exchange value. Scarcity affects exchange value. The whole theory that labor is the source of value is untenable. Rodbertus does not attempt to prove it. Marx appeals not to facts, but to the above dialectics, which can be shown to be faulty. Marx says use values in exchange are disregarded. This is not the case; but if it were, his conclusion does not follow that their being the product of labor is the only characteristic left which can be the basis of exchange. Many other elements enter in—scarcity, demand, appropriation of them, etc. Marx's analysis contains truth, but by no means the whole truth, and its fundamental proposition is not true.

The last theory of capital and interest that merits consideration is that of Böhm-Bawerk himself as expounded in his second volume, "The Positive Theory of Capital." According to this view, the key to the interest problem is found in the time element involved in capitalistic production. Men normally undervalue future goods in comparing them with present goods. Thus as future goods ripen into present goods their value is enhanced in accordance with a psychological law. Interest is simply this addition to the value of goods that results from advancing them nearer the period when they are to satisfy wants. As men normally discount future goods so they are always willing to pay a premium in future goods for command over present goods. The current rate of interest is thus determined by the comparative valuations which men collectively place upon present and future goods. When the rate on safe investments is 4 per cent, for example, this means that in the estimation of the marginal men who take part in capitalistic production $100 in hand, with the immediate command over want-satisfying goods which it gives, is equivalent to $104 a year hence. This theory is explained and defended with great dialectical skill, but it cannot be said to have commanded the assent of many economists as an adequate solution of the interest problem.

The fact seems to be that no one theory is complete; that almost every theory yet advanced has had its element of truth and made its contribution to science. It is *man* who pays, and *man* who asks interest for capital. Men are not simple "economic men." The reasons that move the will to demand and pay interest are not simple, but numerous, intricate, and varying at different times. In the Fructuation theory, the Productivity theory, the Use theory, the Abstinence theory, the Exploitation theory, the Time theory, there is truth, but the whole truth lies only in the correct synthesis of all theories. It should be added, however, that whatever be the theory as to the origin of capital and interest, neither the believers nor the disbelievers in interest question the fact of the contribution, and the necessary contribution, that capital makes to production. Socialists, no less than the most conservative economists, admit the necessity of capital to production. Socialists simply assert that work (personal effort of head or hand) should be required from every member of society (save from the young, aged, or infirm), and that there should be no class of society whose economic function is simply to furnish capital and live on the interest. They declare that all *capital* should be owned and furnished by the community, and that all individuals should furnish work and receive therefor, their rightful share in the product. (See Socialism.) Those Socialists who do not hold with Adam Smith and Marx that labor is the only source of value, do not hold either that capital comes wholly from unpaid labor; they perceive that capital may come from the personal labor of one's ancestors, or from personal saving, or by speculation or investment—in a hundred ways, some of them moral, some immoral; but they hold that the unity of society is the key to the freedom of the individual, and that that freedom demands that, however gained, capital be held and operated collectively for the equitable good of all, each man and woman being in some way a worker for the general good. This holding of capital is, in their opinion, a step not based on any theory, but called for by the conditions of human life, in the process of evolution, developing a higher organism out of lower organisms. Those Socialists who look to divine sanctions for their acts argue that capital should be held in common and each work for the good of all, as in a family property is held in common and each works for each. Interest on capital they say is "natural," because capital performs a natural function, and can therefore obtain a portion of the product, as conditional to its being forthcoming; and when capital is monopolized by a portion of the community, it can, subject to competition between capitalists, dictate its own terms, because he who has it not is dependent upon him who has. What such Socialists assert is that, tho interest is natural, it is socially indefensible, since God has made all men one, and given to all the duty of labor; that therefore for one portion of society to furnish the capital and be able to live without labor, while another portion of society can scarcely live by the hardest toil, is a plain violation of the law of God. Such are the various theories as to capital that have prevailed at various times and are held to-day by various schools of thought.

The Socialist Contention

The Christian Socialist View

Turning to the laws that govern the growth of capital, we present two representative treatments of the subject, and first, one by Professor and Mrs. Marshall. In chap. vi. of their "Economics of Industry," they say:

"The growth of capital depends upon the *power* and the *will* to save.

"The power of saving depends on the amount of wealth out of which saving can be made. Some countries, which have a large population and produce a great amount of wealth, have very little power of saving. The whole continent of Asia, for instance, has less power of saving than England has. The total produce indeed of its industry is larger than that of England; but the number of people among whom this is divided is so great that they are compelled to consume almost the whole of it in supporting life.

The Growth of Capital, Orthodox View

"As Mill says, 'the fund from which saving can be made is the surplus of the produce of labor after supplying the necessaries of life to all concerned in the production (including those employed in replacing the materials and keeping the fixed capital in repair); more than this surplus cannot be saved under any circumstances; as much as this, though it never is saved, always might be. This surplus is the fund from which the enjoyments as distinguished from the necessaries of the producers are provided, it is the fund from which all are subsisted who are not themselves engaged in production; and from which all additions are made to capital. It is the real net produce of the country.'

"Since the requisites of production are land, labor, and capital, the conditions on which the total produce of industry depends may therefore be classed as, first, fertility of the soil, richness of mines, abundance of watercourses, and an invigorating climate; secondly, the number and the average efficiency of the working population; this efficiency depending on moral as well as mental and physical qualities; thirdly, the abundance of the means which the industry of the past has accumulated and saved to help the industry of the present; that is, the abundance of roads and railroads, of canals and docks, of factories and warehouses, of engines and machines, of raw material, of food and of clothing; in short, the already accumulated capital of the nation. . . .

"Next as to the will to save.

"The strength of the desire of accumulation depends on moral and social conditions which vary widely in different times and countries.

"(*a*) The intellect. The inclination to save arises from the hope of obtaining some future advantage, and this future advantage, if it is to afford motive for action, must be realized. . . .

"(*b*) Affection for others is one of the chief motives if not the chief motive for the accumulation of capital. . . .

"(*c*) The hope of rising in the world. . . .

"(*d*) The opportunity to gain great social advantages by the possession of wealth. . . .

"(*e*) Political and commercial security. . . ."

Lastly, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall inquire how far the accumulation of capital depends upon the rate of profits, and the rate of interest which the owner of capital can obtain by lending it to others, and they answer:

"A high rate of interest no doubt affords a liberal reward of abstinence, and stimulates the saving of all who are ambitious of earning social position by their wealth.

"But the history of the past and the observation of the present show that it is a man's temperament, much more than the rate of interest to be got for his savings, which determines whether he makes provision for his old age and for his family or not. Most of those who make such a provision would do so equally whether the rate of interest were low or high. And when a man has once determined to provide a certain annual

income, he will find that he has to save more if the rate of interest is low than if it is high.

"Again, a high rate of interest is a great inducement to retire early from business, and live on the interest of what has already been accumulated. Sir Josiah Child indeed said two centuries ago, 'We see that generally all merchants in countries in which the rate of interest is high, when they have gotten great wealth, leave trading' and lend out their money at interest, 'the gain thereof being so easy, certain, and great; whereas in other countries, where interest is at a lower rate, they continue merchants from generation to generation, and enrich themselves and the State.' It is more true now than it was then, that many men retire from business when they are yet almost in the prime of life, and when their knowledge of men and things might enable them to conduct their business more efficiently than ever. Thus a fall in the rate of interest would in some ways promote the production and the accumulation of wealth.

"But it would diminish the *power* of saving from a given amount of capital, because the larger the income a man derives from his business, the larger are the means he has of saving."

Such is an admirable example of the treatment of the subject from the standpoint of the most progressive orthodox economics. As an example of the treatment of the subject from the socialist standpoint, we give a quotation from the lecture on "The Industrial Basis of Socialism," by William Clarke, and included in the "Fabian Essays." Says Mr. Clarke:

Growth of Capital, Socialist View

"The capitalist was originally an *entrepreneur*, a manager who worked hard at his business, and who received what economists have called the 'wages of superintendence.' So long as the capitalist occupied that position he might be restrained and controlled in various ways, but he could not be got rid of. His 'wages of superintendence' were certainly often exorbitant, but he performed real functions; and society, as yet unprepared to take those functions upon itself, could not afford to discharge him. Yet, like the king, he had to be restrained by the legislation already referred to, for his power involved much suffering to his fellows. But now the capitalist is fast becoming absolutely useless. Finding it easier and more rational to combine with others of his class in a large undertaking, he has now abdicated his position of overseer, has put in a salaried manager to perform his work for him, and has become a mere rent or interest receiver. The rent or interest he receives is paid for the use of a monopoly which not he, but a whole multitude of people, created by their joint efforts.

"It was inevitable that this differentiation of manager and capitalist should arise. It is part of the process of capitalist evolution due to machine industry. As competition led to waste in production, so it led to the cutting of profits among capitalists. To prevent this, the massing of capital was necessary, by which the large capitalist could undersell his small rivals by offering, at prices below anything they could afford to sell at, goods produced by machinery and distributed by a plexus of agencies initially too costly for any individual competitor to purchase or set on foot. Now for such massive capitals, the contributions of several capitalists are needed; and hence has arisen the joint-stock company or *Campagnie Anonyme*. Through this new capitalist agency a person in England can hold stock in an enterprise at the Antipodes, which he has never visited and never intends to visit, and which, therefore, he cannot 'superintend' in any way. He and the other shareholders put in a manager, with injunctions to be economical. The manager's business is to earn for his employers the largest dividends possible; if he does not do so, he is dismissed. The old personal relation between the workers and the employer is gone; instead thereof remains merely the cash nexus. To secure high dividends, the manager will lower wages. If that is resisted there will probably be either a strike or lockout. Cheap labor will be, perhaps, imported by the manager; and if the work-people resist by intimidation or organized boycotting, the forces of the State (which they help to maintain) will be used against them. In the majority of cases they must submit. Such is a not unfair picture of the relation of capitalist to workman to-day, the former having become an idle dividend-receiver. The dictum of orthodox political economy, uttered by so competent an authority as the late Professor Cairnes, runs:

"'It is important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing.' . . .

"That joint-stock capitalism is extending rapidly every one knows. In the United States, according to Mr. Bryce, the wealth of joint-stock corporations is estimated at one fourth of the total value of all property. In England every kind of business, from breweries, banks, and cotton-mills down to automatic sweetmeat machines, is falling into the hands of the joint-stock capitalist, and must continue to do so. Twenty years ago who would have supposed that a brewery like that of Guinness, or such a banking firm as Glyn, Mills & Co., would become a joint-stock company? Yet we know it is so to-day. Capitalism is becoming impersonal and cosmopolitan. And the combinations controlling production become larger and fewer. Barings are getting hold of the South African diamond fields. A few companies control the whole anthracite coal produce of Pennsylvania. Each one of us is quite 'free' to 'compete' with these gigantic combinations, as the principality of Monaco is 'free' to go to war with France should the latter threaten her interests. The mere forms of freedom remain, but monopoly renders them nugatory. The modern State, having parted with the raw material of the globe, cannot secure freedom of competition to its citizens; and yet it was on the basis of free competition that capitalism rose. Thus we see that capitalism has canceled its original principle—is itself negating its own existence."

Prof. John B. Clark, in his "Distribution of Wealth" and other works, has ably treated the part played by capital in production.

Concerning statistics as to the large part played by capital in the modern world, see WEALTH; TRUSTS; MACHINERY; FINANCE. Exact statistics in regard to the value of the capital of different countries as distinguished from their wealth in general are not available, and even statistics of wealth must be accepted with a good deal of caution. The figures which follow are the most trustworthy that are available for the United Kingdom and the U. S.

According to the elaborate calculations of Sir Robert Giffen, the total wealth of the United Kingdom increased from £4,000,000,000 in 1845 to £6,000,000,000 in 1865; £8,500,000,000 in 1875, and £10,000,000,000 in 1885. Compared with the population this indicates an increase in average per capita wealth during the whole period of forty years from £143 to £270. How much of this wealth was capital in the restricted sense of our definition it is impossible to say with exactness. Thus, of the estimated wealth in 1885 of £10,000,000,000 some £1,700,000,000 is credited to land and £1,900,000,000 to houses, but there is no way of determining what part of the value of land was a gift of nature and what part the result of investments of capital in improvements, or what proportion of the houses served as workshops and thus contributed to the further production of wealth. The amount of income derived by inhabitants of the United Kingdom from land and capital, that is, from investments of all kinds, may be estimated from the annual income tax returns. Thus for the year 1902, the income from the ownership of lands and houses was returned at £238,000,000, the income from government securities at £44,000,000, and from business enterprises, except farming, at £488,000,000. Estimating that at least one third of the latter income was in the form of interest and dividends to investors having no active part in the businesses concerned and allowing for false returns, it appears probable that the total income from investments was not less than £500,000,000, or about £12 per capita.

The total wealth of the U. S. for the years 1900 and 1904, as estimated by the Census Bureau, was $88,517,000,000 in the former year, and $107,104,000,000 in the latter. Comparing the total estimated wealth in 1900 with the population as determined by the census in that year gives $1,150 as the average per capita wealth. The principal items in the total for 1904 were as follows: Real property and improvements, $62,000,000,000; live stock, $4,074,000,000; farm implements and machinery, $845,000,000; manufacturing machinery, tools, and implements, $3,298,000,000; gold and silver coin and bullion, $1,999,000,000; railroads and their equipment, $11,245,000,000; street railways, shipping, waterworks, etc., $4,841,000,000; all other, $18,462,000,000. From the form in which these estimates are given it is impossible even to make an intelligent guess as to what part of them represents capital in the narrow sense. There are no statistics for the U. S. comparable with the income tax returns for the United Kingdom.

For a discussion of whether the profits or capital are falling, see PROFITS, WEALTH.

REFERENCES: *Capital and Interest: A Critical History of Economical Theory*, by E. v. Böhm-Bawerk, professor of political economy in the University of Vienna (translation by William Smart, of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow);

The Positive Theory of Capital, by the same author and with the same translator. For the Exploitation theory, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, by Karl Marx (translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, in two volumes; for the development of capital, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, by John A. Hobson (London, 1894); for an analysis of the part capital plays in production, *The Distribution of Wealth*, by John B. Clark (New York, 1899).

CAREY, HENRY CHARLES: American economist, born in Philadelphia, Pa., 1793; the son of Matthew Carey, an Irish refugee and publisher who had written on economic themes. The son succeeded the father, but retired with a competency in 1835, and devoted his life to economics. Thirteen octavo volumes and 3,000 pages of tracts, besides newspaper articles, perhaps twice as voluminous, attest his industry, while the fact that many of his writings have been translated into seven different languages speaks for his ability and originality of thought. Says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy":

> Carey began his scientific career at a juncture when the English school appeared to have exhausted its deductions from assumed premises, and to shrink from adjusting its conclusions to the conditions of actual life. His treatment of social science was original, and led him to a series of supposed discoveries, the order of which he has stated in the introduction to his most important work, "The Principles of Social Science." His point of departure was a theory of value which he defined as the "measure of the resistance to be overcome in obtaining things required for use, or the measure of nature's power over man"—in simpler terms, the cost of reproduction. This theory Carey applied to every case of value—to commodities, services, and land, and in some passages seemingly to man himself. Reasoning that every gift of nature is gratuitous, he found a universal tendency to a decline of value as the arts advance, and to a decrease in the value of accumulated capital, as compared with the results of present labor, with a resulting harmony of interests between capitalist and laborer. This theory Carey enunciated in his "Principles of Political Economy," published in 1837–40, and its appearance in slightly modified terms in Bastiat's "Harmonies Economiques," in 1850, led to a sharp discussion between the two authors in the *Journal des Economistes* for 1851.

Ten years later, in his "Past, Present, and Future," Carey expounded his notorious land theory, which was the exact reverse of the Ricardian; but tho argued by Carey with great vigor and at great length, and eliciting much interest because of its novelty, it has been accepted by scarcely any other careful economist. It laid down the principle that men first till the poorer and more easily worked lands, and then descend upon richer lands as capital increases, so that with the advance of civilization the rate of returns from land rises instead of falls. He deduced from this a rejection of the Malthusian doctrine, since rising returns from land could support more and more men.

Carey's cardinal principle, however, is found in the second chapter of his "Social Science," where he states, "the great law of molecular gravitation as the indispensable condition of the being known as man." This law of being he declares to be the same in matter, man, and communities. As, in the solar world, attraction and motion are in the ratio of mass and proximity, so in the social world, association, individuality, responsibility, development, and progress are proportionate to each other. This theory, not of analogy, but of absolute identity of law, Carey maintained with great vigor in the "Unity of Law," published in his seventy-ninth year. This theory led Carey first to adopt and advocate those theories of free trade for which he is perhaps the best known in the United States; tho afterward, from the same principles, to retreat from this position. The central point of his social philosophy being association, as the primary condition of progress, in the commerce of exchange of commodities and of ideas between countries, Carey thought he saw the opportunity for closer association, economic efficiency, and general efficiency, and hence argued strongly and determinedly for free trade, giving a strong impulse to the arguments now becoming common in this country. It was only later that he abandoned this belief, from a conviction that in the present state of the world the coordinating power of the government must be used in order to preserve economic harmony and to arrive at ultimate freedom. So great was his ability and so distinctive his views, that his school of thought is sometimes called theAmerican School of Political Economy.

Carey's main works are: "Essay on the Rate of Wages" (1835); "Harmony of Nature" (privately printed, 1836); "Principles of Political Economy" (3 vols., 1837, 1838, 1840); "The Past, the Present, and the Future" (1848); "Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial" (1850); "Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign" (1853); "Principles of Social Science" (3 vols., 1858–59); "Manual of Social Science" (edited by Miss McKean, 1864); "The Unity of Law, as Exhibited in the Relations of Physical, Social, Mental, and Moral Science" (1872). He died in 1879.

CARLYLE, THOMAS: Scottish writer; born at Ecclefechan, Dumfries County, Scotland, 1795. In the present article he is considered simply from the standpoint of social reform; yet this element forms no small portion of his life, and his contribution to social reform gave no slight impulse in the advance of the century. From the standpoint of the social movement, the nineteenth century must be divided into two nearly equal, yet very diverse, parts. The first fifty years were, socially considered, negative, destructive, characterized by the freeing of the individual. Its outcomes were democracy, free trade, competition, individualism. The last fifty years of the century were, socially considered, positive, constructive (or at least seeking construction), characterized by the collective thought supplanting individualism and developing in its place the social organism. Its outcomes were unity, cooperation, monopoly, centralization, socialism. Carlyle belongs to the first half of the century, yet with no little trace of transition to the second. Living till 1881, his genius was matured, and his greatest works were written before 1850. He was an individualist, and his writings are full of undeveloped socialism. In more than his denunciation of wrong he was a John the Baptist, the last of the old prophets, and a forerunner of the new. Mazzini's magnificent essay on Carlyle pronounces a just criticism. He says:

> Mr. Carlyle comprehends only the *individual*; the true sense of the unity of the human race escapes him. He sympathizes with all men, but it is with the separate life of each, and not with their collective life. . . .
>
> The nationality of Italy, in his eyes, is the glory of having produced Dante and Christopher Columbus; the nationality of Germany, that of having given birth to Luther, to Goethe, and to others. The shadows thrown by these gigantic men appear to eclipse from his view every trace of the national thought, of which these men were only the interpreters or prophets, and of the people, who alone are its depository. All generalization is so repugnant to Mr. Carlyle that he strikes at the root of the error, as he deems it, by declaring that the history of the world is fundamentally nothing more than the biography of great men ("Lectures"). This is to plead, distinctly enough, against the idea which rules the movement of the times. . . .

> In the name of the democratic spirit of the age, I protest against such views. History is not the biography of great men; the history of mankind is the history of the progressive religion of mankind, and of the translation by symbols or external actions of that religion. . . .
>
> The great men of the earth are but the marking stones on the road to humanity; they are the priests of its religion. What priest is equal in the balance to the whole religion of which he is a minister? There is yet something greater, more divinely mysterious, than all the great men, and that is the earth which bears them, the human race which includes them, the thought of God which stirs within them, and which the whole human race collectively can alone accomplish. Disown not, then, the common mother, for the sake of certain of her children, however privileged they may be; for at the same time that you disown her you will lose the true comprehension of these rare men whom you admire. Genius is like the flower which draws one half of its life from the moisture that circulates in the earth, and inhales the other half from the atmosphere. The inspiration of genius belongs one half to heaven, the other to the crowd of common mortals from whose life it springs.

Yet we doubt if this does full justice to the work that Carlyle accomplished. It was Carlyle's great mission to discover and to proclaim to this generation the world's need of God. And this he did as no other man in all this century, not even excepting the great Italian himself. "The beginning and the end of what is the matter with us," writes Mazzini, "is that we have forgotten God." This is also the beginning and the end of Carlyle's teaching. He saw through all the shams of his day. He was the great unmasker. He showed the pettiness and the selfishness and the nothingness of the Manchester economy. He blew the clouds away that hid God from the world. Above all, Carlyle saw God *in man*. "Thou, too, art man," he said, "the breath of God is in thee; thou art here below to develop thy being under all its aspects; thy body is a temple; thy immortal soul is the priest, which ought to do sacrifice and ministry for all."

Carlyle's social writings were not his first. They belong to his best period. "Signs of the Times" was first published in the *Edinburgh Review*, and written perhaps at the very time he was writing "Sartor Resartus." "Chartism" (1839), and "Past and Present" (1843) appeared soon after "The French Revolution" (1837). These are his main writings on social themes. He died in 1881.

CARNEGIE, ANDREW: American manufacturer and philanthropist; born at Dunfermline, Scotland, 1835. His father, a weaver in humble circumstances, but ambitious to rise, and an ardent republican, came with his family to the United States in 1845, and settled in Pittsburg. Two years afterward Andrew began his career by tending a small stationary engine, later becoming a telegraph messenger and operator, and being one of the first to read telegraphic signals by sound. He became clerk to the superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and manager of the telegraph lines. In this position he began making small investments, and so gained the nucleus of his wealth. Promoted to be superintendent of the Pittsburg division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, he was one of a syndicate who purchased property on Oil Creek, which cost $40,000, and in one year yielded over $1,000,000 in cash dividends. He was subsequently associated with others in establishing a rolling-mill, from which has grown the most extensive and complete system of iron and steel industries ever controlled by any individual. He was the first in any large way to introduce the Bessemer process (1868). Mr. Carnegie was the principal owner of the Homestead and Edgar Thomson Steel Works and of other large concerns. In 1899 these interests were consolidated in the Carnegie Steel Company, and two years later Mr. Carnegie sold out to the United States Steel Corporation and retired from business.

Besides directing his great industries, Mr. Carnegie was for a long time the owner of eighteen English newspapers which he controlled in the interests of Radicalism. He has devoted large sums of money to benevolent and educational purposes. In 1879 he erected commodious swimming-baths for the use of the people of Dunfermline, Scotland, and in the following year gave $40,000 for the establishment of a free library, which has since received other large donations. In 1884 he gave $50,000 to Bellevue Hospital Medical College to found a historical laboratory, now called the Carnegie Laboratory. Since then he has endowed libraries to many towns and cities in the United States and Great Britain. His total benefactions have been put at $75,000,000, including $10,000,000 to the Carnegie Institution, Pittsburg; $10,000,000 to the Carnegie Institution, Washington (for advance research work); $10,000,000 to Scottish universities; $10,000,000 for a collegiate professors' pension fund; and $5,200,000 for branch libraries in New York City. His total library donations aggregate more than $40,000,000 for some 1,500 public libraries. In addition to numerous contributions to periodicals, on the labor question and similar topics, Mr. Carnegie is the author of: "An American Four-in-Hand in Britain" (1883); "Round the World" (1884); "Triumphant Democracy" (1886); "The Gospel of Wealth" (1900); "Empire of Business" (1902). *Address*: 2 East Ninety-first Street, New York City.

CARPENTER, EDWARD: English writer; born at Brighton, England, 1844; graduated at Cambridge in 1868, and took orders in 1869. He was for a time curate to the Rev. F. D. Maurice, at St. Edward's, Cambridge, where he also held a fellowship. About 1871, he changed his religious views, and, resigning his fellowship and curacy, was for seven years a university extension lecturer on science, music, etc. In 1877 he visited the United States, seeing Walt Whitman among others. In 1881 he took to a simple yet artistic farm life, somewhat after the idea of Thoreau, near Sheffield, and began writing "Toward Democracy," issued in 1883, when he first definitely joined the Socialist movement. In 1886 he commenced making sandals, in which he now carries on quite a trade. His farm is at Holmsfield, Sheffield. As an example of Mr. Carpenter's thought and style we quote the following passage from his "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure" (pp. 39, 40):

> To-day it is unfortunately perfectly true that man is the only animal who, instead of adorning and beautifying, makes nature hideous by his presence. This was the great glory of the Greeks, that they accepted and perfected nature; as the Parthenon sprang out of the limestone terraces of the Acropolis, carrying the natural lines of the rock by gradations scarce perceptible into the finished and human beauty of frieze and pediment. And some day we shall again understand this which, in the very sunrise of true art, the Greeks so well understood. Possibly some day we shall again build our houses or dwelling-places so simple and elemental in character that they will fit in the nooks of the hills or along the banks of the streams or by the edges of the woods without disturbing the harmony of the landscape or the songs of the birds. No need for private accumulations. Gladly will each man, and more gladly still each woman, take his or her treasures, except what are immediately or necessarily in use, to the

common center, where their value will be increased a hundred and a thousandfold by the greater number of those who can enjoy them, and where far more perfectly and with far less toil they can be tended than if scattered abroad in private hands. At one stroke half the labor and all the anxiety of domestic caretaking will be annihilated. The private dwelling-places, no longer costly and labyrinthine in proportion to the value and number of the treasures they contain, will need no longer to have doors and windows jealously closed against fellow-man or mother nature. The sun and air will have access to them, the indwellers will have unfettered egress. Neither man nor woman will be tied in slavery to the lodge which they inhabit; and in becoming once more a part of nature, the human habitation will at length cease to be what it is now for, at least, half the human race—a prison.

Among Carpenter's works may be mentioned "Toward Democracy"; "England's Ideal"; "Chants of Labor"; "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure"; Love's Coming of Age." *Address*: Holmsfield, Sheffield, England.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS, AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF: An important English trade-union with branches in the United States. Organized in England in 1860. It reported in 1905 62,212 members in 883 branches in Great Britain and 8,551 members abroad, of which 4,800 were in the U. S. In 1904 the total income of the society was £181,449, and it had funds of £156,627 at the beginning of the year. Its working expenses were £32,301, with £189,249 spent in benefits, of which £90,814 were unemployed, traveling and emigration benefits.

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, BROTHERHOOD OF: One of the most important of American trade-unions, organized at Chicago, 1881. Prior to this there had been attempts at a national union, the first as early as 1854, but none had succeeded. This organization, however, met with large success. As early as 1886 the general secretary writes:

In twenty-one cities our local unions have gained twenty-five cents per day advance in wages, making in all fifty-three cities where our local unions have made gains the past year, either in more wages or in reducing hours, while only in nine cities have our local unions failed to secure their demands, and in these cities they demanded the eight-hour system last May. A résumé shows that 2,486 of our members are working eight hours per day, 5,824 are on nine hours per day, and 1,118 are having shorter hours on Saturdays. This makes a total gain to these members of 65,894 hours per week, adding to the gains on the Pacific coast, which amount to 6,540 hours per week, makes a sum total of 72,434 hours per week gained to our members through organization.

It was because of their complete organization and success that to the carpenters was given the honor of leading off in the great strikes of the American Federation of Labor on May 1, 1890.

The movement was successful in 137 cities and benefited 46,197 men. In other cities it failed, or only partially succeeded. By 1894 the Brotherhood had 824 lodges and 65,000 members. By 1903 the union had 109,000 members, and in 1905, 143,200. It paid out in that year $189,045 in death benefits. In some cities it has had some contests with the rival, tho much smaller Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, a society originating in England. The secretary is F. Duffy, P. O. box 520, Indianapolis, Ind.

CARR, EDWARD ELLIS: American editor; Christian Socialist; born near Hidalgo, Ill., 1866; entered ministry of Methodist Church in 1887; officiated successively as missionary in Utah, and as evangelist and pastor in Illinois. In 1898, for theological reasons, he honorably withdrew from the Methodist Church; and in the following year he became pastor of the People's Church, Kalamazoo, Mich. He joined the Socialist Party in 1900, and is now its state committeeman and national organizer. Carr lectures on socialism and popular themes; besides which he is manager of two summer Chautauqua Assemblies. He is a careful student and an able speaker, and stands uncompromisingly for the union of religion and socialism. In 1906 he was influential in starting the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP. *Address*: 5406 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.

CARTER, JOHN: Secretary of The (English) Christian Social Union; born in Toronto, Canada, 1861; educated at Upper Canada College, Trinity University, Toronto, and at Exeter College, Oxford (M.A., 1887). After serving for two years as curate in East London, he returned to Oxford, to Pusey House, under its first principal, the Rev. Charles Gore, now Bishop of Birmingham. He was one of the founders of the Christian Social Union, and has been closely identified with its work since its inception in 1889. Besides being general secretary of the main body, he has acted also as honorary secretary of the Oxford University branch. Since its foundation in 1891, he has been editor of the quarterly *Economic Review*. He has been also for several years a member of the Oxford Town Council, as one of the representatives elected by the university. He is in favor of municipal and State socialism, but is most of all concerned to bring the Christian conscience to bear upon modern social problems without being necessarily committed to any particular economic system or political party. *Address*: Pusey House, Oxford, England.

CASSON, HERBERT N.: Magazine editor; born at Ontario, Canada, 1869; educated in Victoria College, Coburg; came to Boston in 1891, and became prominent through his advocacy of public employment of the unemployed. In 1893 he founded at Lynn, Mass., the first labor church in America. Later he joined the Socialist colony at Ruskin, Tenn. In 1898 he was on the editorial staffs of *The New York World* and *The Journal*, and is now (1907) one of the editors of *Munsey's Magazine*. He is an Opportunist Socialist, and is strongly opposed to the Marxian political party. Altho in favor of public ownership of public necessities, he thinks that this should be brought about gradually as the people become competent for such responsibilities. He is the author of: "Organized Self-Help," a history of American trade-unions; "Crime of Credulity"; and "The Romance of Steel and Iron." *Address*: Care of Frank A. Munsey & Co., Flatiron Building, New York City.

CASTRATION: Members of the medical profession frequently recommend castration as a punishment for certain offenses, and as a method of treatment for "sexual perverts." Boies's recent work on "Prisoners and Paupers" culminates in this recommendation. While advances in modern surgery make this a comparatively safe and painless operation, it is doubtful if it will be permitted by modern communities.

Prof. A. G. Warner thinks it may ultimately be very widely used in the treatment of the diseased and criminal classes. He says ("American Charities," p. 133):

"It is likely to be introduced first as a curative treatment in the cases of the insane and the

feeble-minded. Dr. Kerlin, in addressing the Association of Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-Minded, said: 'While considering the help that advanced surgery is to give us, I will refer to a conviction that I have that lifelong salutary results to many of our boys and girls would be realized if before adolescence the procreative organs were removed. My experience extends to only a single case to confirm this conviction; but when I consider the great benefit that this young woman has received, the entire arrest of an epileptic tendency, as well as the removal of inordinate desires which made her an offense to the community; when I see the tranquil, well-ordered life she is leading, her usefulness and industry in the circle in which she moves, and know that surgery has been her salvation from vice and degradation, I am deeply thankful to the benevolent lady whose loyalty to science and comprehensive charity made this operation possible.'"

CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION OF AMERICA (1872): A confederation of all the Catholic temperance societies in the country that are approved by the pastors of their respective churches. It embraces 89,400 members, enrolled in 1,042 societies. Its objects are to secure to its members the privilege of being received into societies connected with the union in any part of America; to encourage and aid communities and pastors in establishing new societies, and to spread, by means of Catholic total abstinence publications, correct views regarding total abstinence principles. President, Rt. Rev. J. F. R. Canevin, Bishop of Pittsburg, and General Secretary, J. W. Logue, 1313 Stephen Girard Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

CENTRAL PUBLIC HOUSE TRUST ASSOCIATION: This association was formed in 1901 "for the purposes of promoting temperance by the elimination of private profit from the retail sale of liquor and of securing to the public the monopoly value of licenses."

Its objects are:

(1) To secure the establishment in every county or in other sufficient area of a local trust company or association for the purpose of undertaking the disinterested management of the liquor trade.

(2) To promote the interests of such trust companies wherever formed; to watch on their behalf the administration of the licensing laws; and to secure such amendments as may facilitate the development of the trust system.

(3) To collect information of all experiments whether in this country or abroad in the disinterested management of the liquor trade.

The origin of the movement dates from 1877 when the Rev. Osbert Mordaunt on his appointment to the parish of Hampton Lucy in Warwickshire found himself sole trustee of the village inn. He determined to manage it on the Gothenburg system, the main principles being: (*a*) that the liquor sold should be *pure*; (*b*) that the person who sells the beer should have no interest in the profits.

This experiment was followed by others, and in 1896 the Bishop of Chester and the late Colonel Craufurd formed the People's Refreshment House Association to manage public houses on reformed lines.

The success of this association's work led Lord Grey to form in 1901 the Central Public House Trust Association.

There are now 32 Public House Trust Companies in England and Wales, 5 in Scotland, and 1 in Ireland, managing 210 public houses, a number which is constantly increasing.

The principle underlying the temperance reform at which these trust companies are aiming is the elimination of the element of personal profit from the sale of alcoholic liquors. Accordingly, the dividend payable on the capital subscribed is limited to five per cent per annum, and thus the shareholders have only a nominal monetary interest in the trade. All surplus profits are handed to a council to be applied to objects of public benefit other than those properly chargeable to the rates, the provision of counter-attractions to public houses being especially kept in view.

The houses under trust management are conducted as refreshment houses rather than as mere drinking bars; food, as well as non-intoxicating drinks, including tea, coffee, and cocoa, are as readily served to customers as beer or spirits; and the food and drink supplied are of the best quality obtainable. The managers are paid a fixed salary. They have no interest whatever in the profits arising from the sale of intoxicants, and are, in consequence, under no inducement to push this part of the trade. On the other hand, they are encouraged to promote the sale of food and non-intoxicants.

Further, the elimination of the element of private profit in the sale of alcoholics places the interest of a manager on the side of law and order, and removes the antagonism which at present exists between the interest of the retailer of drink and the public welfare.

The assertion of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, never yet disputed, that the net profits realized during the year 1899 by the public houses and beer shops of the United Kingdom amounted to the huge figure of £19,400,000, shows how great a loss the nation has sustained from a licensing system which has allowed the high profits resulting from monopoly rights to be diverted from the pockets of the community to whom they belong to those of privileged individuals.

It has been recently ascertained that between seventy and eighty per cent of the public houses are now in the hands of the big brewery companies; that is to say, these companies have either bought the houses outright or have by other means obtained a financial hold on the establishment, so that the house is "tied" to the brewery. The first object of this "tie," and its first consequence, is the condition that all liquors shall be bought from the brewery.

The following are extracts from the instructions drawn up by the People's Refreshment House Association for the use of their managers and adopted by the various Public House Trust Companies.

The manager placed in charge of a public house belonging to the association must bear in mind that he has been appointed by the Council to conduct the management on certain fixed principles.

These principles are:

(1) That the general arrangement and management of the house shall be on the lines of a house of refreshment instead of a mere drinking bar.

(2) That food and a good variety of non-intoxicant drinks shall be as easily accessible to customers as beer and spirits.

(3) That the licensing laws enacted by Parliament for the regulation of public houses, and the promotion of temperance, shall be most strictly carried out in every particular.

(4) That the holder of a license is in a sense a servant of the public, and that he must study the comfort, well-being, and health of his customers; that his house must therefore be scrupulously clean, and that the rooms most used by the public must be comfortably arranged, well warmed in winter, and well ventilated.

The tariff of prices is to be placed conspicuously in the bar, taproom, and parlor, and the prices thereon advertised must not be departed from.

Intoxicants are not to be exposed with a view to attract customers, but every means is to be taken on the other hand to expose food and non-alcoholic drinks, so as to encourage their consumption.

In addition to the registered companies with a total subscribed capital of over £300,000, committees have been appointed in those parts of the United Kingdom which are not yet provided with trust companies for the purpose of promoting their formation.

Further, the promises of landowners to hand over to the trust companies of their respective counties the licensed houses on their estates, on the expiration of current leases, warrant the anticipation that the number of licensed houses that will come under trust management from this source alone will in the near future more than double the number of those already secured.

In various parts of Great Britain, in Ontario, Manitoba, South Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Mauritius, Natal, and the Transvaal, active agencies are at work forming a public opinion in favor of applying trust principles to the management of monopoly houses.

From individual reports all pointing one way, we give the following:

"The Waterman's Arms," Bankside, Southwark (the first "Trust" house in London), was opened for business, after rebuilding, on Jan. 14, 1904. Situated in a working-class district, it now does a busy trade in cheap breakfasts, dinners, and teas. At the bar in the workmen's dining hall about eight gallons of tea and coffee are sold by 10 A.M. each day. There is a saloon dining-room on the first floor, in which luncheons and teas are provided at a moderate price. The takings for food and temperance drinks are frequently larger than the sales at the bar, though under the previous tenant practically nothing was sold but beer and spirits.

It is to be noted that the takings for alcoholics in 1903 were about £420 less than in 1902 at the houses managed throughout the two years, and that the years 1902 and 1901 had already shown a decrease of nearly £500 as compared with 1900. On the other hand, every facility is given for the supply of tea, coffee, etc., and there has been a steady demand for bowls of cheap soup at several of our country inns.

The secretary of the association is Hugh A. Paget, 15, Dean's Yard, London, S. W.

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CENTRALIZATION is used in social science for the tendency to administer, by the sovereign or the central government, matters which might be placed under local management. The legitimate application is to a state of change from local to central management. Europe to-day is profoundly moved by the tendency, and has been ever since the existing European states began to grow out of the chaos of the fall of the Roman empire. That empire itself was, however, the greatest instance of centralization which the world has yet seen. In it the numerous municipalities and other local organizations originally existing in Italy, and communicated to the colonies, were entirely centralized. In England we can trace centralization from the time when there were about a dozen kings in Britain, and perhaps as many in Ireland, till the United Kingdom came under the rule of one monarch. In other countries—as, for instance, in France, notwithstanding her desperate struggles for freedom—the process long tended to a pure irresponsible despotism, but now has issued in a centralized republicanism. The British Constitution turns the process to use instead of mischief. While administrative authority has been centralizing in the crown, the controlling power of Parliament has been increasing more rapidly, so that the vesting of a function in the crown means the putting it under the control of Parliament, and especially of the House of Commons. There is nothing done in any of the offices under the government for which a secretary of state, or some other member of the ministry, may not at any time be called to account. The creation of the county councils is a recent step in this direction in a somewhat different line.

In the United States the problem of centralization or decentralization has, under different names (see STATE RIGHTS), played a very important part. It may be said to be the distinguishing point between the two great political parties which, under different names, have from the beginning divided this country.

In the first continental congresses, the fundamental problem was how much power to give each state, and when the Constitution was proposed, this was still the burning question.

In the United States

Led by Hamilton, the men who believed in a somewhat strong central government gradually took the name of Federalists, gaining their ideas mainly from England; while, largely under the lead of Jefferson, those who believed in giving much power to the states and little to the central government took the name of Republicans or Democratic-Republicans, and are the direct ancestors of the present Democratic Party. Washington, though in reality of neither party, was by force of circumstances a Federalist, and during his presidency (1789–97), with that of Adams (1797–1801), this party was in power, giving us the necessary unifying elements of our Constitution, especially as regards financial measures. Then, owing to Federalist errors, the Republican-Democratic Party came into power with Jefferson (1801–1809), Madison (1809–17), and Monroe (1817–25). During this long period of "Jefferson democracy," the decentralizing state-rights influence was in power. The doctrine that that was the best government which governed least applied to the states, but especially to the central government. The Jeffersonian party was strong with the masses and the agricultural interests. Jefferson did away with much of the ceremonialism of Washington. The Federalists were strong with the commercial and manufacturing interests and the Puritanism of New England, which, in spite of worship of the local "town-meeting" self-government, revolted at the atheism of the French Revolution, and connected it with the Democratic-Republican Party. In general the Federalists stood for a loose construction of the Constitution, since this gave them opportunity to expand the central powers, altho they were ready to resist Congress when it stood in their way (there was even talk of a secession of the trading states from the union), while the Jeffersonians generally favored strict construction, since that would limit the powers of government; yet they were willing even to violate the Constitution, if that were necessary, to effect the purchase of Louisiana. Hamilton, however, died in 1803, and the Federalists had no leader.

In 1825, however, there came a change. Sectional quarrels under Monroe led to the election of John Quincy Adams (1825–29), who was, on the whole, a Federalist, tho he had toyed with the Republican-Democrats; and under the personal influence of Clay and Jackson, two great parties were again developed—the one, under the name of Democrats, maintaining the traditions of the old Democratic-Republican Party, and electing its candidate, Andrew Jackson (1829–37); the other, under the name, first, of National Republican and then Whig, maintaining the principles of the Federalists. The question of centralization was at this time carried out in another direction, in Jackson's vehement attack upon the National Bank of North America, which had been chartered by Congress. (See BANKS AND BANKING.) Resting mainly upon the Southern and agricultural vote, the Democrats were inclined to free trade, while the Whigs, with their manufacturing interests, favored protection. Meanwhile, another great question, which, while it had existed from the beginning, only now became so serious, was modified by the same

contest between centralizing and decentralizing tendencies. The South, mainly Jeffersonian, or Democratic, believed in state rights and slavery. The North, more Federalist, or Whig, gradually came to oppose slavery. Nevertheless, the Southern Democrats feared to break with Northern Democrats, and the Northern Whigs feared to alienate the South, and, therefore, temporized. The result was a complication of issues, the springing up of new parties—Abolitionists, Free Soilers, etc.—and the election of Van Buren (1837–41), Democrat; W. H. Harrison, who died shortly after his inauguration (1841), Whig, leaving John Tyler President (1841–45), who was only nominally a Whig, and really a Democrat; James K. Polk (1845–49), Democrat; Zachary Taylor (1849), Whig, who also died soon after inauguration, leaving Fillmore President (1850–53), Whig; Pierce (1853–57), Democrat; Buchanan (1857–61), Democrat.

State Rights

The War of the Rebellion was fought not directly to abolish slavery, but to preserve the union by conquering the states which had pushed the decentralizing state-rights doctrine to the extreme of secession. The Whig Party had now given place to a new party, the Republican, made up of Whigs, Free Soilers, and others, which yet on questions of centralization, protection, etc., carried out Whig principles. The election of Lincoln (1861–65), Republican; the victory of the North; Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, becoming President (1865–69), Republican, are well known.

Since the war the state-rights question has been less prominent, it having been largely settled by the war; but the centralizing or decentralizing question has still remained. The tendency, however, tho much criticized, is strongly toward centralization. The federal government almost inevitably steadily extends its control and its legislation over whole domains formerly left too exclusively to state action, e. g., interstate commerce, proposals for federal control of banking, insurance, etc., propositions for federal divorce laws, etc.

The present growing problems of social reform are also affected by the same tendencies, some advocating a highly centralized government; others (even most Socialists and nationalists) advocating a decentralized government, with great emphasis on local self-government, as developed in the old Saxon folk-mote and the New England town-meeting, giving us municipalism as even more important than the national element of nationalism, which includes all governmental action, state and municipal. Many Socialists, and notably William Morris in England, favor a government so decentralized as to be little more than a confederation of communes.

This brief résumé will indicate how far this question has entered into our national history and how far it may yet affect our national politics and procedure.

CHALMERS, THOMAS: Scottish clergyman; political economist; born at Anstruther, Fife County, 1780. He was early destined for the Church, and at the age of eleven was enrolled as a student in the University of St. Andrews. In 1803 he was ordained as minister of Kilmany, a small parish near St. Andrews. He taught classes at St. Andrews, and gained great popularity and fame throughout all Scotland. In 1815, after a battle over his evangelical views, which were then much opposed, he became minister of the great Tron parish, in Glasgow, and in 1819 of the parish of St. John's. In 1828 he accepted the chair of theology in Edinburgh. Here he finished, in three volumes, his "Christian and Civic Economy in Large Towns," and his "Political Economy," besides many theological and philosophical works. Here, too, he had more leisure for general church activities, and he was placed at the head of the Church Extension Committee. After the withdrawal from the General Assembly (1842), Dr. Chalmers was the first moderator of the Free Church of Scotland.

In visiting his first Glasgow parish, which contained a population of about 11,000 souls, Chalmers speedily discovered that nearly a third of them had relinquished all connection with any Christian church, and that their children were growing up in ignorance and vice. The appalling magnitude of the evil, and the certainty of its speedy and frightful growth, at once arrested and engrossed him. To devise and execute the means of checking and subduing it became thenceforth one of the ruling passions of his life. Attributing the evil to the absence of those parochial influences, educational and ministerial, which wrought so effectually for good in the smaller rural parishes, but which had not been brought to bear upon the overgrown parishes of great cities, from all spiritual oversight of which the members of the Establishment had retired in despair, his grand panacea was to revivify, remodel, and extend the old parochial economy of Scotland. Taking his own parish as a specimen, and gaging by it the spiritual necessities of the city, he did not hesitate to publish it as his conviction that not less than twenty new churches and parishes should immediately be erected in Glasgow. All, however, that he could persuade the town council to attempt was to erect a single additional one, to which a parish containing no fewer than 10,000 souls was attached.

Social Experiments

In 1819 he became minister of the parish of St. John's. This parish contained 2,000 families, chiefly weavers, factory operatives, and laborers. More than 800 families had no connection with any church; and nearly all the children were uneducated. He at once established two large school-houses, in which 700 children were taught at very low fees. For those too poor to afford even a small school fee he opened forty or fifty Sabbath-schools. In a short time these Sabbath-schools contained 1,000 children. Dr. Chalmers then divided his parish into twenty-five districts, and placed over each an elder, to watch over the spiritual interests of the people, and a deacon, to care for their temporal interests. He retained control and direction of all, not only overseeing the work of others, but making 1,000 visits among the families annually, and holding evening meetings. It was his special desire to test the old Scotch method of caring for the poor—by voluntary contributions taken at the church door and administered by the kirk session. He was strongly against the English system of compulsory assessment; and obtained permission of the Glasgow magistrates to try the Scotch plan with St. John's. His experiment was a complete success. When he took the parish its poor cost the city about $7,000 a year; but after four years of his management this sum was reduced to less than $1,400 a year. This was done by his thorough organization of the parish, his rejection of the idle, drunken, and vicious, his personal visits among the poor and kindly sympathy with them, and his stimulation of the needy to self-respect and industry.

Chalmers's "Political Economy" seeks to secure the economic elevation of society by moral means. He defined political economy as the "diffusion of sufficiency and comfort." He believed that without a Christian education to give self-control, progress would be impossible. He felt the need of a more radical cure than philanthropy and a more sympathetic one than legislation. He favored home trade rather than foreign trade. His economic idol was agriculture, as giving both occupation and maintenance. He died in 1847.

CHARITIES, STATE BOARDS OF: State Boards of Charities, under one name or another, but with the same general purposes, exist in a number of the states. They are branches of their respective state governments, usually created by legislative enactment, altho in some states provided for in state constitutions, because it has been found desirable, in the interest of good administration, to exercise independent supervision over charitable and kindred institutions. As a rule, these boards are composed of philanthropic citizens, appointed by the governor, and in some cases confirmed by the legislature, who are independent of partizan influences and render practically unpaid service to the state.

Generally speaking, the chief functions of these boards are to visit and inspect charitable and reformatory institutions in order to secure the correction of evils and abuses in their administration and to encourage the adoption of progressive methods in their management. Such boards have, usually, but limited powers of administration or control, in so far as the actual management of the institutions within their jurisdiction is concerned. Their powers and duties are, however, continually being added to as the growth and complexity of charitable work in their respective states makes this appear to be necessary. For this reason the duties of the several boards

differ materially in some of the details of work, while in the main they are the same.

The influence they exert, while almost entirely a moral one, is shown by experience to be both efficient and useful. This will readily be apparent to those who study the conditions at the almshouses and other public institutions of charity both previous to and since the establishment of State Boards of Charities. At the same time, it is also true that other social forces have cooperated to secure the great improvements that have been made during recent years in the administration of this general class of institutions.

The first State Board of Charities was established in Massachusetts in 1865, and is still in existence. Other like boards are to be found in New York, 1867; Ohio, 1867; Pennsylvania, 1869; Illinois, 1869; North Carolina, 1869; Michigan, 1871; Connecticut, 1873; Nebraska, 1877; Indiana, 1889; South Dakota, 1890; Colorado, 1891; New Hampshire, 1895; Tennessee, 1895; Missouri, 1897; District of Columbia, 1900; California, 1903; and in Wyoming and Montana.

State Boards of Control are found in some of the states, but these boards are primarily administrative in their character, and take the place of the individual boards of trustees of the state institutions, rather than that of the boards of charities.

Such State Boards of Control are to be found in Kansas, 1868; Rhode Island, 1869; Arizona, 1894; Iowa, 1898; Minnesota, 1901; Washington, 1901. Fuller information with relation to the composition and work of these two classes of state boards may be found in the published proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections.

It is the custom of the State Boards of Charities and of the State Boards of Control to issue annual or biennial reports according to the legislative custom in their respective states, and to publish from time to time other useful documents with relation to their work. These reports and documents are usually to be found in the public and other principal libraries, and copies may be obtained upon application sent to the offices of the boards at their respective state capitals, where complaints calling for investigation and other communications should also be sent.

ROBERT W. HEBBERD,
Commissioner of Public Charities of the City of New York.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES, or ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, are in their present form a distinctly modern movement. In 1819 the Rev. Dr. Chalmers (*q. v.*), in his parish at St. John's, Glasgow, comprising 10,000 souls, in the poorest part of the city, became convinced that miscellaneous almsgiving did more harm than good; and, with the consent of the civic authorities, he undertook to stop all such bestowal of alms, and instead to institute a system of friendly visiting among the needy by a corps of workers, who were only to give relief in case of extreme necessity, but to do all they could to enable the poor to help themselves. The result was considered very favorable; the amount of pauper relief was very much diminished, and yet there was less suffering than before. After Dr. Chalmers, however, left the parish, in 1823, the experiment dragged on for fourteen years and then came to an end. Meanwhile similar experiments on a smaller scale were made elsewhere. From 1828–1844 district visiting societies were formed in several London societies, while societies for repressing mendacity in begging were much older. In 1868 Edward Denison (*q. v.*), a son of the Bishop of Salisbury, went to live in the East End of London to study for himself at first hand the problems of the poor. He became convinced of the same principles at which Dr. Chalmers had arrived. He wrote:

"I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake; whereas by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked. Build schoolhouses, pay teachers, give prizes, frame workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains, but give them no money, except what you sink in such undertakings."

As a result, in 1869 a society was formed to act upon these principles, organized by Denison and some friends spurred on by his words and the experience of Octavia Hill (*q. v.*) in her work with her poor tenants. The society was called the London Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity, soon popularly abbreviated into the Charity Organization Society. The movement rapidly grew, and aimed at bringing all the vast charitable relief of London, whether legal, corporate, or individual, into one administration. It has not done this, but has become a vast and thoroughly oganized system, with a network throughout England.

In England and Wales there are at present nearly 100 charity organization societies (under different names), nine in Scotland, and two in Ireland. There are also seven in Canada, six in Australia, three in India, and nine in other British colonies.

In England

The (London) Charity Organization Society has headquarters at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S. W., with district committees in each of the forty Poor Law Unions. It declares its object to be "to give a definite aim to and to direct into most effective channels the large amount of benevolent force at work in England and particularly in London." The central committee does not relieve directly, but aims at propagating sound views on the subject of charity by publication and discussion, promoting cooperation, suggesting new institutions on good principles, collecting information relating to individuals and of general import, and preventing misapplication. Its principles may be summed up as follows: (1) That all relief should aim at making the recipient independent of relief. (2) That no relief should be given without thorough inquiry and investigation. (3) That existing institutions should be utilized as far as possible. (4) That all relief should be adequate to secure the object with which it is given.

According to the Annual Charities Registry for 1906 the total income of the various charitable agencies reported that year in London was £8,720,986.

The United States

The history of charity organization in the United States has closely followed that of England. In the fifties there had been organized in almost all the large cities relief societies, usually called Societies for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. They were often conducted in theory upon principles of modern charity, but in practise, says Mr. Kellogg, "they sank into the sea of common almsgiving, appealing to their patrons for support on the ground that the money given to them would enable them to enlarge the number of their beneficiaries or increase the amount of their gifts, and attracting the needy to their doors with the hope of loaves and fishes. . . . From every quarter testimony arises that the system was without adequate safeguards of investigation, tests of destitution or means of hindering duplication of relief from several sources simultaneously, or of making the relief adequate to the necessity."

It was under such conditions that the movement toward charity organization commenced.

Beginnings

Altho the movement traces its origin to the London Society there were several independent centers in which it appeared nearly simultaneously in this country. In 1874 Rev. Charles G. Ames led in the formation, upon London models, of an association in Germantown, a suburban ward of Philadelphia, which employed household visitors to investigate applicants for aid, availed itself of the soup-houses, fuel societies, churches, and especially of the

outdoor municipal relief in procuring the requisite assistance, and supplemented it as need indicated from its own resources.

In the same year a Bureau of Charities was formed in New York City, of which Mr. Henry E. Pellew was chief promoter and secretary, that proposed to register persons receiving outdoor relief, either from the city, benevolent societies, or individuals; but the scheme was frustrated the next year by the refusal of the largest relief-giving society in the city to cooperate. This plan met with better success in Boston. In the autumn of 1875 the Cooperative Society of Visitors among the Poor was formed in Boston, whose theater of operation was in the North End. The plan was a modification of the Elberfeld system as proposed by Octavia Hill for London. No visitor was to have more than four "cases" on hand, and lists were obtained from a physician of that congested and poor district. The society held weekly conferences of visitors and representatives of other charities.

Buffalo has the honor of being the first city in the United States to produce a complete Charity Organization Society of the London type. The Rev. S. H. Gurteen, an English clergyman, who had been active in the London Society, proposed in 1877 the creation of a clearing office to which the charitable agencies of the city should send daily reports. On Dec. 11, 1877, the Charity Organization Society was set afoot at a public meeting.

Various Cities

In the spring of 1876 a Registration Committee was formed by private citizens of Boston, and work was begun in the autumn, carried on until the spring of 1878, and then abandoned in view of the larger enterprise then under discussion. The large relief societies knew the worth of registration, but doubted the value of "friendly visiting." They were willing to support the new movement, provided "the visitors had no power of relief." This condition was fortunately acceded to, and on Feb. 26, 1878, a provisional commission was formed by delegates from many charities, which carried on the work until December 8th, when the present constitution of the Associated Charities of Boston was adopted and went into effect.

New Haven was next in line, May 23, 1878.

Philadelphia brought forward its type in 1878. A large committee was appointed to draw up a plan, and on June 13, 1878, a constitution was adopted and a provisional organization set on foot. This instrument was dominated by the idea of reproducing in each of the thirty wards of the city a complete association like that existing in Germantown.

Cincinnati was in the field, Nov. 18, 1879.

Brooklyn was another center where the movement arose spontaneously. In 1877 a commission of citizens undertook the investigation of outdoor relief, which in that year comprized 46,350 beneficiaries and involved an expenditure of $141,207. This resulted in restricting municipal out-relief to coal in 1878, and in its total abolition the next year. In 1879 Mr. Seth Low, who had been providentially and unpremeditatedly present at the inauguration of the Buffalo society and deeply imprest thereby, enlisted Mr. Alfred T. White, and they, with others who had been instrumental in abolishing the outdoor relief of the city, together with the volunteer visitors of the out-poor, organized the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, which does not give relief, but maintains wood-yards, laundries, workrooms, and a woman's lodging-house.

New York demands especial notice here. The difficulties encountered in securing influential cooperation in 1874 for a time paralyzed further effort, altho the necessity for some organization was long discussed by persons interested in charitable enterprises. In 1881 the matter was taken up by the State Board of Charities, and through its initiative the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York was founded in January, 1882, and incorporated on May 10th following. It followed the Boston plan in respect to the important features of giving no relief and of creating district associations maintained from a common treasury and under central control.

The movement found an expression of its unity in the National Conference of Charities and Corrections when, in 1879, Mr. Seth Low presented a description of the work in Brooklyn and a committee was appointed upon charity organization.

National Conference

There are at present some 300 associations, representing charity organizations in the world. Two hundred of these are in the U. S. and Canada. They are not organically connected, and perhaps the best way briefly to study them is to give a concrete statement of the objects of one of them, the Charity Organization of the City of New York. It is a society:

(1) For organizing and coordinating charitable work.

(2) For receiving applications for aid, carefully sifting and testing them, and obtaining from the proper sources prompt and adequate relief of such as are in need.

(3) For encouraging the establishment of new agencies where they are required; for giving expert confidential advice to the benevolent in their benefactions, and for giving accurate information in regard to charitable institutions, almoners, or agents that appeal for contributions.

(4) For helping the poor through wise counsel based upon experience, through personal service of volunteer visitors, and through all such means as will make them at the earliest possible moment self-supporting and self-respecting members of the community.

In addition to the Central Offices and Application Bureau in the United Charities Building, and the ten district offices in various parts of the city, the society conducts ten main departments, as follows:

(1) Investigation Bureau, United Charities Building. Investigations are made for private persons, hospitals, dispensaries and other institutions. For this purpose and to ascertain whether new families that make application are in need of aid, the society maintains a special corps of investigating agents in connection with the Registration Bureau.

(2) Registration Bureau, United Charities Building. A confidential record of all investigations made by the society, and of the action taken on behalf of families under its care. Information is given through the Central Office or by mail to those who have a legitimate charitable interest in the families concerned.

(3) Wood-yard, 516 West Twenty-eighth Street. To provide work for residents with families for a cash remuneration, and to test their willingness to work. Homeless men may earn meals and lodgings.

(4) Laundry, 516 West Twenty-eighth Street. To provide temporary employment for women with families. Expert laundresses are supplied through the employment registry of the laundry.

(5) The Penny Provident Fund, United Charities Building. For the encouragement of small savings through the stamp system.

(6) Publications. *Charities*, a weekly periodical of local and general philanthropy and of social activities; a means of communication among workers and of information to the public. Annual subscription, $2. "The Charities Directory," cloth, $1, published annually. It gives reliable information concerning the various charitable and beneficent institutions of New York City, carefully classified and fully indexed. "Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis," 388 pp.; cloth, $1; paper, fifty cents. "The Directory of Institutions and Societies Dealing with Tuberculosis in the United States and Canada," 270 pp.; cloth, $1.

(7) Library, United Charities Building. A public reference library of applied sociology. All who are interested in charitable subjects are made welcome.

(8) Tenement House Committee, United Charities Building. To improve the condition of tenement-houses by securing proper legislation, by securing the enforcement of the existing laws, and by encouraging the building of model tenements.

(9) The Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis. By research into the social aspects of tuberculosis, by the publication of information concerning the curability and the communicable character of the diseases through lectures, leaflets, and otherwise; by the promotion of movements for the erection of sanatoria; by obtaining special relief for those whose chances of recovery will thus be increased and in other ways to aid in the movement for the prevention of the disease.

(10) The School of Philanthropy. To fit men and women for social service either as professional or as volunteer workers. Full information contained in the "Handbook of the School," which will be sent on application.

(11) The Department for the Improvement of Social Conditions. A complete list of the 200 charity organization societies in the U. S. and Canada is published each year in the annual report of the New York Charity Organization Society.

In Germany there are 29; France, 19; Austria, 9; Italy, 9; Belgium, 6; Russia, 5; Holland, 5; Switzerland, 4; Sweden and Norway, 3; Spain, 2; Denmark, 1; Greece, 1; Turkey, 1. (See also ELBERFELD SYSTEM.)

REFERENCES: *Supervision and Education in Charity*, by Jeffrey R. Brackett, 1903; *The Practice of Charity*, by Edward T. Devine, 1901; *Principles of Relief*, by the same, 1904; *Modern Methods of Charity*, by C. R. Henderson, 1904; *History of Charity Organizations in the U. S.*, by Charles D. Kellog, 1893; *History of State Boards of Charity*, by W. P. Letchworth, in Report New York State Board of Charity, 1892; *Charity Organization*, by C. S. Loch, 1890; *Methods of Social Advance*, by the same, 1904; *American Charities*, by A. G. Warner, 1894.

Revised by EDWARD T. DEVINE, Secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society.

CHARTISM: A movement in England for political and social reform, beginning about 1837 and extending over about seventeen years till 1854. The word is a shortened form of "Charterism," and rose from the "Charter" which was demanded by the advocates of reform at that time. [A copy of this may be found in Gammage's "History of the Chartist Movement," Appendix B, p. 411. It bears this title: "The

People's Charter. Being a bill to provide for the just representation of the people of Great Britain and Ireland in the Commons House of Parliament. Revised at a conference of the people, held at Birmingham, December, 1842."] The origin of this charter was both political and social, and illustrates how social and political causes were at the bottom of the Chartist movement.

The reform movement of 1832 had proved unsatisfactory to the working classes of England in that it had not done for them what they had been led to expect. It was indeed essentially a middle-class movement, and not a working-class movement at all. It accomplished this, that it established the representative principle as beyond question that of the English Constitution. It is but a step from this to manhood suffrage, but the Liberal Party was not yet ready to take this step. Only the radical members were ready for it in the House of Commons. At the same time the wretched condition in which the mass of the working people of England found themselves—such a condition as Charles Kingsley has described in "Yeast" and in "Alton Locke"—made the working classes ready for any scheme which would hold out to them any hope of relief. This led to the formation about this time in London of the Working Men's Association. Naturally enough this association and the radical element in the House of Commons came together. A committee was appointed, consisting partly of members of Parliament and partly of members of the association, which committee molded their views into a bill, afterward adopted at a public meeting. This bill was called "The People's Charter." Its principal demands were these, which may be called the six points of Chartism: (1) Universal manhood suffrage; (2) Annual Parliaments; (3) vote by ballot; (4) no property qualification; (5) payment of members; and (6) equal voting districts.

Six Points

With the members of Parliament who took part in thus inaugurating the movement it would seem largely to have been a matter of politics rather than of deep conviction. Perhaps they were scared at the specter which they raised. But it is certain that in a short time they ceased almost to a man to give it their support. Daniel O'Connell, for example, who is said to have handed the charter to Lovett with these words, "There, Lovett, is your charter; agitate for it and never be content with anything less," soon after did all he could to oppose it, and continued to the day of his death a bitter opponent of the Chartist movement.

But with the workingmen the case was very different. With them it was a question of paramount importance—a cause to which they devoted themselves with unbounded enthusiasm, if not always with discretion. Missionaries went out from the metropolitan association into all the great cities of England to form similar associations and to agitate for the charter. Some of these were men of exceptional ability. Perhaps the ablest as a writer and a man of business was William Lovett, the secretary of the association, a native of Cornwall, who had come in utter poverty to London and picked up the trade of a joiner. Another was Henry Vincent, a man gifted with singular powers as an orator. He is described as being extremely graceful in person, with a fine mellow, flexible voice, a most winning expression except in moments of passion, of great fluency of speech and rare power of imitation. He was regarded by his admirers as the young Demosthenes of English democracy. But the man who came to be regarded as perhaps most representative of the movement was Fergus O'Connor, an Irishman, who had first come into prominence in the Irish elections of 1831. Gaining the ear of the operatives in the manufacturing district he launched a paper called *The Northern Star*, which more than any other became the organ of the movement. O'Connor was its proprietor, but the Rev. William Hill its editor, which shows that some at least of the clergy were drawn in. Nor was *The Northern Star* the only paper devoted to the propaganda of the Charter, for the Workingmen's Association already had its journal in *The London Despatch*, while *The Northern Liberator* in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, *The True Scotsman* in Edinburgh, *The Birmingham Journal* in Birmingham, *The Operative*, *The Charter*, and *The Champion*, each presented some special aspect of the common cause.

During the summer and fall of 1838 the movement made rapid progress. Meetings were held in the great cities, where the number of people gathered would seem almost incredible, and where the enthusiasm was unbounded. At Glasgow there was a mighty demonstration on May 28th, when "it was computed that not fewer than 200,000 of the stalwart sons of labor displayed their toil-worn faces in this gigantic gathering. . . . "The very heavens rang with the lively strains of music and the shouts of the enthusiastic multitude. There were forty bands of music, and more than 200 flags and banners waved gracefully in the breeze." On June 27th a monster meeting was held on the Town Moor at Newcastle, where it was estimated that 80,000 people were assembled. Birmingham followed with a still larger meeting, and Manchester, not to be outdone, answered on Sept. 27th with a gathering which the reporter of *The Morning Advertiser* estimated at not less than 300,000. At these gatherings speeches were made on the wrongs of the working classes, and the good that would come from securing the charter. The speeches were always fervid, not seldom inflammatory, sometimes passing the bounds of right and reason. Delegates were also chosen to attend a convention to be held the following winter (Feb., 1839).

Growth

At this convention the weaknesses inherent in a movement of this sort began to show themselves. The convention was divided into two parties, one of which favored only peaceful methods, the other an ultimate appeal to force. The authorities could not pass by such language as was often used by agitators of the latter class, particularly when the great meetings, which had been held in the daytime, began to give place to torchlight processions at night, when it was plain that liberty of speech might easily pass over into license of action. Collisions between the authorities and the Chartist leaders or speakers became of frequent occurrence. At Birmingham Dr. Taylor, Lovett, and Collins were arrested, when the mob retaliated by setting fire to the property of some obnoxious individuals. Meanwhile the petition for the charter, signed by 1,280,000 persons, had been presented, on Jan. 14th, to the House of Commons, and turned down by the overwhelm-

Weaknesses of the Movement

ing vote of 237 to 48. This summary rejection of their demands, together with the frequent arrests of their members and the harsh treatment which they received, still further embittered the Chartists. At Newport, on Nov. 4, 1839, occurred what has been called "The Welsh Insurrection." A large body of the working people of the district (their number is variously estimated from 1,000 to 20,000), marched into Newport. Just what they had in mind seems uncertain, but it was probably a movement to release Vincent and other prominent Chartists who, it was reported, were being treated harshly in prison. Falling in with a company of the Forty-fifth Regiment, some shots were fired by the Chartists, and returned by the soldiers with deadly effect, ten of the Chartists being killed and fifty wounded. The leaders were arrested and tried for high treason, and three of them—Frost, Williams, and Jones—were sentenced to death, but their sentences were afterward commuted and they were transported. In other parts of England similar severe repressive measures were resorted to, while the movement was even more effectually checked by the divisions among its leaders. This appears from the fact that the second petition for the Charter, on its presentation to the House of Commons, had but 33,000 signatures.

The agitation for the Charter continued, however, till 1848, when it received its death-blow. The French revolution of that year for a time infused new hope and courage into the Chartists. Why could not that be done in England which had been done in France? It was determined to make an new appeal for the Charter to the House of Commons, and to back it up with such a display of members that it would be sure to receive the consideration it deserved. But, warned by what had taken place in France, the authorities determined to run no risk. The Duke of Wellington was put in charge of seeing that due precautions were taken. With his accustomed energy and wisdom the troops at his command were so disposed that they should not irritate the sympathizers with the movement, but would be ready at strategic points for immediate action. More than 200,000 special constables were sworn in, men of all ranks and conditions vying with one another in seeking the office. The marching in procession to the House of Commons, which had originally been planned, was forbidden, tho the Chartists were allowed to hold their meeting, so that the monster petition was presented on April 10, 1848, with little or no noise or tumult. The petition was so huge that it was carried in three cabs. It was presented by Fergus O'Connor, who claimed that it was signed by 5,700,000 people; but on being counted the actual number of signatures was found to be only 1,975,496. A considerable portion of these were palpable frauds, as among them were such names as Victoria Rex, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel; and multitudes of fictitious names were signed, such as Pugnose, Longnose, Flatnose, Punch, Snooks, Fubbs, etc. A petition thus discredited received but scant attention; and tho the Chartist movement struggled on for six or seven years longer, it had passed from the domain of practical consideration.

The Final Struggle

It is difficult to estimate the value and importance of the Chartist movement. Judged by what was immediately accomplished it would seem to have been a great failure, starting in an imposing manner and resulting in next to nothing. But it would be but a superficial judgment which would thus estimate the movement. The fact is that a large part of what the charter claimed has since been brought about. How much of what advance toward democracy England has made in the last twenty-five years is due to the Chartist movement it is impossible to say; but the reading of history would lead us to believe that the fruitage of the close of the nineteenth century, Liberalism, was in no inconsiderable measure due to the seeds planted at that time.

REFERENCES: *History of the Chartist Movement*, by Gammage; *Risings of the Luddites*, by Peil; *Autobiography of Thomas Cooper; Alton Locke*, by Kingsley; *History of Our Own Times*, by McCarthy, chs. v., xviii., *Condition of the Working Classes in 1844*, by Engel; *Historical Basis of Socialism in England*, by Hyndman; *Letters*, by Charles Kingsley, ch. vii.; *Life* of Frederick Denison Maurice.

PHILO W. SPRAGUE.

CHASE, JOHN CALVIN: State secretary of Socialist Party of New York; born in Gilmonton, N. H., 1870. At the age of eight years he began work in a woolen mill, and at thirteen took up the trade of a shoemaker. He became a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in 1888, and was elected delegate to the National Convention in Boston. In 1890 he removed to Haverhill, Mass., where he worked as a shoemaker, and became an active trade-unionist and Socialist. He was elected Mayor of Haverhill in 1898, and reelected in 1899, being the first Socialist mayor elected in the United States. For two years he traveled as national organizer and lecturer for the Socialist Party of America. Mr. Chase believes that the working class should organize as a political party for the purpose of taking control of the government, so that through and by such control they may abolish private ownership of the means of life, and establish a system of collective ownership and operation. *Address*: 66 East Fourth Street, New York City.

CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION: In August, 1874, Lewis Miller, of Akron, O., and Bishop John H. Vincent organized the first Chautauqua Institution. Its name was derived from Chautauqua Lake, in New York State, on the shore of which the meeting was held. It began as a summer school for the better training of Bible teachers, and endeavored to lay most emphasis on the "week-day forces" in religious culture. Its two founders desired to give Sunday-school teachers a continued, progressive, and thorough study of biblical literature and pedagogical principles. The first meeting was a success; and by a gradual and natural growth the plan has been broadened to include instruction in almost all branches of knowledge; the session has been extended from two weeks to two months (July and August); and a town has been built up which presents an interesting study to the educator and sociologist in its municipal government and its ideals of life. All the essential features of the institution were adopted by 1878, tho various important changes and additions have promoted its consistent development from year to year. It is at present incorporated as Chautauqua Institution under the laws of the State of New York. Its management is entrusted to a board of twenty-four trustees, elected either by the owners of property at Chautauqua, or in case a quorum of such electors cannot be secured, by the board itself. The institution is not a stock company, nor are the

trustees interested in the land beyond the ownership of lots for private use. By the provisions of the charter, all surplus funds must be used for the improvement and extension of the institution's work. The president and chancellor never received compensation for their services. Those officers upon whom falls the management of details are paid ordinary salaries.

Chautauqua has become a city where municipal functions are extended to include free public instruction and entertainment. This expense is defrayed by a system of taxation which falls upon all within the town, however brief the term of citizenship. The tariff is: one day, 40 cents; one week, $1.75; two weeks, $2.80; four weeks, $4; season, $6. Citizenship includes the privilege of attending all exercises of the general program, and access to the museum, the reading-room, the models, etc.

The educational activities of Chautauqua Institution include the work done in connection with the Summer Assembly and the all-year-round instruction offered by the Chautauqua Library and Scientific Circle, and described hereafter.

The summer work of the assembly falls under two general heads: the Summer Schools and the General Program. The Summer Schools are thirteen in number, and in 1905 enrolled a total of over 2,300 students who were registered in nearly 5,000 courses. These schools may be described as including six academic departments and seven professional departments. Under the first head fall English language and literature, modern languages, classical languages, mathematics and science, psychology and pedagogy, and religious teaching. Under the second are included library training, domestic science, music, arts and crafts, expression, physical education, and practical arts.

The Faculty of the Summer Schools is in a measure as permanent as that of any college, the majority of the ninety members returning from year to year. A census of the last faculty shows representatives from Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Cornell, Michigan, and Chicago universities; from Amherst, Haverford, Bowdoin, and Rockford colleges; from Buffalo, New York, and West Chester (Pa.) normal schools; and from a large number of other educational institutions.

The second division of the summer work—the General Program—offers a regular and systematic series of religious and secular lectures, entertainments, and concerts, extending over sixty days. Under the head of lectures those which are most genuinely educational in their nature are a large number of lecture series on subjects of literary, historical, scientific, and pedagogic interest. In addition to these series many single addresses by persons of note are interspersed throughout the program. While the series are most often presented by educators, the single addresses are more frequently from men of affairs. During the history of the institution, three presidents of the United States, twelve or fifteen governors, thirty or more college presidents, and a long list of United States congressmen, distinguished jurists, and leaders in the world of commerce and civics have addressed Chautauqua audiences.

The musical features of the General Program have assumed significant proportions as the institution has developed. At present a chorus which at the height of the season numbers 500 or more, in conjunction with a regular orchestra of twenty pieces and with different groups of well-known vocal soloists, present during the season not only a large number of miscellaneous concerts, but at least three well-known opera scores, three great oratorios, and three or four of the best-known masses. Thus an opportunity is provided for people who ordinarily hear little of the best music; and the musical feature of the summer becomes distinctly educational. It is estimated that, through all of these means, over 50,000 people are reached each summer at Chautauqua itself.

One of the most important departments of the institution is the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. This was started in 1878, and offers aid to self-educating people, either as individuals or in groups known as "local circles." The essential features of the plan are:

1. *A definite four years' course* of history, literature, science, etc.
2. *Specified volumes* approved by the counselors.
3. *Allotment of time.* Reading apportioned by week and month.
4. *A monthly magazine* with additional readings, notes, and general literature.
5. *A membership book*, with suggestions, review outlines, etc.
6. *Time required*, forty minutes to an hour a day for nine months.
7. *Certificates* granted to all who complete the four years' course.
8. *Advanced courses*, for continued reading in special lines.
9. *Pedagogic course* for secular teaching.
10. *Young People's Reading Course* to stimulate the reading of good literature by the young.

Further details may be obtained from Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, N. Y.

CHERBULIEZ, ANTOINE ELYSÉE: Swiss professor; born in Geneva, 1797. He was in the Cantonal Legislature from 1831 to 1846, and till 1848 in the Great Council. From 1848 to 1851 he was in Paris, and then professor at Zurich, where he died in 1869. His main work is, "Précis de la Science Économique et de ses Principales Applications."

CHEVALIER, MICHEL: French engineer, editor, economist; born at Limoges, 1806. Commencing as a mining engineer, he gave this up in 1829 to join SAINT-SIMONISM and became editor-in-chief of the *Globe*. In 1832 he was condemned to a year's imprisonment, as the responsible agent of the *Globe*, for articles branded as being outrages on morality. His intentions were worthy, and his habits of life more strict than appearances led the world to suppose; hence the government itself, which at this time discovered M. Chevalier's abilities, remitted half the penalty, and entrusted to him the mission of studying the railways of the United States. He devoted himself henceforward to writing on engineering and economic subjects, and gradually but very materially changed his economic views. In 1841 he succeeded Rossi in the chair of political economy at the College of France.

In the Revolution of 1848 he opposed the socialism of the Commission du Gouvernement pour les Travailleurs. He wrote at that time in the *Journal des Débats* a series of letters called "Lettres sur l'Organisation du Travail," which were collected under this title. This and the "Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord" may be considered his most characteristic and remarkable works.

Chevalier believed liberty to be more in peril under parliamentary government than under a personal government. He was called to the council of state February, 1852. In the same

year he published the "Examen du Système Commercial connu sous le nom de Système Protecteur," a work in which the advantage of commercial liberty was shown. He induced Napoleon III. to sign the famous commercial treaty with England of Jan. 23, 1860.

In 1859 Michel Chevalier published a new volume with the significant title, "De la Baisse probable de l'Or," in favor of the demonetization of gold. He resumed his duties as professor in 1866 and carried them on till 1878. He died in 1879.

CHEYSSON, EMILE: French engineer and economist; born at Nîmes (Gard) in 1836; became civil engineer in 1859, director of the machinery supply at the Paris exhibition 1867. From 1871 to 1874 he was general manager of the famous "Creuzot" mines and foundries. After this he left practical affairs to devote his time to studies and teaching. He has since been professor of engineering at the National School of Engineers and professor of statistics at the Free School for Political Sciences, and also inspector-general of bridges and highways. He has made a study of the labor question, and believes its solution lies in the forming of workmen's unions, which will act as savings-banks and in case of accident, loss of work, etc., as insurance companies. He does not believe in the German system of compulsory workmen's pensions. He has given especial attention to working men's dwellings and antialcoholism. He has written numerous reports and works bearing on statistics.

CHICAGO: In warring on the one hand against the greed of wealth and on the other hand against the lawlessness of labor, Chicago is developing a real democracy in government which its people believe bodes well for the future. This city of 2,000,000 inhabitants is truly cosmopolitan. The number of its citizens of foreign birth or parentage is large. It is a railroad and industrial center of great importance.

Like other American cities, Chicago has suffered from attempts to rule it from the state capital. More vigorously than most other cities has Chicago fought for the right of home rule in municipal affairs. The most acute phase of this struggle was in connection with the street-railway question, which for ten years has been the chief issue in municipal politics. In 1897 Mr. Charles T. Yerkes, the traction magnate, sought to have the legislature of Illinois give to him outright renewals of franchises which he desired in the city of Chicago. Mr. Yerkes was not only ultimately beaten at the state capital, but the public opposition which his policy aroused made it impossible for him to secure the desired franchise renewals from the city of Chicago, and in 1899 he sold out his interests and went to London. In 1903 the legislature passed a law, commonly known as the Mueller Law, conferring upon Chicago the right to own and operate street-railways. The Speaker of the House, by trying to kill this bill under the gavel, provoked a riot in the House, and was literally driven from the chair by infuriated members. He was not allowed to return until he agreed to grant a roll-call on the Mueller Bill. The demand for the Mueller Law came not only from advocates of municipal ownership, but from all the citizens of Chicago, who believed the city should have from the legislature the power to work out the problem in the way that seemed best to its people. In 1905 Mr. E. F. Dunne was elected mayor on the issue of immediate municipal ownership of street-railways. The practical difficulties in the way of immediate municipalization were too great to be overcome, and at the time this article is written it is probable that the question will be settled by the passage of an ordinance authorizing the companies to rehabilitate and operate the street-car system under an agreement to sell to the city at any time on six months' notice. An important instrumentality of the people in making their will effective has been the Public Opinion Law, under which, on petition of twenty-five per cent of the voters, any question of public policy may be submitted to the electorate. Under this law several referendum votes were taken upon various phases of the street-car question, all of which showed a surprisingly strong sentiment in favor of municipal ownership.

Railway Question

A struggle somewhat similar in nature, tho not so prolonged, was made to secure from the Illinois Legislature an act authorizing the City Council to regulate the price of gas and electric light. Under authority of this law the council, at the beginning of 1906, reduced the price of gas from $1 to eighty-five cents per 1,000 cubic feet. In the summer of 1906 the electric-light companies made material reduction in the price of light. The city of Chicago has the largest municipal electric-lighting plant in the country, but it provides light for public use only.

Chicago's water-plant has been owned and operated by the city since 1853. The water is taken from Lake Michigan. As the sewers also entered the lake the water-supply was contaminated. To purify the water-supply, and also to lay the foundation for a great ship canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico, the Sanitary District Canal was planned. A canal capable of accommodating large draft vessels has been constructed, connecting the Chicago River near its mouth with the Illinois River near Joliet. The current in the Chicago River is reversed, and water from Lake Michigan now flows through the Chicago River, the Sanitary District Canal, the Illinois River, and the Mississippi River into the Gulf of Mexico. The cost of the project has been about $48,000,000. The demand is now made that the Federal Government take the Sanitary District Canal as a basis, and build a ship canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Gulf of Mexico. Altho Chicago has only a very small debt, it has no additional borrowing power because of the limitations of the state constitution. As a means of evading this limitation, to make possible the raising of funds by bond issues for the construction of the canal, a new municipality was created, known as the Sanitary District of Chicago, having nearly the same territorial limits as the city.

Water-Plant

The present constitution of Illinois, adopted in 1870, is essentially a constitution of restrictions. It was framed by a convention made up for the most part of high-minded gentlemen, known as reformers in their day, whose main idea seemed to be to tie the hands of government and to prevent things being done. The proper development of Chicago has been greatly hampered by the restrictions imposed by this instrument. For one thing, the convention gave the justice court system of Chicago a status in the constitution, and

provided a complicated and indirect method of selecting justices—the main purpose of which was to remove control as far as possible from the people—which has been productive of very bad results. The justice courts of Chicago—the poor man's courts—have long been a travesty upon justice. In 1904 the constitution was amended so as to authorize the legislature to make special charter laws for the city of Chicago, on condition that no such law should become operative until approved by the people of the city. The first law adopted under this constitutional amendment was one abolishing the justice courts and establishing a municipal court system in their place. The new system went into operation in December, 1906. A semiofficial charter convention, created by resolution of the city council, has been framing a comprehensive new charter for the city of Chicago, which the legislature of 1907 will be asked to enact and submit to the people of Chicago for their approval or rejection. This charter is primarily a grant of broad home-rule powers, under which it is expected the city of Chicago will be able to work out its own problems without further interference in local matters from the state capital.

A feature of the constitution of 1870 which has not worked as its framers intended is the minority representation plan of electing members of the lower House of the General Assembly. Each legislative district sends three members to the House, and the constitution provides that a voter may cast one ballot for each of three candidates or cumulate his votes in any manner he sees fit. He may, if he so desires, cast three ballots for one candidate. The effect of this system in practical operation has been to limit the choice of electors on election day, and to make a nomination equivalent to an election, for the reason that the party organizations nominate only the number of candidates they expect to elect. In a district normally republican, for example, the Republican Party nominates two candidates for member of the legislature, and the Democrats only one. The result is that all three party nominees are practically certain to be elected, except in rare instances where an independent or a minor party candidate develops unusual strength. The working of this provision has been very disappointing, except to the professional organization politicians, and there is a strong demand for its abolition.

In 1906 the saloon license fee was raised from $500 to $1,000. Almost immediately thereafter an ordinance was passed limiting the number of saloons to one for every 500 of population. Chicago now has about 7,300 saloons, which is about one to every 300 of population. This means that no more saloon licenses can be issued for a number of years to come.

A few years ago the City Homes Association made a report on housing conditions, which was an important factor in bringing about a revision of the building code.

Chicago was one of the first cities in the country to adopt a thorough going civil-service law. The act in operation was passed by the legislature in 1895, and approved by the people on a referendum by a vote of about two to one. The civil-service principle is well supported by popular sentiment.

Among the bodies classed as reform organizations, the Municipal Voters' League has perhaps attracted most attention. The league was formed in 1896 to improve the personnel of the City Council, of whose sixty-eight members at that time not more than ten were believed to be honest. A great transformation has been wrought. The Chicago City Council to-day is looked upon as one of the best bodies of its kind in the country. For the past five years the council has been organized on non-partizan lines. More than five sevenths of the present members were elected with the indorsement of the Municipal Voters' League. The league does not make nominations, but it investigates and issues to the voters reports and recommendations upon the various candidates for aldermen. In January, 1906, a conference was held in Chicago, at the call of the Municipal Voters' League, of the so-called militant civic organizations of the United States. Sixteen cities were represented. The conference by unanimous vote adopted the following recommendations:

Municipal Voters' League

First.—That cities should be granted the largest possible measure of home rule, subject only to such general statutory safeguards and restrictions as may be necessary to protect the general interests of the state as distinguished from the local interests of the municipality.

Second.—That the party column on the ballot should be abolished; that the names of candidates for a single office should be printed on the ballot under the designation of that office, and that it should be made impossible to vote a straight party ticket by a single mark or cross.

Third.—That municipal nominations and elections should be completely separated from state and national nominations and elections and should occur at different times, and that nominations for all municipal offices be made by petition or by an efficient method of direct primaries.

Fourth.—That the number of elective municipal officers should be reduced as far as practicable, always preserving the right to elect members of the municipal legislative body or city council.

Fifth.—That the merit principle should be applied to all departments of city administration under practical and efficient civil-service laws.

Within the past few years there have been created in the south division of Chicago fourteen new parks that are notable for their equipment. The parks themselves are of varying areas, but all contain buildings constructed on substantially similar plans. Each building contains a gymnasium for men and another for women. Bathing facilities are abundant, and in some cases outdoor swimming pools are provided. Each building has a large assembly hall and several smaller rooms for club and social purposes. The aim is to make the building a neighborhood center. The use of the rooms may be had without cost for meetings or social purposes. Each building has a reading-room, and the park management conducts in each a restaurant in which refreshments are served at moderate prices. About most of the buildings are wading pools, sand piles, and other special accommodations for children. Some outdoor gymnastic apparatus is provided, as well as playground facilities. The office of the South Park Commission which has installed these new parks is at Fifty-seventh Street and Cottage Grove Avenue.

Chicago has a large number of social settlements, the best known being the following: *Hull House*—Miss Jane Addams, founder and head; *Chicago Commons*—Prof. Graham Taylor, founder and head; *University of Chicago Settlement*—Miss Mary McDowell, head.

Addresses of institutions, societies, and social settlements in Chicago:

Municipal Voters' League, 228 South Clark Street.
Legislative Voters' League, 92 La Salle Street.
Chicago Bureau of Charities, 79 Dearborn Street.

Civic Federation, 184 La Salle Street.
Citizens' Association, 92 La Salle Street.
City Club of Chicago, 228 South Clark Street.
Chicago Federation of Labor, 277 La Salle Street.
City Homes Association, 1001 Monadnock Block.
Socialist Headquarters, 163 East Randolph Street.
Hull House, 335 South Halstead Street.
Chicago Commons, 180 Grand Avenue.
University of Chicago Settlement, 4630 Gross Avenue.

GEORGE C. SIKES.

CHICAGO ANARCHISTS, THE: The arrest, trial, and execution of the so-called "Chicago anarchists" mark an epoch in the development of the labor movement in America. The facts of the case, gathered out of the somewhat contradictory statements made by those who believe that the anarchists were rightly and those who believe that they were wrongly condemned seem to be as follows:

The year 1886 was one of wide-spread social industrial agitation in the United States. In 1884 the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the U. S. and Canada had issued a manifesto calling on all trades to unite in the demand for an eight-hour day, and setting a day for a general strike to gain that end. May 1, 1886, was the day appointed when the new system should be inaugurated.

History

In Chicago the excitement ran the highest. Here was a little group of men more or less loosely banded together, and popularly called anarchists. As a matter of fact, they were of various economic views. They gathered around a section of the American International, which had become an anarchistic organization, and must not be confused with the old European Socialist International. They had two principal organs: the *Alarm*, with Parsons as its editor; the English organ, and the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the German organ, with Spies and Schwab as its principal writers, and Fischer as foreman. Fielden and Engel were also prominent in the group. Not agreed in their economic views, they were agreed in denouncing the present system as the parent of cruel wrongs, and in being willing to go to extremes in agitating against this system.

They felt that the labor movement was dying of inertia. They felt that the working people were being utterly ground down, and submitting too easily. They thought that, without really committing violence, if they threatened violence and "talked" murder and dynamite, they could frighten the capitalists into either valuable concessions, or such a policy of restriction as would make the people rise. They therefore began in the *Alarm* to write incendiary articles; and in order to frighten the capitalists, they reported the working people as preparing to rise in vengeance. Some of them, at least, believed that by "talking violence" they would "really prevent violence." They argued that "if it did cost a little bloodshed now," it would "save bloodshed in the end." Some of them were themselves the gentlest of men.

The eight-hour movement gave the anarchists opportunity for agitation. An eight-hour association was formed in Chicago. Open-air meetings were continually held. Bitterest language was used. On their side, the employers drew closer together against the movement. Some firms, however granted some reduction of hours. At McCormick's reaper works there was a prolonged struggle, commencing in February and continuing many months. Twelve hundred men were thrown out of work. On May 1, 40,000 men and women struck in Chicago for the eight-hour day. The Central Labor Union of Chicago held a mass-meeting attended by 25,000 people. Spies, Parsons, Fielden, and Schwab spoke. On May 2d a great meeting of the locked-out men from McCormick's was held to protest against the Pinkertons he employed.

Parsons and Schwab spoke at the meeting. Among the strikers were the lumber-shovers, most of them Poles, Bohemians, and Germans. May 3d, the Lumber-Shovers' Union called a meeting to discuss the terms of proposals to be submitted to their employers.

The Strike

The meeting was held near McCormick's. Spies, being known as a good speaker, was invited to attend. When he appeared, a protest was heard against letting a Socialist speak. But Spies began, and was soon listened to in quiet. At four o'clock the bell of McCormick's began to ring, and the "scabs" were seen leaving. Some of the bystanders at the meeting then made a move toward the factory, while Spies went on quietly with his speech for another fifteen minutes. The crowd outside the factory began throwing stones. The police were telephoned for, and arrived in large numbers. They were received with stones, and replied with their revolvers. A few shots were returned by the crowd, and the police opened a general fire upon all in sight—men, women, and children, who fled in terror, leaving four dead and many wounded. Burning with indignation, Spies rushed back to the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office and wrote a manifesto, the so-called "Revenge Circular." This was distributed at the different workmen's meeting-places.

Among the many meetings that took place the same night was one of the Socialist association, the Lehr und Wehr Verein. Gottfried Waller, who turned informer afterward, was elected chairman. Engel and Fischer were present. The events of the afternoon at McCormick's were discussed. It was resolved to call a meeting the following night in the Haymarket to protest against the police assaults. Fischer informed Spies, at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office, of the proposed meeting and asked him to speak; he consented. Shortly afterward he saw, for the first time, the circular calling the meeting, which contained the words, "Working men, arm yourselves, and appear in full force." Immediately on reading the circular Spies said that this must be struck out, or he would not speak or attend the meeting. Fischer at once agreed, and had the line taken out. The circular with that line omitted was printed, and about 20,000 copies distributed.

Parsons had been away from Chicago to Cincinnati, from Sunday, May 2d, and returned Tuesday morning. His wife asked him to help her in organization of the sewing girls of Chicago, and Parsons, knowing nothing of the Haymarket meeting, called a meeting of the American group at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office. In the evening Spies went to the Haymarket, but seeing no English speakers, went away, with a few friends, to find Parsons; but soon returned, without having found him, and opened the meeting.

Meantime, a few members of the American group had assembled at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* building. There were Fielden, Schwab, and at about 8.30 o'clock Parsons arrived, in company with Mrs. Parsons, his two children, and Mrs. Holmes. Schwab soon left to address a meeting at Deering. Schwab stayed at Deering until 10.30 o'clock. The discussion on the girls' movement was soon over, when somebody arrived from the Haymarket, stating that English speakers were wanted. Parsons, with his company, Fielden, and most of those present, at once went there. On their arrival Spies ceased speaking, and Parsons got up and spoke about one hour. The meeting was a quiet one, and at the close of Parsons's speech, the Mayor of Chicago, who attended the meeting for the purpose of dispersing it, if need should arise, left the meeting, and went over to the police station, and told Captain Bonfield that he had better issue orders to his reserves at the other stations to go home. Parsons was followed by Fielden. When he had been speaking some ten minutes the weather clouded, and the wind blowing cold, Parsons suggested that they adjourn to Zepf's Hall; Fielden said he would be through in a few minutes. Many, among them Parsons, with his family, crossed to Zepf's Hall, where they found Fischer. Fielden went on speaking, when suddenly about 180 police turned out of the station, marching with a quick step, in fighting formation, and with arms in readiness, to the Haymarket, where only a few hundred persons remained. The captain of the first row of the police had just ordered the meeting to disperse, and his men, without waiting a reply, were advancing to the attack, when a small bomb was thrown by some one, alighted between the first and second companies of the police, and exploded with a loud report. About sixty of the police were thrown to the ground, and one, named Matthias J. Degan, was killed. Instantly firing began; people fled in all directions, followed by the police, who fired at random as they followed.

The Riot

The Haymarket speakers, except Parsons, who had left Chicago, were arrested; those who had taken a prominent part in labor meetings, and were known as labor organizers, were hunted and imprisoned. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* was suppressed, and all its printers and editors put in jail. When the friends of the arrested men tried to restart it, it had to pass under the censorship of the chief of police. The meetings of workmen were prohibited or broken up. The most exciting tales about infernal conspiracies against the life and property of the citizens were circulated. The daily papers called for the hanging of the leading anarchists, as if they had been already proved guilty.

After the Haymarket meeting, May 4, 1886, some 300 leading American capitalists met secretly to plan the destruction of anarchy. They formed themselves into The Citizens' Association, and subscribed $100,000 in a few hours.

On May 17th the grand jury came together. "The body is a strong one," says a telegram from Chicago to a New York daily, "and it is safe to aver that anarchy and murder will not receive much quarter at the hands of the men composing it. It is certain that Spies, Parsons, Schwab, and the other inciters to outrage will be indicted." Indicted they were. The indictment contained sixty-nine counts, charging the defendants, Spies, Schwab, Fielden, Parsons, Fischer, Engel, Lingg, Neebe, Schnaubelt, and Seliger with the murder of M. J. Degan. Schnaubelt and Parsons were not in the hands of the police, but when the trial came on Parsons presented himself at the bar of the court. Seliger had turned informer. On June 21st the impaneling of the jury before Judge Joseph E. Gary began. About 1,000 were examined. Of this number only five or six belonged to the labor class, and they were all challenged and refused by the state. The remainder were all employers of labor, or men de-

The Trial

pendent upon that class, as clerks or the like. Most declared they had a prejudice against anarchists, socialists, and communists as a class. This, however, Judge Gary ruled, was no cause to exclude them from the jury. On the motion for a new trial, an affidavit was produced wherein it was sworn that the special bailiff, Henry Ryce, had said to well-known men in Chicago that he was managing this case, and well knew what he was about; that those fellows would hang as certain as death, and that he was only summoning such men as jurors as would not be acceptable to the defendants.

The most important witnesses for the state were Waller, Schrader, and Seliger, all formerly comrades of the defendants, now turned informers. The theory for the prosecution was that the defendants were, with others, actively engaged in a conspiracy to overturn the existing authorities, and advocated bloodshed and violence in order to gain their ends, and that the meeting on May 4th in the Haymarket was only one step in their program. The evidence brought forward to support such a theory was, however, extremely contradictory, and much of it broke down completely on the first examination. It was never proved who threw the bomb, and, as some of the men indicted were not at the Haymarket meeting, and had nothing to do with it, the prosecution was forced to proceed on the theory that the men indicted were guilty of murder because they had at various times in the past uttered and printed incendiary and seditious language, practically advising the killing of policemen, of Pinkerton men, and others.

Said Judge Gary:

"If the fact be that a large number of men concurred with each other in preparing to use force for the destruction of human life, upon occasions which were not yet foreseen, but upon some principles which they substantially agreed upon, as, for example, taking the words of this witness, if a large number of men agreed together to kill the police if they were found in conflict with the strikers—I believe that is the phrase—leaving it to the agents of violence to determine whether the time and occasion had come for the use of violence; then, if the time and occasion do come when the violence is used, are not all parties who agreed beforehand in preparing the means of death, and agreed in the use of them upon time and occasion, equally liable?"

The Prosecution

The prisoners argued that, as some unknown persons threw the bomb, it was impossible to know beyond a reasonable doubt that he had been led to do it by any public speech of theirs or any editorial they had published. They also claimed that to punish them because of the effect of any public speech they had delivered or any newspaper article they had written or published would be a violation of the law that forbids any abridgment of speech or press in the U. S. The prisoners had counsel, but also defended themselves in speeches rather of defiance than defense.

After a prolonged trial the jury brought in the verdict:

"We, the jury, find the defendants August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at death. We find the defendant Oscar W. Neebe guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years."

The Verdict

The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and was there affirmed in the fall of 1887. November 10th Lingg committed suicide by exploding a bomb in his mouth. The sentence of Fielden and Schwab was commuted to imprisonment for life, and Parsons, Fischer, Engel, and Spies were hanged Nov. 11, 1887. They suffered calmly and without flinching. Parsons's last words were, "Let the voice of the people be heard."

The hanging excited great agitation over the world. The major part of the daily press and of the capitalist community welcomed it as a necessary stamping out of anarchy in this country. On the other hand, many thoughtful men, including judges, lawyers, clergymen, and others, while expressing dissent from all sympathy with anarchists, declared their belief that the trial had not been a fair one. By the world of labor the anarchists were lauded as martyrs to the cause of labor and of liberty, and their trial and hanging denounced as an outrage upon justice and upon freedom. Mrs. Parsons went through the land lecturing to crowded audiences. Anarchism was made almost popular among many classes. Anarchists and the more radical Socialists and labor reformers of all schools of thought, who will unite on no other occasion, have met on both sides of the Atlantic to commemorate the hanging of "the Chicago martyrs."

In June, 1893, the recently elected Democratic Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, having thoroughly examined the evidence, pardoned Neebe, Fielden, and Schwab, on the ground that they had not been fairly tried.

We give a synopsis of Governor Altgeld's published argument for believing the trial not to have been a fair one, and then a synopsis of Judge Gary's statement upon the other side.

Says Governor Altgeld in substance:

The record of the trial shows that the jury in this case was not drawn in the manner that juries usually are drawn; that is, instead of having a number of names drawn out of a box that contained many hundred names, as the law contemplates shall be done in order to insure a fair jury and give neither side the advantage, the trial judge appointed one, Henry L. Ryce, as a special bailiff to go out and summon such men as he, Ryce, might select to act as jurors. While this practise has been sustained in cases in which it did not appear that either side had been prejudiced thereby, it is always a dangerous practise, for it gives the bailiff absolute power to select a jury that will be favorable to one side or the other.

Gov. Altgeld's Statement

While no collusion is proved between the judge and state's attorney, it is clearly shown that after the verdict, and while a motion for a new trial was pending, a charge was filed in court that Ryce had packed the jury and that the attorney for the state got Mr. Favor to refuse to make an affidavit bearing on this point, which the defendants could use, and then the court refused to take any notice of it unless the affidavit was obtained, altho it was informed that Mr. Favor would not make an affidavit, but stood ready to come into court and make a full statement if the court desired him to do so.

These facts alone would call for executive interference, especially as Mr. Favor's affidavit was not before the Supreme Court at the time it considered the case.

The second point urged seems to me to be equally conclusive. In the case of the People vs. Couglin, known as the Cronin case, recently decided, the Supreme Court, in a remarkably able and comprehensive review of the law on this subject, says among other things:

"The holding of this and other courts is substantially uniform, that where it is once clearly shown that there exists in the mind of the juror at the time he is called to the jury box a fixt and positive opinion as to the merits of the case, or as to the guilt or innocence of the defendant he is called to try, his statement that, notwithstanding such opinion, he can render a fair and impartial verdict according to the law and evidence, has little, if any, tendency to establish his impartiality."

Applying the law as here laid down in the Cronin case to the answers of the jurors above given in the present case, it is very apparent that most of the jurors were incompetent, because they were not impartial, for nearly all of them candidly stated that they were prejudiced against the defendants, and believed them guilty before hearing the evidence; and the mere fact that the judge succeeded by a singularly suggestive examination in getting them to state that they believed they could try the case fairly on the evidence did not make them competent. . . .

No matter what the defendants were charged with, they were entitled to a fair trial, and no greater danger could possibly threaten our institutions than to have the courts of justice run wild or give way to popular clamor; and when the trial judge in this case ruled that a relative of one of the men who was killed was a competent juror, and this after the man had candidly stated that he was deeply prejudiced and that his relationship caused him to feel more strongly than he otherwise might, and when in scores of instances he ruled that men who candidly declared that they believed the defendants to be guilty; that this was a deep conviction and would influence their verdict, and that it would require strong evidence to convince them that the defendants were innocent, when in all these instances the trial judge ruled that these men were competent jurors simply because they had, under his adroit manipulation, been led to say that they *believed* they could try the case fairly on the evidence, then the proceedings lost all semblance of a fair trial.

Does the Proof show Guilt?

The state has never discovered who it was that threw the bomb which killed the policeman, and the evidence does not show any connection whatever between the defendants and the man who did throw it. The trial judge in overruling the motion for a new hearing, and again, recently, in a magazine article, used this language:

"The conviction has not gone on the ground that they did have actually any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan, but the conviction proceeds upon the ground that they had generally by speech and print advised large classes of the people, not particular individuals, but large classes, to commit murder, and had left

the commission, the time and place and when to the individual will and whim, or caprice, or whatever it may be, of each individual man who listened to their advice, and that in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice and influenced by that advice, somebody not known did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death. Now, if this is not a correct principle of the law, then the defendants of course are entitled to a new trial. This case is without precedent; there is no example in the law books of a case of this sort."

The judge certainly told the truth when he stated that this case was without a precedent, and that no example could be found in the law books to sustain the law as above laid down. For, in all the centuries during which government has been maintained among men and crime has been punished, no judge in a civilized country has ever laid down such a rule before. The petitioners claim that it was laid down in this case simply because the prosecution, not having discovered the real criminal, would otherwise not have been able to convict anybody; that this course was then taken to appease the fury of the public, and that the judgment was allowed to stand for the same reason. I will not discuss this. But taking the law as above laid down, it was necessary under it to prove, and that beyond a reasonable doubt, that the person committing the violent deed had at least heard or read the advice given to masses, for until he either heard or read it he did not receive it, and if he did not receive it, he did not commit the violent act in pursuance of that advice, and it is here that the case for the state fails; with all his apparent eagerness to force conviction in court, and his efforts in defending his course since the trial, the judge, speaking on this point in his magazine article, makes this statement: "It is probably true that Rudolph Schnaubelt threw the bomb," which statement is a mere surmise and is all that is known about it, and is certainly not sufficient to convict eight men on. In fact, until the state proves from whose hands the bomb came, it is impossible to show any connection between the man who threw it and these defendants. . . .

Again it is shown that various attempts were made to bring to justice the men who wore the uniform of the law while violating it, but all to no avail; that the laboring people found the prisons always open to receive them, but the courts of justice were practically closed to them; that the prosecution officers vied with each other in hunting them down, but were deaf to their appeals; that in the spring of 1886 there were more labor disturbances in the city, and particularly at the McCormick factory; that under the leadership of Captain Bonfield the brutalities of the previous years were even exceeded.

Was it Personal Revenge?

While some men may tamely submit to being clubbed and seeing their brothers shot down, there are some who will resent it, and will nurture a spirit of hatred and seek revenge for themselves, and the occurrences that preceded the Haymarket tragedy indicate that the bomb was thrown by some one who, instead of acting on the advice of anybody, was simply seeking personal revenge for having been clubbed, and that Captain Bonfield is the man who is really responsible for the death of the police officers.

It is also shown that the character of the Haymarket meeting sustains this view. The evidence shows there were only 800 to 1,000 people present, and that it was a peaceable and orderly meeting; that the mayor of the city was present, and saw nothing out of the way, and that he remained until the crowd began to disperse, the meeting being practically over, and the crowd engaged in dispersing when he left; that had the police remained away for twenty minutes more there would have been nobody left there, but that as soon as Bonfield learned that the mayor had left, he could not resist the temptation to have some more people clubbed, and went up with a detachment of police to disperse the meeting, and that on the appearance of the police the bomb was thrown by some unknown person, and several innocent and faithful officers, who were simply obeying an uncalled-for order of their superior, were killed. All of these facts tend to show the improbability of the theory of the prosecution that the bomb was thrown as the result of a conspiracy on the part of the defendants to commit murder. If the theory of the prosecution were correct, there would have been many bombs thrown; and the fact that only one was thrown shows that it was an act of personal revenge.

It is further shown here that much of the evidence given at the trial was a pure fabrication. In addition to the evidence in the record of some witnesses who swore that they had been paid small sums of money, etc., several documents are here referred to.

First, an interview with Captain Ebersold, published in the Chicago *Daily News*, May, 10, 1889.

The Chief of Police's Statement

Ebersold was chief of the police of Chicago at the time of the Haymarket trouble, and for a long time before and thereafter, so that he was in a position to know what was going on, and his utterances upon this point are therefore important. Among other things he says: "It was my policy to quiet matters down as soon as possible after May 4th. The general unsettled state of things was an injury to Chicago. On the other hand, Captain Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. I thought people would lie down and sleep better if they were not afraid that their homes would be blown to pieces any minute. But this man Schaack, this little boy who must have glory or his heart would be broken, wanted none of that policy. Now, here is something the public does not know. After we got the anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to again organize new societies right away. You see what this would do. He wanted to keep the thing boiling, keep himself prominent before the public. Well, I sat down on that, I didn't believe in such work, and of course Schaack didn't like it.

"After I heard all that I began to think there was perhaps not so much to all this anarchist business as they claimed, and I believe I was right. Schaack thinks he knew all about those anarchists. Why, I knew more at that time than he knows to-day about them. I was following them closely. As soon as Schaack began to get some notoriety, however, he was spoiled."

This is a most important statement. When a chief of police, who has been watching the anarchists closely, says that he was convinced that there was not so much in all this anarchist business as was claimed, and that a police captain wanted to send out men to have other conspiracies formed in order to get the credit of discovering them and keeping the public excited, it throws a flood of light on the whole situation, and destroys the force of much of the testimony introduced at the trial.

It is further charged with much bitterness by those who speak for the prisoners that the record of the case shows that the judge conducted the trial with malicious ferocity; that every ruling throughout the long trial on any contested point was in favor of the state; and, further, that page after page of the record contains insinuating remarks of the judge, made in the hearing of the jury, and with the evident intent of bringing the jury to his way of thinking; that these speeches, coming from the court, were much more damaging than any speeches from the state's attorney could possibly have been; that the state's attorney often took his cue from the judge's remarks; that the judge's magazine article, recently published, altho written nearly six years after the trial, is yet full of venom; that, pretending to simply review the case, he had to drag into his article a letter written by an excited woman to a newspaper after the trial was over, and which therefore had nothing whatever to do with the case, and that, not content with this, he in the same article makes an insinuating attack on one of the lawyers for the defense, not for anything done at the trial, but because more than a year after the trial, when some of the defendants had been hung, he ventured to express a few kind, if erroneous, sentiments over the graves of his dead clients, whom he at least believed to be innocent. It is urged that such ferocity or subserviency is without a parallel in all history; that even Jeffreys in England contented himself with hanging his victims, and did not stoop to berate them after they were dead.

Prejudice or Subserviency of Judge

These charges are of a personal character, and while they seem to be sustained by the record of the trial and the papers before me, and tend to show that the trial was not fair, I do not care to discuss this feature of the case any further, because it is not necessary. I am convinced that it is clearly my duty to act in this case for the reasons already given, and I, therefore, grant an absolute pardon to Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, and Michael Schwab, on this 26th day of June, 1893.

JOHN P. ALTGELD,
Governor of Illinois.

In *The Century Magazine* for April, 1893, Judge Gary gives, in a 30-page article, a defense of the verdict.

Judge Gary's statement in substance is this:

Mr. Gary reviews the events and scenes of the trial in detail, stating his motives to be a justification of the verdict and an effort to prove that the anarchists did not represent the laboring classes, but simply made a show of friendship to the latter in order to bring them into their own ranks. He asserts that the seven men sentenced to death were beyond all cavil guilty of murder, and that it would have been a great misfortune if society had not maintained its right to defend itself. The most noted legal authorities are adduced to show that the men who argued on every occasion for anarchy and destruction, in their press and through their orators, and who "incited, advised, encouraged the throwing of the bomb that killed the policemen," were clearly within the condemnation of the law. To further support this, facsimile and other long extracts are given from the more rabid anarchistic press, and pictures appear of the bombs and apparatus of the desperate men.

Mr. Gary shows carefully and fairly the evidence which led to the conviction of the ringleaders, and takes the ground that they were sentenced not because they were anarchists, but because they were parties to murder.

On page 835 the judge says: "The conviction proceeded upon the ground that they had generally, by speech and print, advised large classes to commit murder; and had left the com-

mission, the time and place, and when to the individual will and whim or caprice, or whatever it may be, of each individual man who listened to their advice; and in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice, and influenced by that advice, somebody, not known, did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death."

On pages 830 and 831 the judge says: "It is probably true that Rudolph Schnaubelt threw the bomb. He was twice arrested; but, having shaved off a full beard immediately after that fatal night, was discharged. After the second arrest he disappeared and has gone to parts unknown. But whether Schnaubelt or some other person threw the bomb is not an important question."

The case is the more remarkable because it was not claimed that either of the prisoners threw the bomb or gave any person any secret advice to throw it. The case proceeded on the ground that the prisoners gave all their advice from public platforms and in the columns of newspapers. On page 830 the judge says: "Secrecy is not essential to a conspiracy."

On page 812 the judge says: "They incited, advised, encouraged the throwing of the bomb that killed the policeman not by addressing the bomb-thrower specially, and telling him to throw a bomb at that or any special time or occasion, but by general addresses to readers and hearers."

On the same page he also says: "The sincerity of the anarchists in their belief of the benefits to accrue from anarchy (if they were sincere) is not to be considered when the question is whether they were murderers."

On page 812 the judge says that "every reader (of the anarchist papers), following the advice to arm himself, would —must—understand that he must exercise his own discretion in using his weapons."

He concludes: "For nearly seven years the clamor, uncontradicted, has gone round the world that the anarchists were heroes and martyrs, victims of prejudice and fear. Not a dozen persons alive were prepared by familiarity with the details of their crime and trial, and present knowledge of the materials from which those details could be shown, to present a succinct account of them to the public. It so happened that my position was such that from me that account would probably attract as much attention as it would from any other source. Right-minded, thoughtful people, who recognize the necessity to civilization of the existence and enforcement of laws for the protection of human life, and who yet may have had misgivings as to the fate of the anarchists, will, I trust, read what I have written, and dismiss those misgivings, convinced that in law and in morals the anarchists were rightly punished, not for opinions, but for horrible deeds."

The main sources of evidence for the facts are, of course, the official records of the court. A history of the trial has been written by Dyer D. Lum, and the speeches of the anarchists in court have been printed many times in pamphlet form. For a brief notice of the condemned, see the first edition of this encyclopedia.

CHILD, LYDIA MARIA (*née* **FRANCIS**): American champion of antislavery; writer; born in Medford, Mass., 1802. Attended the common schools, and studied with her brother, Rev. Convers Francis, D.D. Until her marriage, in 1828, she taught in Medford and Watertown, Mass; and in 1826 she began the publication of the *Juvenile Miscellany*, the first monthly periodical for children issued in the United States.

In 1831 both Mr. and Mrs. Child became deeply interested in the subject of slavery. Mrs. Child's "Appeal for that Class of Americans called African" (Boston, 1833) was the first antislavery work published in America in book form, and was followed by several smaller works on the same subject. Mrs. Child had to endure social ostracism, but from this time was a steady champion of antislavery. On the establishment of the *National Antislavery Standard*, in New York City, in 1840, she became its editor and conducted it till 1843, when her husband took the place of editor-in-chief, and she acted as his assistant till May, 1844. In 1859, she wrote a letter of sympathy to John Brown, then a prisoner at Harper's Ferry, offering her services as a nurse, and enclosing the letter in one to Governor Wise. Brown replied, declining her offer, but asking her to aid his family, which she did. She also received a letter of courteous rebuke from Governor Wise, and a singular epistle from the wife of Senator Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Law, threatening her with future damnation. She replied to both in her best vein, and the whole series of letters was published in pamphlet form (Boston, 1860), and had a circulation of 300,000. She also wrote two small tracts on the "Fugitive Slave Law" and "Emancipation in the British West Indies." During her latter years she contributed freely to aid the national soldiers in the Civil War, and afterward to help the freedmen. She died in 1880.

Mrs. Child's works are voluminous and treat of a great variety of subjects. Besides those already mentioned are the following: "The Rebels, or Boston before the Revolution"; "The American Frugal Housewife" (1829); "The Family Nurse," or companion of "The Frugal Housewife"; "The Mother's Book" and "The Girl's Own Book" (1831); "History of Woman" (1835); "Biographies of Good Wives" (1833); "The Oasis" (1834); "The Anti-Slavery Catechism" (1836); "Authentic Narratives of American Slavery" (1838); "The Evils of Slavery and the Cure of Slavery" (1836); "Philothea: A Grecian Romance" (1845); "Letters from New York" (2 vols., 1843–44); "Fact and Fiction" (1846); "Flowers for Children" (1852); "Isaac T. Hopper: a True Life" (1853); "The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages" (3 vols., 1855); "Autumnal Leaves: Sketches in Prose and Rhyme" (1857); "Looking toward Sunset" (1864); "The Freedman's Book" (1865); and "The Romance of the Republic" (1867).

CHILD HELPING: Classification is the first condition of rational study and treatment of this social task. Normal children in normal homes are not here considered; their education is entrusted to the general forces which make for progress. The exceptional child becomes the subject of special philanthropic attention. The primary classification is made on the basis of physical and psychic condition: (1) The normal in body and mind; (2) the defective in sight or hearing; (3) the lame, deformed, feeble, and slow who are educable; (4) the abnormal, feeble-minded, idiotic, imbecile, epileptic, and insane who are educable only within narrow limits, and who all require close supervision; (5) the vicious, depraved, and delinquent. Subclasses are formed by consideration of age, stage of development, sex, and domestic situation.

Observation under friendly detention is the first stage of social dealing with neglected or delinquent children; it is like the physician's diagnosis which precedes prescription of medicine or hygienic direction. The attempt to make a census of all defective and abnormal children has not been successful; the ordinary census canvassers are not competent to make the diagnosis. A more satisfactory result has been secured by the study of pupils in schools, and making a record of the defective and abnormal, as in Switzerland. Institutions and temporary homes for the care of foundlings, abandoned and abused children, orphans and half-orphans frequently have quarters for quarantine and observation. Thus, the École Théophile Roussel at Montesson, near Paris, and the Asile d'Observation in the shelter of the Assistance Publique in Paris (rue Denfert-Rochereau) furnish examples. Uniform records and reports to central authority are desirable. Our juvenile courts and certain societies for preventing cruelty have medical inspection and useful records of history and condition. On the basis of classification made through observation, certain principles of treatment have been applied as the result of experience and discussion.

Social care begins with prevention. The measures taken indicate the existing evils and dangers, and show also the guiding ideas of practical men.

Associations and governments have begun to ameliorate the conditions of existence; to improve the external and internal sanitary condition of the house; to enact and administer truancy laws to keep children in school, and factory laws to keep them out of unsuitable industries and save them from premature industrial exploitation; to provide baths and medical care, ice, and pure milk; to wage war on tuberculosis and other communicable and preventable diseases; to improve and extend educational agencies and adapt them to the industrial needs of working people; to provide insurance so that families may not be impoverished or pauperized in time of sickness, accident, or death. More direct methods are such as dispensaries for training mothers in the care of infants, as those of Dr. Budin in Paris; the provision of Pasteurized and sterilized milk, gratuitously or at low cost; and charitable supply of food and clothing for school pupils whose parents are too poor to supply their wants. Judicial intervention has, in recent years, been vastly extended and improved, as in the educational measures for neglected children in Germany since 1900, the councils of tutelage in Norway and Holland, the Children's Courts in the United States. and similar activity of judges in France and Austria. This judicial intervention becomes the center of the philanthropic activities of associations, probation officers, institutions, and industrial schools. Defective parental influence is improved, and when it becomes incurably vicious it is removed. One statement of the principle is this: "If it can be done without sacrificing the interests of the child, he should remain with his own parents, who should be stimulated and helped to meet their parental obligations, as far as possible. Every reasonable effort should be made to repair breaches and defects in the home before breaking up the family relation." (N. C. C., 1906, Report of Committee on Child Saving.)

The mother who refuses natural nourishment and physical care greatly increases the probability of her infant's death. The unmarried mother should be offered help to care for her offspring; and the father, when possible, should be sought out and required to carry his share of the burden of support. If the infant has been separated from the mother by reason of her death or flight, the best chance of life is the breast milk of some other mother; and next to that, at a long distance, the prepared milk or artificial foods recommended by physicians. Infants should not be kept together in large numbers, for they infect each other with disease; but they should be scattered in selected homes which are kept under supervision. When the first months of infancy are safely passed, the homeless child is to be cared for on the principles stated in the following paragraphs:

Half-orphans, children of parents in hospitals and asylums, and of others temporarily unable to support them, may properly be boarded out in families or kept for some weeks in institutions, the parents paying for the cost as far as they are able. Permanently dependent children, as orphans, children taken by legal process from cruel or immoral parents should not be retained in institutions longer than is necessary to observe them, prepare them physically and otherwise for family life, and find them suitable family homes. Temporary homes should be prevented by state law and inspection from becoming asylums. The natural place for a normal child is in a good family. The foster home must be selected, examined, and supervised for a time by trained agents of a responsible society approved by state authority. Inquiry by letters is entirely inadequate protection. Supervision should not be discontinued except upon authority of a court of record. The cost of board and education may be met by a charitable society, or by families taking such children for care or adopting them outright. All acts of charitable associations should be under judicial and state control.

The special methods of education suitable for deaf, blind, crippled, and deformed children are considered in pedagogic science. Social responsibility centers in modes of placing and support. Generally the states provide boarding-schools for the instruction of the blind and deaf, and these are supported partly or entirely at public cost. In large cities experiments are being made with special rooms and teachers for defective children. Crippled children require orthopedic treatment and special hospital care.

When observation has shown that a child is so imperfectly developed mentally as to be incapable of training for competitive life and self-control, the only course open is segregation in special schools which gradually become asylums for life. Such persons never become fit for marriage and parenthood, and by segregation in colonies, which may be made in great part self-supporting, society is protected against the propagation of the unfit. Epileptic children, when the disease is marked and seated, require treatment and life-long asylum in their own colonies, apart from the insane and the feeble-minded. The modes of treatment in such colonies are subjects of surgical, medical, and pedagogic science.

Neglected and dependent children are exposed to moral peril, and are tempted to satisfy wants by means harmful to society. The judicial intervention already mentioned represents the modern tendency in all civilized countries to place young persons under responsible discipline before evil habits have become fixt and have issued in depravity and crime. Only when family, school, probation officers, and church have failed, is there recourse to the institution. Reformatory education begins with ungraded rooms under special teachers and methods; proceeds to parental schools where temporary discipline seeks to restore the delinquent to the ordinary schools; and then follow, for more difficult cases, the industrial or reform school with its farm and trades, and later still the reformatory and the prison. Incarceration must be the last resort. In all institutions outdoor life, with rural occupations, seems the most hopeful environment. (See REFORMATORY.)

Most of the agencies of child-helping have sprung into existence through the initiative of individuals, and only slowly has general organization been effected. In each city and county there is need of local cooperation in order to prevent duplication and waste of means and effort, to avoid neglect of need, and to sustain general interest. Public institutions should be visited and encouraged. The center for local cooperation may be the associated charities, a society for protecting children, a juvenile court association, a board of guardians, or a committee created by all the agencies which are seeking to help children in the community.

By central organization is here meant that of the state. Each commonwealth ought to have a

board of charities and correction which can supervise all agencies and activities in this field and propose laws and regulations for the furtherance of sound methods and the prevention of abuses. An important aid to this central organization is the State Convention of Charity and Correction which is held annually in some states.

The chief educational organization is the National Conference of Charities and Correction, whose proceedings, as printed, are a mine of information on all phases of this subject. The National Children's Home Society is a federation of state societies, twenty-eight in number, which holds two meetings annually, and strives, through its executive committee and superintendents, to extend the organization in territory not yet properly organized, and to improve the character of the work already attempted. The oldest of these societies, and the mother of all, has recently (1906) joined the federation. This is the New York Children's Aid Society, founded by the distinguished philanthropist, Mr. Charles Loring Brace. The National Child Labor Committee, organized in 1904, has for its object the education of the public in relation to the extent and effects of injurious employment of children, and the promotion of legislative and administrative methods of diminishing the evils connected with industrial exploitation of young persons.

C. R. Henderson.

References: *Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*, by Homer Folks, 1902; *Juvenile Offenders*, by W. D. Morrison, 1897; *American Charities*, by A. G. Warner; *Introduction to the Study of Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents* (with bibliography), by C. R. Henderson, 1901; *Principles of Relief*, by E. T. Devine.

CHILD LABOR (see also Child Saving, Child Labor in England, National Child Labor Committee): United States.

Bulletin 69, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D. C., Jan., 1907), gives the following table of the extent of Child Labor in the United States in 1900:

TABLE I

Children Ten to Fifteen Years of Age Reported at the Twelfth Census as Having a Gainful Occupation

United States (area of enumeration)	1,752,187		
Continental United States	1,750,178	Hawaii	998
Alaska	1,002	Military and naval service abroad	9

A classification by year of age is also given for the following reason: "In the age period ten to fifteen occurs the transition from childhood to adolescence, and normally each year included in that period marks important changes in the child's growth and development; hence in any question relating to the education and welfare of the child, a difference of only one year is significant" (p. 7).

TABLE II

Breadwinners Ten to Fifteen Years of Age in Continental United States, 1900

Age	Number	Per cent
10 years	142,105	8.1
11 years	158,778	9.1
12 years	221,313	12.6
13 years	268,427	15.3
14 years	406,701	23.2
15 years	552,854	31.6
Total	1,750,178	100.0

The proportion these children bear to all children of the given ages is shown in the following table:

TABLE III

Children Ten to Fifteen Years Classified by Sex and Year of Age, with Percentage of Breadwinners of each Sex, for Continental United States, 1900

Age	Breadwinners		
	Total	Number	Per cent
	Both sexes		
Total	9,613,252	1,750,178	18.2
10 years	1,740,628	142,105	8.2
11 years	1,583,131	158,778	10.0
12 years	1,637,509	221,313	13.5
13 years	1,550,402	268,427	17.3
14 years	1,568,564	406,701	25.9
15 years	1,533,018	552,854	36.1
	Males		
Total	4,852,427	1,264,411	26.1
10 years	882,052	105,580	12.0
11 years	798,193	119,628	15.0
12 years	828,008	163,649	19.8
13 years	781,448	196,830	25.2
14 years	793,340	289,655	36.5
15 years	769,386	389,069	50.6
	Females		
Total	4,760,825	485,767	10.2
10 years	858,576	36,525	4.3
11 years	784,938	39,150	5.0
12 years	809,501	57,664	7.1
13 years	768,954	71,597	9.3
14 years	775,224	117,046	15.1
15 years	763,632	163,785	21.4

The opinion is so prevalent in America that child labor in agricultural pursuits is never injurious that the above table should at the outset be divided to distinguish those engaged in agriculture from those engaged in all other occupations. This is done in the following table:

TABLE IV

Breadwinners Ten to Fifteen Years of Age in Continental United States, 1900

Age	Total		In Agricultural Pursuits		In all other Occupations	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	1,750,178	100.0	1,061,971	100.0	688,207	100.0
10 years	142,105	8.1	121,422	11.4	20,683	3.0
11 years	155,778	9.1	131,807	12.4	26,971	3.9
12 years	221,313	12.6	171,643	16.2	49,670	7.2
13 years	268,427	15.3	179,393	16.9	89,034	12.9
14 years	406,701	23.2	215,678	20.3	191,023	27.8
15 years	552,854	31.6	242,028	22.8	310,826	45.2

There are no official returns of child labor in the U. S. subsequent to 1900—excepting Census Bulletins of Manufactures (1905) and reports of labor commissioners and factory inspectors in several individual states. It is to be regretted that students of this subject in America are compelled to refer, for comprehensive statistics, to

figures compiled seven years ago, the "children" reported in those returns being now from seventeen to twenty-two years of age.

Some approximate view of the present extent of child labor in the U. S. can be had, however, by a study of the increase in the number of wage-earning children in recent years. The following table compiled from the Twelfth Census (1900) by the National Child Labor Committee shows the number of children ten to fifteen years of age in the five chief groups of occupations, the increase in the twenty years, 1880 to 1900, and the present number estimated on that basis of increase:

manufacture is reported in the manufacture of paper and printing, liquors and beverages, food and kindred products, and in shipbuilding. The principal increase is shown in textiles, leather and its finished products, tobacco, and in miscellaneous industries.

When it is considered that these census figures must be gathered from available data and that the laws in many states are so defective as to defeat the true purpose of enumeration, while other states are devoid of any agency for gathering official information, the reports of the Census Department are less convincing than is desirable.

TABLE V

Some United States Census Statistics of Child Labor

	1880	1900	Increase per cent	1906 estimated
Population of continental United States	50,155,783	75,568,686	50.6	83,189,756
Total number of children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age	6,649,483	9,613,252	44.5	10,502 380
Number of children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age engaged in gainful occupations	1,118,356	1,750,178	56.5	1,939,524
Boys	825,187	1,264,411	53 2	.....
Girls	293,169	485,767	65.7	.....
Per cent which children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age at work constitute of all children 10 to 15 inclusive	16.8	18.2	.....	.....
Total number of children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age engaged in trade and transportation	38,657	122,362	216.5	147,352
Boys	35,609	100,174	181.3	.....
Girls	3,048	22,188	627.9	.....
Total number of children 10 to 15 (inclusive) years of age engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	133,007	283,869	113.4	329,127
Boys	86,171	170,653	98.0	.....
Girls	46,836	113,216	141.7	.....

	Children 10 to 13 (inclusive)	Children 14 to 15 (inclusive)
All gainful occupations	790,623	959,555
Agricultural	604,265	457,706
Trade and transportation	21,875	100 487
Mechanical and manufacturing pursuits	62,532	221,337
Domestic and personal service	101,513	177,518
Professional service	438	2,507

The Director of the Census, in the "Letter of Transmittal' (Jan. 25, 1907) accompanying Census Bulletin No. 69 on "Child Labor in the U. S.," says, "With the growth of population there has probably been a considerable increase since 1900 in the number of children who are working for wages, except possibly in those communities where new laws imposing greater restrictions upon the employment of young children have been enacted and are being efficiently enforced, but it is unlikely that, aside from the increase in numbers, a census taken at the present time would show conditions differing materially from those existing at the date of the twelfth census."

A series of Census Bulletins on Manufactures (1905) shows a total decrease in the number of children ten to fifteen years of age engaged in manufacturing pursuits, of nine tenths of 1 per cent in the five years 1900–5, twenty-five states and territories showing a decrease and twenty-six showing an increase. The largest percentage of decrease in the employment of children in

Real Number Probably Larger

The belief is general among those familiar with child-employing industries that the number of children employed in some states and in particular industries considerably exceeds the number reported either in the census returns or in the inspection reports of these states. This belief is based upon the known tendency of manufacturers to underestimate the number of children employed, the tendency of parents to overstate the ages of their working children, and upon the school census reports in a large number of industrial communities.

The Census Bulletins (1905) report 32,826 children employed in the manufacturing establishments of the four cotton-manufacturing states, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia. These figures are based on information furnished by the manufacturers in those states. The *Blue Book* (1905), also compiled from information given by the manufacturers, shows, according to Dr. A. J. McKelway, assistant secretary of the

National Child Labor Committee, a number far in excess of the census returns. He says:

How many children, of what ages, are now employed in Southern cotton-mills, nobody knows. The manufacturing organs that are inclined to boom the industry, as to capital invested, the sum of wages paid and the number of factories and spindles and looms, are apparently trying to convince the public that this vast industry is run with an insignificant body of human workers. The census statistics just issued for 1904 are far below, in the statistics of employees, the statements made by the same manufacturers to the textile publications. And yet the percentage of children under sixteen reported by the manufacturers is enough almost to rouse a people to arms in their defense.

The *Blue Book*, a recognized authority on cotton-mill statistics, whose publishers send out every year to the cotton manufacturers blanks to be filled out by them, stating the number of operatives employed, reports in actual numbers, or by fair computation for the few mills that do not report the number of operatives, the total of 208,940 operatives for 1906. Taking the Georgia percentage of children under sixteen to the whole number of employees as conservative for the whole South, we would have 70,412 children under sixteen in the Southern mills, and other disinterested persons have testified that these children are of all the ages from sixteen to six. I quote again the statement made by Mr. R. M. Miller, Jr., of Charlotte, N. C., formerly president of the Southern Cotton Spinners' Association, later president of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, considered an expert in cotton-mill matters, that 75 per cent of the spinners of the North Carolina mills were fourteen years and under, while his predecessor in office, Mr. George B. Hiss, of Charlotte, told me that the usual calculation was that only 30 per cent of the operatives were adults.

Another example of the defectiveness of official returns is the Anthracite report of the Department of Mines, Pennsylvania (1905). This report shows that there were 760 boys of whose ages the deputy inspectors were in doubt, though the chief of the department says "the boys of doubtful age number a little over 9 per cent of the total number employed, . . . it is very probable, however, that many of the 760 classed as doubtful by the inspectors are over fourteen." Yet the chief admits the impossibility of securing reliable data in the following words:

The difficult thing is to get at the correct ages of these boys, as at least 75 per cent of them were born in foreign countries. Besides this, the department has neither the time nor the money to spend in prosecuting the parents or guardians of these children. If the next legislature could be induced to appropriate about $50,000 for this purpose, the department could enter proceedings to get at the true facts in the matter. . . .

The law is emphatic in its requirement of properly attested certificates for children applying for employment, but unfortunately, under the present system no protection is afforded in cases where the age is falsely represented. The inspectors may frequently have doubts as to the eligibility of the boys who are given employment, but as the certificates have been accepted by the mine foremen, they are without authority to take action in the matter.

From towns and boroughs representing not more than one sixth of the anthracite field, the National Child Labor Committee (1906) compiled returns from school superintendents familiar with the family life and childhood of these communities, showing not less than 2,460 boys under fourteen years of age working in the mines and breakers of these towns and boroughs. While the conclusion would be unwarranted that the total number of boys under fourteen years of age employed in the anthracite field is six times the 2,460 reported (14,760), it is evident that the 760 reported by the department of mine inspection is based on inadequate knowledge. This defect, as explained by the writer (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Jan., 1907, p. 43), arises from the difficulties surrounding the work of the factory inspector on account of the very defective law of Pennsylvania governing child labor in the mines:

The mine inspectors have been hampered in their work by the fact that nearly all the boys have sworn certificates to their legal age for employment; by the fact that the records at the mines show all boys to be of proper age; by the fact that the visiting inspector is usually known to the boys, who are thus on their guard against any compromising confession; and also by the extent of the field to be covered. The department reports an average of forty-five mines for every deputy inspector, which, as every one familiar with the industry knows, would require superhuman speed and strength of every one of these fifteen representatives of the state. In his report for 1903, the chief criticizes the law requiring every mine to be inspected at least every two months in these words: "This requirement defeats the very purpose of the act and reduces the inspector to a mere walking machine with time only to note the most trivial matters."

A complete statistical report of child labor in the U. S. would include also a large number of children under ten years of age who are at work but who are not included in the census returns. There would also be included the large number of children employed in sweat-shops ("home industries"!), street trades and a multitude of unclassified and informal occupations who are not reported as gainfully employed, but are reported either as at home, or in school, or are omitted altogether.

The variety of commercial pursuits into which the labor of children enters is partly indicated by the list of 315 gainful occupations reported by census enumerators.

The New York State Bulletin of the Commissioner of Labor for March, 1907, contains returns from an investigation of tenement-house labor in certain streets in New York City. In seven streets visited there were found 193 children engaged in gainful labor—the manufacture of clothing, artificial flowers, etc. These children ranged in age from five to fourteen years, the report showing the following numbers for each year of age:

Five years of age, 4; six years of age, 8; seven years of age, 20; eight years of age, 17; nine years of age, 25; ten years of age, 27; eleven years of age, 25; twelve years of age, 37; thirteen years of age, 30.

Many of these children were reported as working only occasionally, while others were employed regularly for the entire day and some until nine or ten o'clock at night.

Legislative. No two states in the union have identical laws. Statutes differ as to minimum age limit for employment, hours of labor, educational requirements, methods of age certification, scope of regulation, etc. It is therefore impossible to present in detail the specific laws that govern child labor in the various states, especially since the statutes in several instances are complicated and extensive.

The principal features of the various laws are noted in the following table, from which many special features (hours of closing stores and factories, catalogue of industries affected by the law, description of kinds of educational tests or proofs of age required, and equipment and effectiveness of factory inspection departments) are necessarily omitted. A few important exceptions are noted supplementary to the table.[1] The age limit given does not in every state apply to all its industries, but applies in industries coming chiefly under the jurisdiction of the inspectors. The more important educational requirements appear in the column "Compulsory Education."

[1] For a detailed analysis of state laws (to Jan. 1, 1907), see "Consumers' League Handbook," 1907, by Josephine C. Goldmark, National Consumers' League, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

State	Age limit in factories, stores, etc.	Age limit in factories	Exemptions		Hours		Night-work prohibited	Compulsory education	Proof of age	Officials for enforcement	Special
			For poverty, dependent parents, etc.	Certain industries and periods	Per day	Per week					
Alabama	12		Age limit 10 for orphans and for poverty.			48 night-, 66 day-work	Under 13 in factories.		Affidavit		Age limit 14 in mines.
Alaska											
Arizona					8 in mines			to 14, 12 weeks each year			
Arkansas		12			10	60	Under 14 in factories.	to 14, 16 weeks each year	Affidavit		Age limit 14 in mines; if illiterate 16.
California	14		Age limit 12 for poverty.	No age limit for all agricultural, horticultural, and viticultural work in vacation.	9	54	Under 16 in factories, stores, offices, laundries.	to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Colorado		14 [2]			8			to 14, entire school year		School officials	
Connecticut	14 [1]				10	60		to 14, entire school year	Documentary	School officials	
Delaware		14	Children of widows.	All places of employment except factories.	9	54			Affidavit	Special state officials	
District of Columbia								to 14, entire school year			
Florida	See Special										Under 16 may not be employed more than 60 days without consent of legal guardian.
Georgia		12	Age limit 10 for orphans and for poverty.				Under 14 in factories after Jan. 1, 1908.		Affidavit		
Hawaii								to 15			
Idaho	14 [1]			12 in vacation	9	54	Under 14	to 14, 12 weeks each year	Affidavit		
Illinois	14 [1]				8	48	Under 16 in all gainful occupations.	to 14, 110 days each year	Documentary	Special state officials	Age limit 16 in mines and dangerous occupations.
Indiana	14				10	60	Girls in factories	to 14, entire school year.	Affidavit	Special state officials	
Indian Territory											
Iowa	14						Minors under 16	to 14, 16 weeks each year		Special state officials	
Kansas		14						to 15, entire school year (some exemptions).	Affidavit	Special state officials	Age limit includes factories, mines, and packing-houses
Kentucky	14		Exemptions for poverty.	Handling fruits and vegetables in season and delivery and preparation of tobacco.	10	60	Under 16 in factories and mines.	to 14, 5 months each year	Affidavit	Special state officials	

CHILD LABOR LAWS. BY STATES—*Continued*

State	Age limit in factories, stores, etc.	Age limit in factories	Exemptions: For poverty, dependent parents, etc.	Exemptions: Certain industries and periods	Hours: Per day	Hours: Per week	Night-work prohibited	Compulsory education	Proof of age	Officials for enforcement	Special
Louisiana	See Special			12 years	10	60				Special state officials	Age limit in factories: boys 12, girls 14.
Maine		14		In vacation or on certificate of 16 weeks' schooling and in canneries.	10	60		to 15, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Maryland	12			Farm labor	10			to 12, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Massachusetts	14				10	58	See [3]	to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Michigan	14				10	60	Under 16 in factories	to 15, entire school year (some exemptions).	Affidavit	Special state officials	
Minnesota	14 [2]		Under 14 and illiterates under 16 for poverty.		10	60	Under 16 in all gainful occupations.	to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Mississippi	See Special										Same as Florida for boys under 21 and girls under 18.
Missouri	14 [2]				9	54	Under 14	to 14, ½ of school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Montana	14 [2]				8 in mines			to 14, 16 weeks each year	Documentary	School officials	Age limit 16 in mines.
Nebraska	14 [1]			Age limit 10 in vacation.	8	48	Under 16 in all prohibited occupations	*Rural.* to 15, ⅔ of school year (some exemptions). *Urban.* to 16 entire school year.	Documentary	Special state officials	
Nevada								to 14, 12 weeks each year			
New Hampshire	14 [1]				10	60		to 14, entire school year	Affidavit	School officials	
New Jersey	14				10	55		to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	
New Mexico								to 14, 12 weeks each year			
New York	14 [1]			Over 12 in mercantile establishments, in vacation, in cities of third class.	8	48	See [4]	to 14, Oct.-June each year	Documentary	Special state officials	
North Carolina		13		Apprenticed labor.	11	66	Under 14 in factories after Jan. 1, 1908.	4 months in year preceding employment.	Affidavit	Special state officials	
North Dakota	14 [2]		Under 14 for poverty.		10			to 14, entire school year		School officials	
Ohio	14 [1]				10	55	Girls under 18, boys under 16, in all gainful occupations.	to 14, 36 weeks each year	Documentary	Special state officials	
Oklahoma											
Oregon	14 [1]			Age limit 12 in any suitable work in vacation of more than 2 weeks.	10	60	Under 16 in all gainful occupations.	to 14, entire school year	Documentary	Special state officials	

CHILD LABOR LAWS. BY STATES—*Concluded*

State	Age limit in factories, stores, etc.	Age limit in factories	Exemptions: For poverty, dependent parents, etc.	Exemptions: Certain industries and periods	Hours: Per day	Hours: Per week	Night-work prohibited	Compulsory education	Proof of age	Officials for enforcement	Special
Pennsylvania	14	.....	.....	All domestic and farm labor.	12	60	See [5].	to 13, entire school year.	Affidavit	Special state officials	Age limit 16 inside anthracite mines; age limit 12 inside bituminous mines.
Rhode Island	14	.....	.....	All agricultural pursuits.	10	58	Under 16 in factories and stores.	to 13, entire school year.	Documentary	Special state officials	.....
South Carolina	.....	12	Under 12 for poverty.	.....	.....	.....	Under 12 in factories.	.....	Affidavit	.....	.....
South Dakota	14 [2]	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	to 14, 12 weeks each year	.....	School officials	.....
Tennessee	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	62	.....	.....	Affidavit	Special state officials	.....
Texas	.....	Ifliterate 12, if illiterate 14	Illiterates under 14 for poverty.	.....	.....	.....	Under 14 in factories.	.....	.....	.....	Age limit of 16 applies only to mines and distilleries.
Utah	See Special	.....	.....	.....	8 in mines	.....	.....	to 14, 20 weeks each year	.....	.....	Age limit 14; applies only to mines.
Vermont	16 [1]	.....	.....	Age limit 12 out of school hours and in vacation.	.....	.....	Under 16 in most industries.	to 16, 28 weeks each year	.....	School officials	.....
Virginia	.....	12	.....	.....	10	.....	Under 14 in factories or mines	.....	.....	Special state officials	.....
Washington	14 [1]	.....	Age limit 12 for poverty.	.....	10 for girls.	.....	Under 16 in bakeries.	to 15, entire school year.	Documentary	Special state officials	.....
West Virginia	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	to 14, 20 weeks each year	Affidavits only for employment in mines.	Special state officials	Age limit 14 in factories and stores in school term.
Wisconsin	14 [1]	.....	Over 12 in vacation for poverty.	.....	10	60	Under 16 in all gainful occupations.	to 14, 8 months each year	Documentary	Special state officials	.....
Wyoming	See Special	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	to 16, if unemployed	.....	.....	Age limit 14; applies only to mines.

[1] Also all employments during school hours.
[2] In all employments during school hours, unless school requirements have been complied with.
[3] Night-work prohibited:
From 7 P.M. to 6 A.M. children under 14 in all gainful occupations and under 16 in textile mills.
After 8 P.M. to 6 A.M. children under 14 in all street trades.
From 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. minors in manufactures.
[4] Night-work prohibited:
From 5 P.M. to 8 A.M. children under 16 in factories.
From 7 P.M. to 7 A.M. children under 16 in mercantile establishments in New York City and Buffalo.
From 10 P.M. to 7 A.M. children under 16 in mercantile establishments except in New York City and Buffalo.
After 10 P.M. for newsboys under 14 in cities of first and second class.
[5] Under 16 in all gainful occupations (except boys over 14 in certain industries, who may work not more than 9 hours at night).

The record year in child labor legislation was 1905, when twenty-two states and one territory enacted laws regulating the employment of children. This unusual harvest of legislative improvement may be looked upon as the fruit of many years of activity on the part of labor-unions, women's clubs, the National Consumers' League, the experience of states already having effective laws and efficient factory inspectors, and especially the organization of public sentiment against the practise of child employment since the formation of the National Child Labor Committee in April, 1904.

Promoted by these same forces, together with an awakened interest among the churches, improved child labor laws were passed in six states in 1906, Georgia and Iowa having for the first time placed on the statute books a law against child labor. The National Child Labor Committee cooperated in all of this work through distribution of literature, correspondence, and general support. In Iowa it was instrumental in bringing together into a state committee the various elements that had, unorganized, struggled for years without success. In Maryland, Georgia, and Kentucky representatives of the committee appeared before the legislative assemblies in active support of the bills, and the work of the Southern office, opened in Atlanta early in 1906, was concentrated on the situation in Georgia, which presented the most difficult legislative battle that has yet been fought for the protection of childhood in this country.

Since Jan. 1, 1907, important amendments have improved the child labor laws in Alabama, Florida, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, and Idaho.

In addition to these state activities interest in this subject has been expressed in a growing demand for national regulation of child labor. A bill was introduced in Congress in Jan., 1907, authorizing the federal government (under the provisions of the Interstate Commerce law) to exclude from interstate transportation goods offered for shipment from mines or factories employing children under fourteen years of age. The discussions of this measure on the floor of the Senate and by the press throughout the country have developed the encouraging fact that all well-informed people admit the existence of the evil and grant the urgency of some thorough method of regulation—the division of opinion turning only upon the question whether it would be expedient, and if so, whether the national government has the power to legislate in a matter heretofore regarded as wholly within the limits of state jurisdiction.

Legislation

In a country composed of a number of almost independent commonwealths the disparity in state laws is a source of great confusion. Not only does such inequality render enforcement of law difficult, but the states with regulation well advanced lay burdens upon merchants and manufacturers as against their competitors across the state line which they consider unfair. The glass manufacturer of eastern Ohio protests against the enforcement of the law against employment of boys under sixteen at night, when he knows that just across the river his competitor, whose expenses for fuel, material, and shipping are identical with his own, can employ boys in Pennsylvania at night at fourteen years and in West Virginia during vacation at twelve. The enforcement of the law is felt to be an injustice and the violation of a well-recognized economic principle.

In view of the halting action that may be expected in many states where the need of reform is greatest, many believe that some national action is necessary if the present generation is to be safeguarded. Despite the strong predisposition of the National Child Labor Committee to favor state regulation of the conditions of industry, it appears to have become the prevailing sentiment of its members that the national government should at least take steps to secure the entire elimination of children under fourteen years from the field of gainful occupation, leaving the individual states to take such further action as seems justified. This would establish a standard below which the nation cannot safely permit any of its parts to fall.

In some respects the most important measure dealing with the employment of children is the law enacted by Congress in February, 1907, authorizing an investigation of the conditions of working women and children. This law is a direct result of the persistent activity of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Trade Union League, the National Consumers' League, the National Child Labor Committee, and other organizations interested in the protection of children. An appropriation of $150,000 was devoted to this investigation and the Commissioner of Labor is authorized to add to his regular staff of investigators a sufficient force to make this special study. The value of such an investigation can hardly be overestimated. Heretofore, in default of reliable and complete statistics either from the census bureau or the departments of labor and factory inspection in the various states, it has been necessary for private organizations like the National Child Labor Committee to secure through their own agents the statistical data necessary for arousing public interest in the evils against which they are organized. The objection to this private investigation is obvious. No matter how thorough the agents of a private organization may be, their reports are always open to the charge of being unofficial or "irresponsible." These committees recognize the responsibility of private organizations in arousing public interest, promoting improved legislation, and aiding in law enforcement. But they believe the duty of discovering to what extent the citizens of our country are subjected to unfavorable or injurious conditions is distinctly a duty of the federal government and the various commonwealths. They have therefore been active in urging this government investigation which will lay an authoritative foundation for the work they are organized to conduct.

A Federal Investigation

This report will have a special value in that the investigation is not limited to a statistical study, but is designed to cover the whole field of research into the conditions surrounding wage-earning women and children. It is this larger social phase of the investigation which distinguishes it from a mere census report and which led the director of the census to declare so emphatically that such an investigation lies entirely outside the appropriate exercise of the powers of the census bureau.

The labor organizations have for many years protested against the employment of young chil-

dren in gainful occupations, and may be regarded as the first, in point of time, among the forces arrayed against this system. The General Federation of Women's Clubs has been so active in promoting better conditions that at present nearly all enterprising local clubs have a special committee on child labor, and these committees keep the club members informed of the work of the National Consumers' League and the National Child Labor Committee. Leading educators, social settlement workers, business men and many manufacturers and other employers of labor are joined together for the purpose of securing better conditions for working children, all these classes of citizens being represented in the *personnel* of the National Child Labor Committee, while latterly the churches throughout the country are awakening to the existence of this menace to the intellectual and moral interests of society.

Agencies Opposed to Child Labor

The National Consumers' League, and its local branches, seeks the improvement of industrial conditions through the means of a systematic boycott on producers and purveyors of goods manufactured in unsanitary factories or sweat-shops, or where child labor is employed, or offered for sale in places ignoring certain well-defined rules for the treatment of employees. The earlier activities of the league were mainly devoted to the improvement of conditions in the manufacture and sale of white underwear for women, but more recently a vigorous campaign has been entered against the manufacture and sale of impure foods. While this has been the avowed purpose of the league, perhaps its greatest service has been in the positive efforts aiming to secure higher standards of legislation regulating the employment of children and women, and to the Consumers' League should be accorded the honor of having first undertaken, in a systematic manner, the adequate legal protection of working children in America.

National Consumers' League

Since the National Child Labor Committee may be regarded as the direct outgrowth of the conviction, promoted by many interested agencies, that a problem of such dimensions requires treatment by the coordinated efforts of an organization of national scope, the National Child Labor Committee, formed in 1904, has become the most important organization working on this question. For its work, see NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

National Child Labor Committee

In the course of the investigations conducted under the direction of this committee we have made the following observations of the relation of child labor to social welfare, and these have, in part, determined the policy of the committee in its activities:

I. *Children in Agricultural Pursuits Need Protection.*

It has been customary heretofore to exclude children in agricultural pursuits from the discussion of the child labor problem, on the ground that work on the farm is always beneficial. The open fields and pure air and educational opportunities have been set in bright contrast to the environment of the overworked child in the factories and tenements of our large cities. There is a contrast, but not strong enough to justify the neglect of the child in agriculture. The investigations of this committee, while as yet incomplete, are sufficient to indicate the poverty and ignorance of children in many country communities. This is not chiefly in those sections of the country where families live in a degree of isolation, tho even here are many whose lives are devoted to hard manual labor during years that should be given to education and play. But action taken to regulate child labor in agriculture should be directed especially toward those phases of the industry in which people work in large groups. In the fruit and vegetable gardens and canning farms of Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and other Eastern states, as well as in sections along the Pacific slope, there are conditions which demand careful regulation.

Children whose ages range from nine to twelve years have been found working eleven or twelve hours a day during the rush of the canning season, the hours often reaching sixty or seventy a week. The chief objection to this form of employment is not so much in the labor itself, as in the housing and sanitary conditions. A description of living conditions reported by one of the investigators is fairly typical of what have been found in several sections of the country.

"As you enter the door of one of these shanties you see a long line of straw divided into bunks. These straw bunks are the beds of the workers. The bunks are divided by small boards not more than eight inches high, just high enough to prevent one family rolling over on another. Each bunk represents a family—man, wife, and children. There is no privacy, and the influence on the young boys and girls is wretchedly degrading. These bunks are probably seven feet long by five broad, and in each one there are from four to six people. From the ceiling or on ropes stretched across the room hang the clothes of the men and women, unclean and nasty looking; on the other side of the room are the trunks and traveling paraphernalia of the residents. Some of these shanties are reasonably decent, but even in these a whole family sleeps in a small room. Usually the shanties are far enough from the canning-house to escape the odor, but in two cases I found the drainage from the canning-house so close to the shanty that the rotten tomatoes and stagnant juice and seeds, turned into a moldy and festering mass, raised an odor that was absolutely repulsive."

No industry in which evil conditions may reach such an extreme should be left unregulated, especially when utilizing so large a majority of all working children. The investigation of this form of child labor has not yet been extensive enough to warrant an appeal for uniform legislation. Even the total prohibition of child labor in these large groups would not wholly mitigate the evil. The parents come for the season accompanied by their children, and the improvement of sanitary and housing conditions would be the greatest safeguard to childhood, while any law establishing a minimum age for employment should be accompanied by adequate provision for the care and education of the children excluded from labor.

From other parts of the country where there is truck-gardening and fruit-picking are such reports of the possibility of serious immorality among children working in groups, although returning to their homes at night, that strength is added to the conclusion that agricultural pur-

suits should not be left unregulated. It has been necessary thus far, however, for the committee to devote its principal attention to those forms of child labor confessedly more serious in their effects—employment in factories, mines, workshops, mercantile establishments, street trades, and transportation.

II. *The Demand for Child Labor appears to be Industrial rather than Economic.*

As soon as childhood shows its capacity for any specific form of labor, industry at once seizes it and posits an economic necessity for so doing. This takes the form of a demand from both the employer and the parent. It is urged in the cigar factories of Pittsburg, the coal-breakers of Pennsylvania, the glass factories of West Virginia and Maryland and the cotton-mills of the South, that neither cigars, glassware, cotton goods nor coal can be produced for the market without the employment of child labor. The need of the child is also made the defense of his toil. It is urged that without such employment the child will suffer want because of the poverty of the parents who depend on his labor.

Our research leads us to deny the validity of both arguments. No form of legitimate manufacture depends on child labor—tho often finding it an economy and a convenience. Cotton is produced as successfully in Massachusetts without the labor of young children as in Maine or Rhode Island with their labor partially limited, or in the South where child labor is almost without restriction. The glass industry is demonstrating that child labor is incidental rather than essential, and many large factories are being equipped with mechanical devices which will almost entirely supplant the children. The same is true in the coal fields where the widest disparity in conditions prevails, some collieries depending largely on men and automatic slate-pickers for the work performed in others by small boys. We have repeatedly observed that when laws are enacted so restricting child labor as to render it more expensive or inconvenient than machinery the latter is adopted without serious inconvenience. We are proving, even by the halting legislative steps taken in our states, what was apparent in England before 1850—that regulated industries, far from suffering in comparison with others, have continually improved their machinery and methods and developed higher standards of comfort and industrial achievement than have their exempted and unregulated rivals.

As to the economic prosperity of the homes of cheap labor, we observe that the influx of poverty drawn by forms of industry which bring quick returns without the investment of capital or skill peoples the regions promoting such industries with an ever-increasing number of hungry mouths, to the despair of philanthropic agencies. Instead of being benefited by such industries the average toiler grows poorer every year while his family falls ever farther below the standard of decent living. Great industries, like the glass, iron, steel, and railroad industries, often bring in their train the small merchant and pedler, the cheap garment worker and stogie roller who live in abject poverty and work in cramped tenements of unventilated filth. Poverty is never decreased by being congested, and the orphan and the poor widow are never permanently relieved by industries that bid for cheap labor.

To meet the immediate needs of such families as depend for support on children obviously unfit for hard labor, a system of relief has been established in several large cities by which private agencies undertake to pay to the family in the form of a scholarship a weekly sum approximating the amount the child could earn, on condition that the child is kept in school. This has the effect of relieving a number of worthy cases where the welfare of the child would otherwise have been menaced, and also of demonstrating how small a percentage of working children are really essential breadwinners of the families they represent.

III. *The Physical Effects of Child Labor Demand an Exhaustive Investigation.*

The brief industrial history of this country and the meager official data available prevent a comprehensive conclusion as to the physical effects of premature labor. While dogmatic assertions as to physical deterioration should not be based on insufficient data, there is a strong presumption that the same effects will follow the heavy and unregulated toil of children in America which were long ago demonstrated to be the fruit of child labor in England and other older countries.

Pictures and physical descriptions of factory children filed in the office of the National Child Labor Committee, showing the effects of a single year, or two years, of work are sufficiently striking to justify the demand for a thorough physical examination of all children entering industry, and at regular intervals thereafter—the results to be systematically compared with the results of an examination of children not gainfully employed. This should be undertaken by every state maintaining child-employing industries, and if necessary by the national government. Massachusetts has already adopted a system of examination for all children whether entering school or labor.

Among the specific indications of the physical effects of premature labor may be mentioned the following observations on child labor by Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, Cincinnati, Ohio:

> Laymen usually underestimate the physiological importance of the play hours of children between the ages of ten and sixteen years. Work during this period of life in factory and workshop has the effect of causing excessive fatigue in certain groups of muscles. This fatigue results in muscular degeneration and the assumption of certain faulty attitudes which are at first habitual but later assume the place of the normal, leaving the child more or less permanently deformed and to some extent incapacitated.
>
> These deformities are to be regarded on the one hand, however, not simply as disfiguring but as interfering with wage-earning capacity later on, or as menaces to health and the normal tenure of life.
>
> The work of boys is for the most part done in the standing position. This work usually constitutes an apprenticeship for work to be done in the same position as journeymen adults. A very frequent result of such premature and excessive toil in boys is the breaking down of the feet which results in what is popularly known as "flat foot." Under these circumstances, it is seen quite frequently in its severest forms, and thus often results in permanently forbidding the continuance of the trade learned as a boy.
>
> The girl, on the other hand, does her work in the factory in a sitting position, as a rule. The effect is frequently the development of what is known as "rotary lateral curvature of the spine." This results in disabling the expansive power of the chest, crowds the heart and lungs abnormally and even affects the capacity and shape of the pelvis. For this reason it is well known that severe cases of lateral curvature result in bringing the tenure of life far below the average by its effect upon the heart and lungs. The deformity of the pelvis has long been known as being productive of serious harm in the maternal function.
>
> While these deformities are not confined to one sex or the other, and while they do not occur in the greater number of toiling children, they are known to be particularly frequent among them. The baneful effects of these deformities are

greatly intensified by unfortunate home environment and improper nourishment. Finally, it is not to be overlooked that they are not the only, or even the most common evidences of physical deterioration to be observed among working children.

This testimony is amply corroborated by professional judgment in all countries having child-employing industries. The English medical authorities on the subject are familiar to the American student.

In France careful attention has been given to specific effects of child employment and Dr. Grancher, member of the Academy of Medicine, declares that a ten-hour day of labor for a child of thirteen or fourteen years is a physiological error. Dr. Letule, of the Paris Hospital, says:

> Children ought not to work in a closed-in space. The child needs his portion of play. . . . To make use of the growing strength of the child, to transform his gestures into remunerative work, gestures which are indispensable to his physical development, is to wither the species in its future hopes, is to condemn to tuberculosis thousands of poor beings who ought to become robust workmen.

Dr. Sevestre, member of the Academy of Medicine and Inspector-General of the Sanitary Service, says:

> It appears possible to me that if the hygienists and doctors who give special attention to the physical development of children had been consulted the legal duration of work for children in workshops or in establishments more or less healthful would have been diminished.

In 1846, in the British Parliament, Lord Macaulay delivered this condemnation of premature and excessive child labor:

> Rely on it that intense labor, beginning too early in life, continued too long every day, stunting the growth of the mind, leaving no time for healthful exercise, no time for intellectual culture, must impair all those high qualities which have made our country great. Your overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny: nor will it be long before the deterioration of the laborer will injuriously affect those very interests to which his physical and moral energies have been sacrificed.

Yet one will find among American employers of labor, and American legislators, the same defense of the virtue of overwork for young children that has been advanced since the earliest days of factory legislation in England, Germany, and France.

Such state reports as give the number and ages of children in various forms of labor show a remarkable similarity in the percentage of accidents to children under sixteen as compared with accidents to adults. Whether in glass factories, textile, steel or iron mills, mines or quarries, the ratio of about two and one half to one prevails. The report of the Department of Mines in Pennsylvania, 1905, shows 16,774 slate-pickers employed in that year, 8,124, or 48 per cent, of whom were under sixteen. Yet of the slate-pickers killed by accident 75 per cent were under sixteen, the ratio of risk being three to one. The report also demonstrates that the steady increase in the number of accidents in and about the mines (the percentage to the number employed being greater in 1905 than in any year since 1880) is due either to the youth or the ignorance of the workers.

IV. *Child Labor Diminishes Family Income.*

The direct effect of child labor upon the family income follows the recognized tendency of the cheaper article to drive the better from the market. A comparison of wages in industries that utilize child labor with industries demanding only adult labor shows that the total income of the family in the former—as in the silk and cotton factories, cheap cigar and tobacco factories, and the unskilled departments of the glass and coal-mining industries—is not equal to the income of the family in the trades—iron and steel, bridge building, railroad and lumber industries—where only adult members of the family are employed.

When the natural breadwinner is no longer able to maintain his family as an economic unit but must impose upon each member the burden of semiindependent industrial existence, we are brought to a sociological problem of far-reaching import. The institution we call the family cannot survive the crumbling of its economic foundation.

A comprehensive tabulation of the birth-rate as related to family income and to the income of the head of the family is greatly to be desired. But such a tabulation is impracticable until our commonwealths are better equipped with records of vital statistics. And men who work in the social laboratory—especially teachers and physicians—bring to us startling evidence of the reluctance of intelligent and virtuous people to bear children, when they observe skilled employments steadily being divided into unskilled branches which bid for child labor, while the ignorant, the vicious, and the physically unfit continue to propagate their own kind.

It has been abundantly demonstrated by investigations recently conducted that the finding of the Committee of the House of Lords in England in 1889 has its counterpart in this country to-day—that the worst conditions, the longest hours, and the lowest wages existed in the domestic workshops which we have been so concerned to leave free from any government regulation.

V. Child Labor Tends to Industrial Deterioration.

The effects of child labor are seen in the cheapening of industrial products, due to unskilled labor on the one hand, and on the other to the unfitting of the adult for the proper consumption of goods, because of his defective mental and physical training. The Massachusetts Committee on Industrial and Technical Education, 1906, shows that those who too early in life enter industries that bid for cheap child labor are doomed to spend their future years in such labor at wages that will never afford adequate support. It is shown, for example, that while the cotton-mills offer about $4 a week to children beginning as against about $2.50 in the leather industries, and thus win the larger number of children, the wages do not increase in the same proportion. In the cotton-mills the weekly wages advance to about $6 or $6.50 and there rest, while in the shoe factories the advance proceeds from $2.50 to $11 or $12 a week, with a higher percentage of special opportunities for advancement. No other state has made so careful a research into this problem, but there is abundant evidence to the same effect from other countries. If the child laborer progresses in years but not in earning capacity his poverty precludes his participation in the fruits of industry. He becomes a poor purchaser, fails to consume his share of the goods offered for sale, and thus promotes that commercial congestion from which the markets of the world so frequently suffer.

The condemnation of the unregulated domestic

and street trades is even more emphatic. All the witnesses who gave evidence recently before the Inter-Departmental Committee of the British Government "concurred in the view that 'once a street trader always a street trader' and that the streets manufacture the casual worker, the unemployed, and the loafer." (Nettie Adler, 1906, "Juvenile Wage Earners and their Work," p. 7).

VI. Child Labor not a Problem of Foreign Labor.

A special study of the relation of our foreign populations to child labor has been made for the purpose of testing the validity of the claim often advanced that this system, even granting its evil, affects only the foreigners. This claim is well founded only in those localities in which recent arrivals from foreign countries constitute the lower and more helpless element in the community. There their ignorance and traditional subjection to industrial injustices make their children the easy prey of the unscrupulous or the misguided employer. Boroughs in the coal regions of Pennsylvania are found in which not more than 3 per cent or 5 per cent of the school pupils enrolled ever reach the high school, and of these few if any are of the foreign-born children who abound in these communities. But the exploitation of young children is no respecter of race distinctions and, where legal safeguards are wanting, the coal-mine and the glass factory and the silk- and cotton-mill take the children of the community, whether Lithuanian, Pole, Portuguese, French Canadian, or native Cavalier or Puritan stock. But were this evil limited to foreign-born races, they so soon become an integral part of our national life that an injury to them is an injury to all.

VII. A Working Plan.

We must recognize the possibility of misjudging the character of the phenomena that have thus far imprest us. Certain phases of child-labor research must be carried on systematically for some years before more than tentative results should be announced.

Meanwhile we are convinced that the results of the investigations thus far conducted, when interpreted by the experience of older industrial communities, justify as a working hypothesis a program of opposition to child labor along the following general lines:

(1) The regulation of all branches of industry in which children are employed. The experience of older industrial communities proves that in the absence of regulation there will be some trades in which at least some workers will be driven to exist under conditions so exhausting and demoralizing as to be injurious to the community. This excessive burden will fall most heavily upon the laborers least able to protest against injustice—namely, the children.

(2) The elimination of the child under fourteen years of age as an industrial factor.

(3) The restriction of employment for children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, excluding the physically or mentally defective and the illiterates; forbidding the employment of others at night, for more than eight hours a day, or in any employment dangerous to life, limb, health or morals.

The requisites of a good child-labor law are best set forth by Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary of The National Consumers' League (in "Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1905, pp. 93 *seq.*) as follows:—.

What Constitutes Effective Child-Labor Laws

Effective legislation dealing with child labor involves many differing elements, including the child, the parent, the employer, the officials charged with the duty of enforcing the statutes, and finally the community which enacts laws, provides schools for the children when they are prohibited from working, supports and authorizes officers for the enforcement of the laws, prescribes penalties for their violation, assists dependent families in which the children are below the legal age for work. In the long run, the effectiveness of the law depends upon the conscience of the community as a whole far more than upon the parent and the employer acting together.

With the foregoing reservations and qualifications duly emphasized, the following summaries are believed to outline the substance of the effective legislation which it seems reasonable to try to secure in the present and the immediate future. They deal only with provisions for the child as a child, taking for granted the provisions for fire-escapes, safeguards for machines, toilet facilities and all those things which the child shares with the adult worker.

An effective child-labor law rests primarily upon certain definite prohibitions, among which are the following:

Labor Is Prohibited: (1) for all children under the age of fourteen years; (2) for all children under sixteen years of age who do not measure sixty inches and weigh eighty pounds;[1] (3) for all children under sixteen years of age who cannot read fluently and write legibly simple sentences in the English language; (4) for all children under the age of sixteen years, between the hours of 7 P.M. and 7 A.M., or longer than eight hours in any twenty-four hours, or longer than forty-eight hours in any week; (5) for all children under the age of sixteen years in occupations dangerous to life, limb, health or morals.

The Child.—Effective legislation requires that before going to work the child satisfy a competent officer appointed for the purpose, that it (1) is fourteen years of age, and (2) is in good health, and (3) measures at least sixty inches and weighs eighty pounds, and (4) is able to read fluently and write legibly simple sentences in the English language, and (5) has attended school a full school year during the twelve months next preceding going to work.

The Parent.—Effective child-labor legislation requires that the parent (1) keep the child in school to the age of fourteen years and longer if the child has not completed its required school work, and (2) take oath as to the exact age of the child before letting it begin to work, and (3) substantiate the oath by producing a transcript of the official record of the birth of the child, or the record of its baptism, or some other religious record of the time of the birth of the child, and must (4) produce the record of the child's school attendance, signed by the principal of the school which the child last attended.

The Employer.—Effective child-labor legislation requires that the employer before letting the child begin to work: (1) obtain and place on file ready for official inspection papers showing (*a*) the place and date of birth of the child substantiated by (*b*) the oath of the parent corroborated by (*c*) a transcript of the official register of births, or by a transcript of the record of baptism, or other religious record of the birth of the child, and by (*d*) the school record signed by the principal of the school which the child last attended, and by (*e*) the statement of the officer of the Board of Education or the Board of Health designated for the purpose, that he has approved the papers and examined the child; (2) after permitting the child to begin to work, the employer is required to produce the foregoing papers on demand of the school-attendance officer, the health officer, and the factory inspectors; (3) in case the child cease to work, the employer must restore to the child the papers enumerated above; (4) during the time that the child is at work, the employer must provide suitable seats, and permit their use so far as the nature of the work allows; and must (5) post and keep posted in a conspicuous place, the hours for beginning work in the morning, and for stopping work in the middle of the day; the hours for resuming work and for stopping at the close of the day; and all work done at any time not specified in such posted notice constitutes a violation of the law. The total number of hours must not exceed eight in any one day or forty-eight in one week.

The Officials.—Effective legislation for the protection of children requires that the officials entrusted with the duty of enforcing it (1) give their whole time, not less than eight hours of every working-day, to the performance of their duties, making night inspections whenever this may be necessary to insure that children are not working during the

[1] This measure is not now specified in any statute, tho it is implied in the statute of New York, enacted in 1903.

prohibited hours; and (2) treat all employers alike, irrespective of political considerations, of race, religion or power in a community; (3) prosecute all violations of the law; (4) keep records complete and intelligible enough to facilitate the enactment of legislation suitable to the changing conditions of industry.

The School.—The best child-labor law is a compulsory education law covering forty weeks of the year and requiring the consecutive attendance of all the children to the age of fourteen years, and until sixteen years, unless they have meanwhile completed a specified portion of the curriculum, as eight years in Colorado or five years in New York. It is never certain that children are not at work, if they are out of school. In order to keep the children, however, it is not enough to compel attendance—the schools must be modified and adapted to the needs of the recent immigrants in the North and of the poor whites in the South, affording instruction which appeals to the parents as worth having, in lieu of the wages which the children are forbidden to earn, and appeals to the children as interesting and attractive. No system of child-labor legislation can be regarded as effective which does not face and deal with these facts.

The vacation school and camp promise reenforcement of the child-labor laws; which are now seriously weakened by the fact that the long vacation leaves idle upon the streets children whom employers covet by reason of the low price of their labor, while parents, greedy for the children's earnings and anxious lest the children suffer from the life of the streets, eagerly seek work for them. Nothing could be worse for the physique of the school child than being compelled to work during the summer; and the development of the vacation school and vacation camp alone seems to promise a satisfactory solution of the problem of the vacation of the city child of the working class.

The Community.—Effective child-labor legislation places upon the community many duties, among which are: (1) maintaining officials—men and women—school-attendance officers, health officers, and factory inspectors, all of whom need (*a*) salary and traveling expenses, (*b*) access at all reasonable times to the places where children are employed, (*c*) power to prosecute all violations of the statutes affecting working children, (*d*) tenure of office so effectively assured that they need not fear removal from office in consequence of prosecuting powerful offenders; (2) maintaining schools in which to educate the children who are prohibited from working; (3) maintaining vital statistics, especially birth records, such that the real age of native children may be readily ascertained; (4) maintaining provision for the adequate relief of dependent families in which the children are not yet of legal age for beginning work.

More important, however, than the enactment of the foregoing provisions is the maintenance in the community of a persistent, lively interest in the enforcement of the child-labor statutes. Without such interest, judges do not enforce penalties against offending parents and employers; inspectors become discouraged and demoralized; or faithful officers are removed because they have no organized backing, while some group of powerful industries clamors that the law is injuring its interest. Well-meaning employers grow careless, infractions become the rule, and working men form the habit of thinking that laws inimical to their interest are enforced, while those framed in their interest are broken with impunity.

Upon parents there presses incessant poverty, urging them to seek opportunities for wage-earning, even for the youngest children; and upon the employers presses incessant competition, urging them to reduce the pay-roll by all means, fair and foul. No law enforces itself; and no officials can enforce a law which depends upon them alone. It is only when they are consciously the agents of the will of the people that they can make the law really protect the children effectively.

Austria

Statistical.—The statistical returns of the factory inspectors show only the number of persons employed in the establishments visited by them. For the years 1902 and 1903 the data are as follows:

Number of Young Persons and Adults in Austria Employed in Establishments Visited by the Factory Inspectors, 1902 and 1903

[Source: "Soziale Rundschau" 1904 (Bd. II), p. 412.]

	Number		Per cent	
	1902	1903	1902	1903
Adults	728,408	744,264	94.2	94.2
Young persons	44,948	45,619	5.8	5.8

Legislative.—The labor of children in factories and workshops is regulated by the laws of June 4, 1884, and March 8, 1885. (An establishment employing more than twenty persons or equipped with machinery is considered a factory, while other industrial establishments are designated workshops.)

Age.—The age limit for employment in workshops is twelve years, provided that under fourteen years the work shall be such as is not injurious to physical development and does not prevent school attendance. Children under fourteen years are not to be employed in factories, and those from fourteen to sixteen only in the lighter forms of factory labor. The age limit for employment in mining enterprises is fifteen years, provided that by special permit children over twelve years of age may be employed in the "lighter work" when such employment does not interfere with school attendance. The form of labor permitted to males under sixteen and females under eighteen is limited, by executive officers, to such as does not retard physical development.

Hours of Labor.—For children under fourteen employed in workshops, not to exceed eight hours a day. The hours of labor for other persons may not exceed eleven. There must be a recess of not less than one hour and a half a day. Night work is prohibited from 8 P.M. to 5 A.M. for males under sixteen and for all females. The law of January 16, 1895, forbids (with certain specific exceptions) all industrial labor on Sunday.

Certificates.—Employers must keep lists of all employees subject to the provisions of the child-labor laws, and all children must comply with the regulations regarding school attendance and health qualifications, as a condition for employment.

Exemptions.—The Minister of Commerce may grant temporary or permanent exemptions from the provisions of the law, or may place added restrictions on industries or occupations regarded as dangerous for children.

Belgium

Statistical.—

Number of Women and Children in Belgium Employed in Industrial Establishments Visited by the Factory Inspectors, 1897 to 1900

[Source: "Rapports annuels de l'inspection du travail," Office du Travail, Bruxelles, 1897–1900.]

Year	Number of protected persons under 21 years of age				Females over 21 years of age	Total number of workers of all ages and both sexes	Per cent of total number of workers protected
	Children 12 to 16 years		Females 16 to 21 years	Total			
	Boys	Girls					
1897	15,392	9,452	17,229	42,073	19,365	210,767	19.96
1898	16,939	10,761	18,993	46,693	19,380	235,867	19.80
1899	19,810	11,761	21,978	53,549	23,276	252,965	21.17
1900	19,031	13,560	23,429	56,020	25,269	273,363	20.49

Legislative.—The labor of children is regulated by the law of Dec. 13, 1889, supplemented and modified by a number of royal decrees. The law and decrees affect mines, quarries, factories, and industrial establishments using mechanical motive power, and transportation by land or water.

Age.—Labor in any of these establishments is forbidden under twelve years of age, while females under twenty-one are forbidden to labor underground.

Hours of Labor.—Limited to twelve per day for males under sixteen and females under twenty-one (except where special regulations have been issued by royal decree). The regulation of hours of labor is based upon an analysis of the kinds of labor performed, varying from eleven and one-half to ten per day in different specified industries, with rest periods fixed by law (e. g., in the mining industry males under sixteen working underground may not work more than ten hours and a half, including descent, rest period, and ascent. The rest period must not be less than one eighth of the total time spent underground).

Night and Sunday Labor.—Prohibited 9 P.M. to 5 A.M., males under sixteen and females under twenty-one (except in certain specified industries). One day rest in seven is enjoined, though not necessarily Sunday.

Certificates.—Required of males under sixteen and females under twenty-one, showing age, educational and other qualifications. Furnished free by local authorities. Employers must keep files of all protected employees.

Exemptions.—Exceptions or additions to the provisions of the law may be made by royal decree.

France

Statistical.—The following table presents the results of a special enumeration made in 1900 of persons subject to the law of March 30, 1900:

Number of Children and Other Persons in France Employed in Establishments Subject to the Law of March 30, 1900, in the Year 1900

[Source: "Bulletin de l'Office du Travail," 1901, p. 856.]

Age and Sex	Number of workers	Per cent
Children under 18:		
Male	238,498	8.5
Female	220,027	7.8
Females over 18	623,565	22.3
Total women and children	1,082,090	38.6
Males over 18	1,719,916	61.4
Total	2,802,006	100.0

The Minister of Commerce and Industry in France made a report in 1903 upon the industries employing children under eighteen years of age, and the number employed, as follows:

Industries	Male	Female
Food preparation	9,146	8,291
Chemical	3,316	2,381
Rubber, paper, pasteboard	4,817	7,131
Books and printing	12,802	5,026
Textile	43,847	80,192
Cloth and clothing	6,805	100,776
Straw, feathers, hair	845	2,196
Leather and hides	11,548	5,501
Wood	30,117	4,943
Metallurgical	8,099	106
Ordinary metals	58,609	6,569
Fine metals	2,331	1,367
Cutting precious stones	128	156
Cutting and polishing stones	1,538	223
Stove construction	17,539	49
Crockery, glass, etc	21,715	5,766
	233,238	230,636

This makes a total of 463,874. In the same industries there were employed 627,051 women and 1,676,607 men.

Legislative.—The laws of November 2, 1892, amended March 30, 1900, regulating the labor of children applies to factories, workshops, mines, and quarries. Agriculture, mercantile establishments, and workshops in which only members of the family are employed, are exempt. In forty-seven distinct occupations the labor of women and children is forbidden, while ten others permit women but forbid children under eighteen. In ninety-four other kinds of establishments the employment of children is strictly regulated.

Age.—Limit, thirteen years for children who have completed the common-school course. No female of any age may be employed underground.

Hours of Labor.—Limited to ten per day for males under eighteen and females of all ages. In mines for boys thirteen to eighteen the shift must not exceed eight hours.

Night and Sunday Labor.—Labor prohibited 9 P.M. to 5 A.M., or for more than six days per week, males under eighteen and all females.

Certificates.—Required of all children under eighteen, showing age, educational qualifications, and physical ability to perform the work desired. Children under sixteen may be required to undergo special physical examination before employment in certain industries. Employers must keep file of all employees subject to the child-labor laws.

Exceptions.—Certain specified exceptions may be made by executive officials. A ministerial decision in 1895, modified by various decisions, to July 4, 1902, makes the following exemptions to the prohibition of night and extra work:

1. In mills where "fire burns continually" male children may be employed ten hours out of the twenty-four, on condition that they have two hours' rest.

2. In certain industries, such as butter, dairies, ready-made clothing, fruit and fish preserveries and toy manufactories, the inspectors may, during the busy seasons in these trades, permit overtime work until eleven o'clock at night, providing the total day's work does not exceed twelve hours, and may temporarily abrogate the provisions requiring periods of rest and one day's rest per week; but in no case are such special privileges to extend over sixty days in any one year.

Serious Defects.—The more important defects in the otherwise excellent child-labor laws of France are: (1) the entirely inadequate force of factory inspectors (there are 110 inspectors to cover the field of more than 159,060 establishments employing more than 3,000,000 people) and the imposition of penalties for violation of law so slight as to often invite the risk of detection; (2) the failure to properly guard the employment of apprentices, or of children who are boarded with their employers; (3) the failure to properly regulate employment in tenement-house sweat-shops.

The regulation of apprenticeship is under an antiquated law of Feb. 22, 1851. The law provides against certain abuses of overwork, etc., and requires that ignorant apprentices shall be given an opportunity (not over two hours a day) to study. But the apprenticeship system is dying as in other countries, there being but 180 trades in France in which apprentices are received, supervision of apprentices by justices of the peace is a dead letter, and parents have been

found generally indifferent to the violation of contract governing their apprenticed children. It is also possible, without infraction of law, for children to be sent to board with an employer, without being protected even by the apprenticeship contract. As a boarder he becomes a member of the family and thus devoid of protection. In this way many children work without learning a trade and are developed into cheap, inefficient workmen. Francis H. McLean, of the International Committee of the Consumers' League, says (*Charities*, April 22, 1905, New York):

"It is estimated that there are about 50,000 children so employed in the capital city alone. The Consumers' League of Paris has undertaken an investigation into the condition of children employed by pastry cooks. Their ages generally run from thirteen to sixteen years. The Superior Council of Labor, the labor-unions, and the Consumers' League have joined in an agitation to so amend the present laws that all the children so exploited shall work only under apprenticeship contracts strictly regulated, and furthermore, that the factory inspectors shall have jurisdiction over them.

"There is reason to believe that the legislation which will come in the years just ahead will even up French child-labor regulation, and make it in many more details as progressive as it is now in the points enumerated above. There are strong and influential bodies, the great Association for the Legal Protection of Workmen and the active Consumers' League of Paris among others, who are leading the fight. And most significant of all, the intelligent labor-unions of France are vitally and deeply interested in the suggested reforms. In all probability the first step in advance will be to still further curtail the power of a parent to act against the best interests of his child and therefore against the best interests of the State itself. In a country which is so strongly committed to the idea of the superior importance of the common weal over the welfare of any single individual or group in the nation, there can scarcely be any doubt of the early evolution of a model child-labor law."

Germany

Statistical.—In 1898 the German ministry of the interior made a special investigation of the employment of children under fourteen years of age in establishments other than factories, but not including agricultural establishments. The investigation was not a census, as several districts were not canvassed, and the methods followed were not entirely uniform throughout the empire, but the figures show approximately the extent of such child labor and its distribution in the several branches of industry.

The total number of children under fourteen years of age engaged in industrial establishments other than factories in 1898 was found to be 532,283. Making allowance for the territory omitted, the report estimates that this number formed 6.53 per cent of the children of school age.

The branch of industry and the number and per cent of children employed in each in 1898 are shown in the first of the following tables, while the second shows the number of children employed in factories for the years indicated:

Number and Per Cent of Children in Germany Under 14 Years of Age Engaged in Industrial (i. e., Nonagricultural) Establishments Other than Factories in 1898

[Source: "Vierteljahrshefte zur Stat. d. Deutschen Reichs," 1900, pp. iii, 101]

	Number				Per cent			
	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total	Boys	Girls	Sex not reported	Total
Industry	72,428	59,318	175,077	306,823	37.82	55.09	75.11	57.64
Commerce	7,507	4,540	5,576	17,623	3.92	4.22	2.39	3.31
Transportation	2,014	163	514	2,691	1.05	.15	.22	.51
Hotels and restaurants	12,757	2,168	6,695	21,620	6.66	2.01	2.87	4.06
Delivery of merchandise, etc.	67,188	36,966	31,676	135,830	35.09	34.33	13.59	25.52
Ordinary errand work	23,321	2,134	10,454	35,909	12.18	1.98	4.48	6.75
Miscellaneous	6,281	2,387	3,119	11,787	3.28	2.22	1.34	2.21
Total	191,496	107,676	233,111	532,283	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Number of Children and of Females in Germany Under 21 Years of Age Employed in Factories, 1898 to 1903

[Source: "Vierteljahrshefte zur Stat. d. Deutschen Reichs," 1900–3]

Year	Number of Children Employed							Females 16–21 years of age
	Children under 14 years of age		Children 14 to 16 years of age		Total male	Total female	Total both sexes	
	Male	Female	Male	Female				
1898	4,301	2,771	184,502	91,884	188,803	94,655	283,458	288,553
1899	4,497	2,911	196,481	98,664	200,978	101,575	302,553	297,387
1900	5,952	3,395	231,807	103,040	237,759	106,435	344,194	311,193
1901	5,948	3,580	240,938	100,545	246,886	104,125	351,011	310,397
1902	4,678	3,399	215,074	101,229	219,752	104,628	324,380	314,624
1903	5,391	3,528	221,744	106,175	227,135	109,703	336,838	328,535

Legislative.—Laws regulating employment of children over thirteen years of age are in the industrial code, amended June 30, 1900, and the ordinance of the federal council, July 13, 1900. The labor of children under thirteen is restricted by the law of March 30, 1903, and of child labor in the coal-mines of Prussia, Baden, and Alsace-Lorraine by the ordinance of the federal council, March 24, 1903. To these general regulations individual states of the empire may add further restrictions. The laws of the empire apply to mines, factories, workshops, commercial establishments, and all industries connected with transportation. Other establishments may be included at the discretion of the federal council. The laws do not apply to workshops in which only members of the family labor under the direction of the parent.

Age.—Employment in mines, factories, building operations, and workshops designated as unsuited to the employment of children, is forbidden children under thirteen, or children over thirteen who have not completed the common-school course. The employment of children under thirteen or those who have not completed the common-school course is regulated according as the child is, or is not, a member of the employer's family.

Children not related to the employer may not be employed under thirteen in any of the above establishments or in theatrical performances. Those over twelve may be employed in certain workshops, in commerce or transportation, and in hotels and restaurants. Children related to the employer may be employed at ten years in industries permitted to the non-related children under thirteen, though the hours are carefully regulated. Such children may not be employed in industries forbidden other children under thirteen. In certain classes of workshops children under ten years may be employed under strict regulations. Related children may be employed under thirteen in the delivery of milk, newspapers, etc., though this may be at any time restricted by local officials.

No female may be employed underground.

Hours of Labor.—All children under thirteen are compelled to attend school regularly, and may not be employed after 8 P.M. or before 8 A.M. Work may not begin before the school session, nor earlier than an hour after the close of the session. Hours of labor may not exceed three per day, except in regular vacation when they may extend to four hours. Children under fourteen may not work in factories more than six hours per day, and children between fourteen and sixteen not more than ten hours. Specific restrictions also regulate the rest periods and higher age limits for employment in certain industries, also special hours for closing on days preceding Sundays and holidays. In the coal-mines of Prussia, Baden, and Alsace-Lorraine children fourteen years old may work eight hours per day, one hour of which must be a period of rest, while the eight-hour shifts must be separated by at least fifteen hours (thirteen hours before Sundays and holidays).

Night and Sunday Labor.—Prohibited 8.30 P.M. to 5.30 A.M., males under sixteen, females of any age. Females may not work after 5.30 P.M. on days preceding Sunday and holidays. Children under fourteen may not work between 8 P.M. and 8 A.M.

Certificates required of all minors seeking employment, supplied free by local police officials. Employers of children must first file a statement of location of establishment, number of women and children desired, character of work to be done, hours of labor, rest periods, etc. The employer must keep posted in his establishment a list of employees subject to the child-labor laws, showing hours of labor and rest periods. Before employment in mines (Prussia, Baden, Alsace-Lorraine) children under fourteen must be specially examined and obtain a certificate from an authorized physician, that physical development and health will not suffer by such employment.

Exemptions.—The federal council may make certain exceptions to special restrictions contained in the law, but only for a limited period, and may also forbid absolutely the employment of women or children under sixteen in occupations they consider dangerous to health or morals.

These imperial laws are regarded merely as a minimum standard of protection for children, and it is expressly provided that nothing shall prevent the separate states from enacting more stringent laws.

Great Britain

For Child Labor and Legislation in Great Britain see separate article on the subject.

Italy

Statistical.—The following table shows the number and age of the children employed in the establishments visited by the factory inspectors in the years 1897 to 1900. It should be stated that the factory inspectors are few in number and the number of factories visited in one year is not large. The statistics show the extent of the employment of children under the law of 1886, now superseded by the law of 1902:

Number of Children in Italy Employed in Factories Visited by Factory Inspectors in 1897 to 1900

[Source: Relazione sull' applicazione della legge 11 febbraio 1886, sul lavoro dei fanciulli, etc.]

Year	Number of children employed	Per cent		
		9–10 years of age	10–12 years of age	12–15 years of age
1897.....	15,592	1.30	18.07	80.63
1898.....	11,641	.96	7.70	91.34
1899.....	1,086	.18	12.34	87.48
1900.....	6,291	1.34	13.86	84.80

Legislative.—The labor of children is regulated by the law of June 19, 1902, and the administrative decree of Jan. 29, 1903. It affects factories, workshops, mines, quarries, work of construction (including buildings and roads). The government may also, on advice of the superior council of hygiene and the council of industry and commerce, entirely forbid, or place under special restrictions, labor of children in industries considered dangerous or unsanitary.

Age.—Labor is forbidden in the above industries under twelve, except that no child under fourteen (unless mechanical traction is used) and no female may work underground. By special decree children under fifteen may be forbidden employment in any establishment or occupation considered dangerous or unsanitary.

Hours of Labor.—Limited to eleven per day

for children twelve to fifteen years old, and not more than twelve for any female. The length and frequency of rest periods is also established by law. The minister of agriculture, industry, and commerce may, with the advice of the provincial council of hygiene, extend the hours of labor for children to twelve per day for a limited period and for specific cause.

Night and Sunday Labor.—Night-work forbidden (8 P.M. to 6 A.M. in winter, 9 P.M. to 5 A.M. in summer) males under fifteen and females of any age. Special regulations may be issued regarding night-work in specific localities. Children under fifteen and females of all ages must have one entire day of rest each week (not necessarily Sunday).

Certificates.—Required of males under fifteen and all minor females subject to the provisions of this law, showing that applicant has proper age, health, and educational qualifications. Certificates furnished free. Lists of protected employees must be kept and annual reports made by employers.

SWITZERLAND

Statistical.—

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN SWITZERLAND EMPLOYED IN FACTORIES IN 1901

[Source: "Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz," 1902, p. 99.]

INDUSTRIES	CHILDREN 14 TO 18 YEARS OF AGE			PERSONS OF ALL AGES		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Textile	4,552	12,122	16,674	33,192	64,001	97,193
Other industries	12,117	6,481	18,598	117,011	28,330	145,341
Total	16,669	18,603	35,272	150,203	92,331	242,534

Legislative.—Child labor is regulated by the federal law on factories of March 23, 1877, supplemented by cantonal laws and administrative decrees by the federal council. The law applies to factories, defined (decree 1891) as industrial establishments (1) employing more than ten persons; (2) using mechanical motive power and employing more than five persons, or employing minors under eighteen, or offering danger to life or health of employees; (3) certain other establishments. The decree of 1897 specifically forbids employment of children under sixteen in certain employments, e. g., attending steam boilers, motors, dynamos, cranes, drawbridges, circular or band saws, and similar machinery; also work with explosives, harmful chemicals, or processes producing much dust.

Age.—Employment in factories forbidden all children under fourteen.

Hours of Labor.—Limited to eleven per day for all persons employed in factories. For children under sixteen the eleven hours must also include such time for school and religious instruction as required by local authorities. On days preceding Sunday and holidays hours of labor are limited to ten.

Night and Sunday Labor.—Night-work forbidden (8 P.M. to 6 A.M. in winter, and 8 P.M. to 5 A.M. in summer) males under eighteen and all females. Sunday work also forbidden. Under special conditions the federal council may authorize the employment of boys fourteen to eighteen years, for work in which a continuous process is necessary.

Certificates.—No requirement for employment certificates is contained in the general law, but cantonal governments establish regulations, and all employers are required by law to keep lists of all persons employed.

Exceptions.—May be granted by the federal council in certain cases, and establishments may be designated in which the employment of children is prohibited.

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OWEN R. LOVEJOY

CHILD LABOR AND LEGISLATION IN GREAT BRITAIN: The employment of children in Great Britain is regulated by a series of enactments which may be roughly classified under three heads:

(1) Factory and Workshop Legislation (1802–1901).

(2) Education Acts and By-laws (1870–1900).

(3) Employment of Children Act and By-laws (1903).

These measures deal with three classes of children and young persons:

(*a*) Young persons from fourteen to eighteen years, employed full time and exempt from school attendance.

(*b*) Children from twelve to fourteen years, who have reached a certain standard of education or have made a certain number of attendances during five years of school life, and who are consequently permitted to work either full or half time.

(*c*) Children under fourteen, at school during the whole session, whose employment out of school hours is regulated by the Employment of Children Act.

The earliest Factory Act was passed in 1802, and applied almost entirely to apprentices employed in cotton and woolen mills. It was framed to deal with a specific evil, and at that time there was no intention of a general regulation of industrial work. The apprentices were pauper children, sent from the London workhouses by the parish guardians, who paid a small premium to the manufacturers as an inducement to relieve them of the burden of caring for these unfortunate young people. The employers were glad to obtain cheap labor on such terms, for the discovery of the application of power to the spinning and weaving looms had given an immense impetus to the manufacture of textiles. The children were treated as slaves, were frequently worked to death, and, it was said, even murdered, that fresh children and new premiums might be obtained.

The Act of 1802 limited the hours of work to twelve per day; that of 1819 prohibited the employment of children under nine years in factories, and restricted the hours of employment of children between nine and sixteen years to twelve per day. There were, however, no means of enforcing the law, and the evidence given before the Royal Commission of 1833 showed that children were being worked fourteen, fifteen, and even sixteen hours daily. Four factory inspectors were, however, appointed in that year. The Act of 1834, which followed as a result of the Royal Commission, instituted the distinction between children under thirteen and young persons between thirteen and eighteen years. It limited the hours of work for children between nine and thirteen years to nine, prescribed two hours' schooling daily, and enforced a weekly maximum of seventy-eight hours. The legal day, however, was from 5.30 A.M. to 8.30 P.M., and children were often detained the entire fifteen hours in the factory, on the plea that they were sent out for three hours' recreation. Moreover, the schools established could only be described as an impudent evasion of the law. Factory hands, disabled or past work, who could neither read nor write, were not infrequently appointed "schoolmasters."

Early Legislation

The Act of 1842 prohibited the employment of girls and women in coal mines, a step necessitated by the terrible revelations of the Royal Commission of 1841. In the factories a new principle was introduced—that of the *Half Time System*. Factory children were to work either ten hours on alternate days of the week, and were to attend school on the other days, or were to complete six and a half hours' factory and three hours' school attendance daily. The employer was required to obtain from the schoolmaster a certificate of the child's attendance.

The regulations hitherto promulgated only applied to children employed in mills. The Children's Employment Commission of 1863 showed, however, that large numbers of boys and girls, too young to be employed in factories, were set to work at home or in small workshops at lace dressing, fustian cutting, and other occupations, for fourteen or fifteen hours a day. The Factories Extension Act and the Workshop Act of 1867 regulated certain industries, not hitherto dealt with by law, and placed under control workshops defined as "any room or place in which any handicraft is carried on by any child, young person, or woman and to which the employer has access."

The value and utility of the Factory Act of 1878, which consolidated all previous regulations and removed ambiguities in the existing law, were greatly enhanced by reason of the compulsory system of national education which had come into existence during the years 1870–76. A ten hours' day for women, young persons, and children was imposed in textile, and a ten and a half hours' day in non-textile factories. The working day had to be placed within a defined period of twelve hours, beginning at 6, 7, or 8 A.M. Half-time employment by children under ten was prohibited. The Act of 1891 raised the age to eleven, and charged the local sanitary authorities with the duty of regulating the hygiene of workshops.

The Factory and Workshops Act of 1901 touches the high-water mark of British protective legislation in regulated industries. It consolidates all previous legislation on the subject. No child or young person under sixteen may be employed in a factory without a certificate of fitness from the certifying surgeon of the district. Such certificate may also be required for those employed in certain workshop trades; and the number of these was increased on Aug. 31st 1906 so as to include certainly the most important trades in the country. No girl or woman may be employed at any night work whatever. The regulations as to the employment of boys over fourteen or over sixteen are very stringent. In paper-mills and furnaces they may not be on night duty more than seven times in two weeks, and then only in shifts of eight hours, a shift of employment alternating between two rest shifts. No young person under sixteen may be employed in silvering mirrors and in white-lead making, nor may any girl work at brick or tile finishing or salt making. No child, altho exempt from school attendance, may be employed in match dipping or metal grinding. The maximum limit of humidity in the atmosphere of cotton factories is carefully regulated. No child or young person is allowed to clean any machinery when in motion. By the Mines Regulation Act of 1887, no lad under thirteen years may be employed under ground.

Recent Legislation

The Education and Employment Acts of 1876 and 1880 gave power to local authorities to make by-laws permitting children between eleven and thirteen years to be exempted from school attendance if they had reached a certain standard of educational efficiency. The Act of 1899 made these regulations more stringent. It prohibited half-time employment for children under twelve years, and then only permitted it if 300 attendances had been made in not more than two schools during the previous five years. The attainment of a standard fixt by a by-law sanctioned by the Board of Education also secured half-time exemption. For employment in agriculture the age is eleven, but no standard of education lower than the fourth grade for half-time, or the fifth grade for full-time exemption is permitted. The Act of 1900 raised the age for exemption by by-law from thirteen to fourteen years, increased the fine for contravention of the Act from five to twenty shillings, and prohibited full-time exemption under fourteen years, unless 350 attendances had been made in the previous five years.

Out of a total number of 6,870,832 children on the registers of schools in England and Wales in the year 1904–5, 80,368 were partial-exemption scholars. This number showed an increase of 1,492 against the number of half-timers at work in 1903–4. During recent years all the more progressive cities have gradually prohibited half-time employment, and have raised the educational requirements for full exemption to the highest or seventh standard. London and the surrounding suburbs, Liverpool, Bristol, Southampton, Portsmouth, Norwich, and a large number of smaller municipalities, have led the way. The manufacturing counties, Lancashire and Yorkshire, are unfortunately responsible for more than half the partial-exemption scholars in England.

School Children

In spite of stringent factory and educational legislation, extending over a period of more than a century, there has grown up, side by side with school attendance, a system of employment out of school hours, a system which has interfered sadly with efficient education. The case of children engaged in theatrical entertainments has been dealt with under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act of 1889, which prohibited the performance of children under seven, and required licenses for child actors under eleven and for young persons under sixteen employed as acrobats. The Act also proscribed street selling by

girls under sixteen and boys under fourteen between 9 P.M., and 6 A.M., but this provision was inoperative, the measure being so worded as to render it a matter of extreme difficulty to secure the conviction of a parent or guardian. But in addition to the children thus employed, there were known to be many thousands of children engaged in errand running, in shop and domestic work of various kinds, and in home industries, who, in addition to 27½ hours in school, were spending from forty to fifty, or even sixty, hours weekly in unremitting toil for very small wages. Accordingly, in 1899, a small society was formed, called the Committee on Wage-Earning Children, which had for its object the reform of legislation for the protection of children of school age. As a result of a deputation to the Minister of Education, Sir John Gorst, a parliamentary inquiry was instituted, which showed that over 144,000 children were engaged out of school hours in work of various kinds, while attending school full time. Further investigation was considered desirable; and in 1901 an Interdepartmental Committee was appointed consisting of representatives of the Board of Education, the Home Office, and the Board of Trade. The Commission sat for nearly six months, and took evidence from representatives of public and private organizations interested in the welfare of children, from employers, school managers and teachers, and social workers. The Committee found that the number of children returned by the parliamentary inquiry as employed was well below the number actually at work, and estimated that at least 200,000 were attending school full time, and were at the same time engaged in various occupations. The recommendations of the Commissioners were embodied in the Employment of Children Act, 1903, of which the most important provisions are as follows:

Act of 1903

(1) No child may work before six in the morning or after nine at night.
(2) The carrying of heavy weights, and employment in occupations likely to prove injurious to health are prohibited.
(3) The age for the prohibition of the employment of children in theatrical performances is raised from seven to ten years.
(4) Local authorities (the councils of county boroughs, municipalities of over 10,000 inhabitants, urban districts with over 20,000 inhabitants, elsewhere the county council) are empowered to make by-laws, regulating all occupations of children. Separate regulations for street trading may be enacted.

The measure came into operation on Jan. 1, 1904, and by-laws have already been framed and sanctioned by the Home Office in the case of about sixty large towns. About forty-seven other municipalities have regulations under consideration. The by-laws made by the London County Council may be quoted as a model. Doubtless other cities will base their regulations upon those of the metropolis. The most important clauses are:

(1) No child under eleven years may be employed.
(2) Children engaged in industrial work at home may only be employed between 5 and 8 P.M.
(3) No child may be employed for more than three and a half hours per day, or for more than twenty hours per week.
(4) A child may not be employed in a laundry, or in connection with the sale or delivery of intoxicating liquors, except where such liquors are sold in sealed vessels.
(5) A child under twelve years may not be employed as a lather boy in any barber's or hairdresser's shop.
(6) A girl under sixteen may not be employed in street trading except in the company of a parent or guardian.
(7) A child liable to attend school full time may not engage in street trading before 7 A.M., between 8 A.M. and 5 P.M., or after 8 P.M., except when in company of a parent or guardian. Between April 1st and Sept. 30th, the hour may be extended to 9 P.M.
(8) A boy engaged in street trading must wear a badge on the upper part of his right arm in such manner as to be conspicuous.

These regulations will be administered by inspectors appointed by the council for the purpose, by school attendance officers, and, in the case of street traders, by the police, if necessary. Children employed in shops will be under the supervision of the inspectors under the Shop Hours' Act. This measure, passed in 1892, limits the hours of employment of young persons exempt from school attendance and engaged as shop assistants to seventy-four weekly, including meal hours.

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NETTIE ADLER.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY (of New York City), THE: A Society organized in Feb., 1853, by the late Charles L. Brace (*q. v.*), who with a few other gentlemen had already been working for the vagrant boys of New York City. The society was incorporated in 1854 "for the education of the poor, by gathering children who attend no school into its industrial schools, caring and providing for children in lodging-houses, and procuring for them homes in the rural districts and in the West."

The fundamental idea upon which the society was founded, and which has been its governing motive ever since, was that of self-help—of teaching children how to help themselves. Its twenty-one industrial schools have trained and given aid and encouragement to over 100,000 children of the very poor. In the boys' and girls' lodging-houses about 200,000 homeless and vagrant boys and girls have found shelter, instruction, and the kindly advice and admonition of experienced superintendents.

Since the founding of the Children's Aid Society in 1853, it has rescued and placed in family homes 23,528 orphans or abandoned children, provided situations at wages in the country for 25,527 older boys and girls, restored 5,857 runaway children to parents. Of those placed in family homes in the West the vast majority have become farmers or farmers' wives. Of the others we know of the following noteworthy careers:

Governor of a state	1
Governor of a territory	1
Members of Congress	2
Sheriffs	2
District attorneys	2
City attorney	1
Members of state legislatures	4
County commissioners	3
Judges	2
Bankers	27
Merchants	22
Business clerks	460
Lawyers	34
Physicians	17
Postmasters	8
Railroad officials	3
Railroad men	30
Real estate agents	10
Journalists	15
Teachers	82
High-school principals	4
Superintendent of school	1
Civil engineer	1
Clergymen	21

As supplementary to its work the society maintains: The East Side Mission, whose work is to distribute flowers daily during the summer months among the sick and poor; free reading-rooms for young men; the Health Home at West Coney Island, comprizing cottages and dormitories where mothers with sick children are given an outing; the Sick Children's Mission, at 287 East Broadway, with a staff of fourteen physicians and four nurses, who visit the sick poor at their homes and supply free medical attendance, medicine, and food for sick children, of whom 1,500 are treated yearly; a summer home at Bath Beach, L. I., where over 4,000 tenement-house children are given a week's outing at the seaside each year; six lodging-houses, five for boys and one for girls, in which, during 1905, 242,780 meals and 136,788 lodgings supplied to 4,826 different boys and girls; twenty-one industrial schools with kindergartens, and twelve night-schools, in which 15,369 children were taught and partly fed and clothed. One of the industrial schools is located in each of the lodging-houses for boys. Special features of the girls' lodging-house, now called the Elizabeth Home for Girls, are its dress-making department, sewing-machine and type-writing schools, and laundry. The instruction in all branches is free. An adjunct to the society is a 125-acre farm located at Kensico, Westchester County, N. Y., for the primary and brief education of the large street boys in agriculture, preparatory to their being provided with places in the country.

At the Health Home in 1900 over 8,000 mothers and children were received and given the benefit of pure sea air, together with skilled medical care and nourishing food; 27,000 of these were there a week, and instances where a longer stay was advisable the time was prolonged until a permanent cure was effected. Parties of little ones were also taken there each week from the nurseries.

All the different branches of the society's work are dependent upon the contributions of the public.

The central office of the society is at the United Charities Building, Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street, C. L. Brace, secretary.

CHILDREN'S FRESH AIR FUND. See Fresh Air Work.

CHINA AND SOCIAL REFORM: The Chinese Empire comprizes China proper, East Turkestan, Jungaria, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet.

I.—Statistics

Area and Population

	Area, Square Miles	Population
China Proper	1,532,420	407,337,305
Manchuria	364,000	13,000,000
Mongolia	1,200,000	2,000,000
Tibet	700,000	2,000,000
Chinese Turkestan	580,000	2,000,000
Total	4,376,400	426,337,300

The trade with the principal countries besides bullion, is in Haikwan taels (the Haikwan tael equals 68 cents): Exports (1903): To Japan and Formosa, 30,000,000 taels; Great Britain, 10,000,000; Hongkong, 89,000,000 (of Hongkong's exports, £582,764 went to Great Britain); United States, 19,000,000; Russia, 12,000,000; other European countries, 34,000,000. Imports: From Japan and Formosa, 80,000,000; Great Britain, 60,000,000; Hongkong, 225,000,000; (of Hongkong's imports, £2,719,614 came from Great Britain); United States, 45,000,000; India, 35,000,000; Russia, 15,000,000; other European countries, 56,000,000. The chief exports are: Silk, raw and manufactured, 74,000,000 Haikwan taels; tea, 26,000,000; raw cotton, 13,000,000; beans, 10,000,000. The chief imports are: Cotton goods, 128,000,000; opium, 43,000,000; oil and kerosene, 15,000,000; sugar, 15,000,000; metals, 15,000,000.

Commerce

China is essentially agricultural. The land is all held by families on the payment of an annual tax. Holdings are generally small; methods of implements, primitive; irrigation, very common. Horticulture is a favorite pursuit, and there are fruit-trees in great variety. Opium is now grown all over the empire. Sugar and rice are grown in the south; wheat, barley, and other cereals in the north; tea in the west and south. Silk is equally important. Cotton mills are being developed, especially at Shanghai. There were, in 1900, fourteen cotton mills, with 460,000 spindles. Near Hankow are iron-works turning out 300 steel rails a day. All the eighteen provinces produce coal, and China is among the main coal countries of the world. Iron ores also abound.

Revenues and expenditures are estimated at about $75,000,000 annually; the public debt at $616,025,000. With the exception of a railroad loan this debt is based on customs.

The emperor is the sole high priest, and Confucianism the state religion, tho Buddhism and Taoism are considered also indigenous and adopted. There is no hierarchy maintained at public expense, nor any Confucian priesthood. With the exception of the universal ancestry worship and the worship of Heaven (at Peking), there is little outward Confucian ceremonial. Buddhism and Taoism have a gorgeous ritual. Many people profess and practise all three. The mass of the people are Buddhist. Mohammedans number 30,000,000; Roman Catholics, 1,000,000; Protestants, 150,000.

For education, railways, post-office system, etc., see section on Social Reform, below.

II.—Government

The present Emperor of China succeeded to the throne in 1875 under the title of Kuang-hsü. The supreme dictation of the empire is in the privy or Grand Council (*Chün Chi Ch'u*); the administration is under the cabinet (*Nei-ko*) of four members, two of Manchu and two of Chinese origin, with two assistants from the Han-lin or Grand College, who see that nothing is done contrary to the civil and religious laws of the empire. Under this cabinet are eight boards. There are also, independent of the government and theoretically above the administration, forty or fifty censors, who can present any remonstrance to the emperor. A new foreign office was created in 1901, with Prince Ching as president. Each of the eighteen provinces (China proper) is ruled by a governor, responsible to the emperor. Grand Secretary of the Cabinet, Prince Ching.

III.—Social Reform

There is perhaps no country in the world where social reform is more inseparably connected with

political conditions than in China. The great uncertainty on the part of the Chinese people as to the sincerity and the continuity of purpose on the part of the government has made the progress of reforms of all kinds much slower and less steady than would otherwise have been the case. The suddenly manifested hostility of a single high official has sometimes exerted upon an advance movement the effect of an August frost upon a flower bed.

By an imperial decree of Sept. 13, 1901, the government ordered the establishment of modern universities, colleges, and schools in each provincial capital and in the subordinate cities. These were to be based upon a scheme drawn up by Dr. Watson M. Hayes, a Presbyterian missionary of Shangtung, whom Yuan Shih K'ai, then governor of that province, had invited to the capital for that purpose. The plan was adopted as a model for the empire. Unfortunately the beginning was made at the top, the provincial colleges being opened before there were any intermediate or primary schools to supply pupils. This strange inversion of the natural order—resembling a pyramid standing on its apex—rendered the execution of the project a matter of extreme difficulty, the students who wished to enter the colleges having little or no preparation, and there being no place at which it could be obtained. Most of the provincial capitals have now colleges of this sort, some of them with elaborate buildings partly furnished in foreign style, with a tower and a town clock; yet with a very elementary course of instruction. The Shansi University differs from all the rest in having for its use the sum of 50,000 taels (ounces) of silver each year for ten years, a sum which would have been used as a missionary indemnity but for the efforts of Dr. Timothy Richard, Secretary of the Christian Literature Society, who was invited by the Chinese Government to consult with the leading officials of Shansi. The Western Department of the new university was placed in his care in 1902, for a period of ten years, and under the care of the late Dr. Moir Duncan it has done excellent work. The province of Chili, to the government of which Yuan Shih K'ai was promoted from Shantung, under his vigorous lead has made exceptional progress, and a brief sketch of what is there undertaken will give an idea of what is aimed at for the empire, altho the work is elsewhere much less advanced than in that province.

Educational Reform

It should be said that for these excellent results Yuan is largely indebted to the untiring efforts of Dr. Chas. D. Tenney, who began educational work in Tientsin long before the government took any interest in it.

According to a memorial of Yuan there are in his jurisdiction the Pei Yang University at Tientsin; a high college at Pao Ting Fu; the Pei Yang Medical College; an industrial high school; an agricultural high school, and 21 agricultural and industrial primary schools. There are 89 normal high schools, normal schools, and other training-schools; 27 middle schools, 182 advanced schools; and 4,162 primary schools; a Woman's Normal College, and 40 girls' schools. There are 18 schools for Yamun runners; a strangers' school, a tracing and mathematical school, and a telegraph college. The number of students shown in the records is 86,653, besides those in the half-day and night-schools. The total number of scholars, including military and police students, amounts to 100,000. Each of the 124 districts of the province has about 20 primary schools, with about 30 boys each, who are taught upon a more rational plan than in the old schools. Each district has also one low- and one high-grade elementary school, with an average attendance of 50 boys, who not only study Chinese, but who are started in history, geography, arithmetic, and simple science. In each of the 16 prefectural cities there is a middle school where the study of English is begun, with more advanced courses of science and mathematics. Much attention is given to developing national and military sentiment. Physical training is an important part of the curriculum. In the lower schools there is simple drill; in the higher colleges the students wear uniform, are given manual exercises with the rifle, and are put through military evolutions. The text-books impress upon students the duty of developing the power of China, the danger of military weakness, and the importance of self-sacrifice for national interests, illustrating these teachings by pointing to the rapid development of Prussia and Japan. The instruction is all free, and in the higher schools the students are boarded and even clothed at public expense, thus opening the new education to the poorest families. This is the scheme, but at present much of the teaching is very inadequate, and there is a great lack of teachers. In every province are found Japanese teachers who can adapt themselves to the Chinese much better than can Occidentals, and who can be secured for much smaller salaries. When the general plan here outlined shall have been adopted all over China, as must eventually be the case, we shall have an entirely new empire. An important feature is the surprising development of schools for women and girls, which, absolutely unheard of a few years ago, are now very common, and rapidly increasing in number and importance. The girl students are becoming imbued with patriotic sentiments, and will be a feature of the greatest interest in the new China.

For more than two generations missionary influence has been exerted against the ancient Chinese custom of binding the feet of girls, but during the past five years this reform has made more progress than during the previous half century. Great societies have been organized by the Chinese themselves to promote the cause; essays and poems have been composed, and proclamations put out in its favor by many of the highest officials in China. An imperial edict was issued, which, while not absolutely forbidding foot-binding, strenuously exhorted against it. It is known that some persons holding high positions are memorializing the government to take more stringent measures than heretofore in the direction of this reform. The progress already made is certainly most encouraging. Memorials against the practise of keeping eunuchs in the imperial palace have been sent in, but the abolition of this ancient custom is exceptionally difficult. A serious effort is being made by the Chinese Government to put an end to the vice of opium-smoking, by forbidding its use by officials and in schools and colleges, by restricting its use also by confirmed smokers, and by limiting the time during which even they may remain exempt, and perhaps also by forbidding the cultivation of the poppy. The assigned reason for this reform is that the court is ardently deter-

Foot-binding and Opium

mined to make China powerful. It is to be hoped that in the end China may succeed, as Japan has done, in strangling this gigantic evil, which has long been more fatal than war, famine, and pestilence combined. Such a result would be one of the most remarkable transformations in history.

The number of Chinese periodicals is rapidly increasing. Many of them are published at the ports, virtually under foreign protection, and a large percentage are either controlled or strongly influenced by Japanese. In some of the provincial capitals there are journals published at intervals of several days, which will gradually develop into dailies. A woman's journal has appeared in Peking, issued every day, which has been a great stimulus to the women of that city, intellectually and perhaps morally. The Chinese woman editor has interested herself in giving and in attending lectures on current events, sanitation, and the like. Many Chinese papers have paid very little attention to the news of the day, which would be unintelligible to most readers, but print local gossip, tales of the supernatural, vicious stories, and blackmail. As a whole, however, Chinese journalism is said to be improving, exhibiting very little hostility to Christianity as such, while the Bible and literature intended for instruction are treated with respect.

Periodicals

In connection with educational and other reforms, mention should be made of the new literature with which China is literally inundated, issued by an increasing number of firms, especially in Shanghai. A careful analysis of the character of some of these books, by a competent foreign scholar in Shanghai (Mr. John Darroch), is of general interest. There were, he found, 60 volumes on the science of education, and 20 volumes of text-books on such topics as geography, physics, etc. There were 90 histories, varying in price from five cents (silver) to $2.50. Of these 7 are so-called universal histories, 11 of Europe, 12 of Japan, 7 of China, 5 of Russia, 4 of England, 2 each of France and the United States, 3 of Egypt, 4 of the nineteenth century, and 1 each of Rome, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. There were 40 books on geography, 60 on government, 40 on law, 30 on political economy, 70 on mathematics, 50 on literature, 30 novels, 50 on language, 70 on health, 60 on science, 70 on drawing, 120 on the art of war, 30 on agriculture, 20 on astronomy, 40 on mechanics, 30 books of travel, and 20 on mensuration: in all more than 1,100 works. As a rule they are excellently gotten up, very unlike the old style of Chinese books. They are plentifully besprinkled with English words, showing that the Chinese language was felt not to be sufficiently flexible.

New Literature

A Chinese scholar has invented what he calls a "Mandarin alphabet" of 50 more or less artificial characters, and 12 finals, by the aid of which it is claimed that within a few weeks the most untutored can learn to read fluently. This has been tried on a considerable scale both by Chinese and by foreigners, and appears to be a success. The use of the Mandarin alphabet is rapidly extending in China, as a result of a higher national vitality, increased communication by railways, and (it is said) by making its study compulsory. While the numerous dialects of China cannot be superseded, the wider currency of the Mandarin form—already current in some of its variations in 14 out of the 18 provinces—is a distinct advance.

The Chinese postal system is not yet ten years old, but during the last half of that period it has been greatly improved and extended, until it now connects almost all the cities of the empire. During the year 1905 the number of offices was increased by 307, making a total of 1,626. By the end of 1906 it is expected that the number will have risen to 2,000, as on the average a new office is added every day. The number of articles handled increased in 1905 from 66,500,000 to 76,000,000, and the parcels from 771,000 to over 1,000,000, while the money-order transactions grew from 500,000 taels to 820,000. The effect of this postal reform is profound and far-reaching, socially, educationally, and politically.

Post and Telegraph

All China is now covered with a network of telegraph wires, which has largely increased the power of the central government over the remote and semiindependent viceroys, or governor-generals. A telephone system has been introduced into Peking, connecting the different boards and the palace. Other cities also have telephone service and electric lighting has become not uncommon.

In many of the chief cities there have been established industrial institutes, in which different arts and crafts are taught to workmen of the most unpromising character, some of them children, others beggars picked up from the street, a class for which there has hitherto been no ray of hope. These establishments are found in Peking and in the capitals of many of the larger provinces, in cities like Suchow, Hangchau, Chi Nan Fu, and Ch'eng Tu Fu. Similar enterprises for the helpless poor—men and women—have been opened in unoccupied granaries, temples, etc., under the charge of a kind of Bureau of Charities (itself an unheard-of thing), the machinery, teachers, etc., being frequently imported from Japan. The abundant patronage of these places shows that they have met a deep need. Another branch of the same general plan is the instruction of prisoners in common jails. This reform is now well rooted, and is a wonderful contrast to the previous indifference and neglect. Prisoners, well-dressed, well-fed, well-guarded, are made to weave rugs, run sewing-machines for leather work, make boots and shoes, stamp Chinese writing paper, do carpenter and iron work, and many other things. In an institution of this kind in Tientsin there is a lecture hall, where the prisoners are required to attend at fixt times and listen to exhortation and instruction. Large sums have been invested in these enterprises, which will yield abundant return.

Industrial Reform

Industrial exhibits have been opened for the display of the results of these and other manual training-schools. By degrees this grows into a standing exhibition of whatever may be most noteworthy in the output of a place. Such a one has been open at Tientsin for more than two years, having separate days for men and for women, with an average of 2,000 visitors a day. As an immediate and striking result of these movements similar exhibitions have been ordered in every large city, with a view to holding first a national exposition, and after a few years an international one. No better method could be devised to bring the empire to industrial self-consciousness. Manufactures of many kinds are

beginning to appear here and there, generally under the patronage of the new Board of Commerce, which is invariably careful to require, under pain of forfeiture of the whole, that no stock shall be sold to a foreigner.

Cotton-mills have been established in Shanghai for many years, with tens of thousands of employees, but many of them have not been financially successful. Similar mills are now springing up elsewhere in cotton-producing districts. In many places improved wooden looms are being introduced from Japan. Experts from Hangchau are now teaching the natives of Shantung how to spin and weave the silk of that province, hitherto used only for the comparatively coarse product known as pongee, into the most beautiful fabrics, rivaling those of Central China. Cotton is frequently woven into various forms of toweling on Japanese patterns. Soap-works, candle factories, glass-works, knitting companies, and the like are found in different parts of the empire. But these enterprises often come to nothing for lack of capital, experience, and mutual confidence. In three different provinces it has been proposed to open potteries and kilns on western principles. A company has been organized to use steam trawlers of English make, with nets of English pattern. One official applied for American machinery for digging artesian wells; another asked an American consul for catalogs of machinery adapted to the manufacture of tape braid, and of plain and embroidered ribbons. Still a third purchased machines for making cigarets, to keep the great profits of the trade in Chinese hands. From a factory in Shanghai there is a considerable sale of pianos to Chinese. Thousands of bicycles are annually bought by Chinese, and a year or two ago they were introduced into a remote city of Hunan by a student returned from Japan.

An imperial decree ordered the introduction into the larger cities of a uniformed and paid police force, and the practise of street cleaning. Something has been done in this direction even in the interior, while in centers like Peking and Tientsin the system is now well established. In many places, however, for lack of intelligent supervision, it has come to nothing, or has been used as a means of extortion. Great numbers of students have been sent to Japan to study police methods, but the time allowed for this is almost invariably too brief.

Agricultural colleges and schools have been set up in many provinces, the instructors being often Japanese, but with results of varying value. In some there is no experimental farm, and others, through superstitious belief in geomantic influences, are badly located. In all cases much depends upon the temper of the governor of the province, and much also upon the local magistrate, who is often indifferent or hostile. Considerable attention has been paid to arboriculture. A few years ago, during the governorship of Chou Fu in Shantung, it was estimated that 2,400,000 trees had been planted in the neighborhood of cities, waterways, and roads. The example of the Germans at Ts'ing Tao has been followed, and many hillsides heretofore barren are now covered with pines. Mulberry-trees have been imported from the Chekiang province to improve the feeding of silk-worms.

Agricultural Reform

The Board of Commerce in Peking has been the means of the organization of Chambers of Commerce, as in Canton, where seventy-two guilds have combined in order to push trade, by studying modern commercial methods. It intends to open a bank to issue notes, and to start a paper to expound its objects and aims. An exhibit of foreign manufactures is also planned, to serve as an object-lesson to native workers. The avowed intention is to drive foreign trade out of the empire.

By the latest treaty between Great Britain and China (signed in 1902) China voluntarily agreed to revise her mining regulations in such a way as to promote the interests of Chinese subjects, and yet offer no impediment to foreign capital. Expert foreigners who are interested in these matters have for some years complained that the government is acting in direct contravention of this treaty, and that it has drawn up regulations intended to keep foreign capital out of China altogether, in accordance with a growing resolution not to have the empire exploited by outsiders. In some cases mines of considerable productiveness have been closed for lack of native engineers to work them.

Mining

In the last American treaty (1893) China agreed to reform her currency, and with this in view invited Professor Jencks of Cornell University to visit China, and to give his advice, which was done. One of China's foremost statesmen, Chang Chih Tung, in a memorial to the throne, recommended that Professor Jenck's judicious recommendations be *not* adopted. There is no unity in the monetary output of the empire, each province having its own coinage, frequently not current elsewhere. Each governor-general or governor has been industriously working one of the scores of different mints existing in China, issuing copper pieces ostensibly worth ten cash, but in reality representing an amount of metal only equivalent to from three to six of the ordinary cash. The immense apparent profits of this transaction were both illusory and transient. The people were very reluctant to accept the new coins, and only did so on the understanding that they were receivable for taxes. When this was later refused the new pieces were at a discount. At the time of maximum production it was estimated that the output for the empire was more than 16,400,000,000 pieces a year. Much of the ordinary cash has been withdrawn to be melted over, many of the mints are now closed, prices in general have risen, officials have been enriched, and the people plundered—all in the name of "Western monetary reform."

Coinage

The navigation of the inland waters of China by steam vessels has within the past few years been greatly extended, with obvious advantages and equally patent evils. The inspection of boilers is infrequent and at times perfunctory, the dangers and accidents from overcrowding serious and constant, the injury done to the banks in time of high water by the wash of steamers so great as to lead to frequent riots, and, especially on the West River of the Canton province, the number of boatmen thrown out of employment is given as an excuse for the great increase of river piracy, involving the loss of more than one foreign life, and the murder of great numbers of Chinese. The Chinese Government has adopted the plan of opening inland "ports" at various places along the line of railways and in Manchuria, in order the better to resist the aggressions of any single

power by enlisting the interest of all the rest. Each new "port" is an additional inlet for new ideas, and while the result may not be an unmixed good, the change is an important step in advance.

Railways

The era of railway building on the part of the Chinese themselves seems to have come, or is soon to arrive. We may now reckon ten railways in China as in working order, but the number increases so rapidly that statistics soon become obsolete. The following lines are in operation (the length in English miles is in some cases approximate only):

(1) Peking to Tientsin (83¾ m.); Tientsin to Tangku (27 m.); Tangku to Shanhai-Kuan (146¾ m.); thence to Newchwang (268 m.); total length, 555 m.
(2) Peking to Tungchow (14 m.).
(3) Peking to Hankow (760 m.); branch-line from Sin Si Ho to Chu Ku Tien (9 m.).
(4) Ts'ing-Tao to Chi Nan Fu Shantung (German), 240 m.
(5) Shanghai to Wusung (10½ m.). An extension is now in operation to Suchow.
(6) P'inghsiang to Siling (borders of Kiang-su-Hunan; 56½ m.).
(7) Canton to Samshui.
(8) Taokou to Ch'inghua Chen (Honan) "Peking Syndicate" railway bought by the Chinese Government (89¼ m.).
(9) Manchurian line. Port Arthur to Harbin (about 400 m.), controlled by Japanese to Kuan Ch'eng-tzu.
(10) Hsinment'un to Mukden.
The status of the Manchurian railways is not yet definitely settled.

The following lines are in course of construction:

(1) Canton to Hankow.
(2) Peking to Kalgau (120 m.; completed to Neu K'on).
(3) Cheng Ting fu to T'ai Yuan fu, Shansi (160 m.; about half completed. It is narrow gage).
(4) Shanghai to Nanking; extension of No. 5 above; to be about 180 m. long.
(5) Swatow to Ch'ao Chou fu (Japanese). This short line is practically completed.
(6) P'ing Yang fu (Shansi) to Tse Chou fu.
(7) K'ai Feng fu to Honan fu (140 m.). This is to be a branch of the Peking-Hankow line.
(8) Yunnan to Tongking (French).

In addition to these, fifteen or twenty other lines have been projected, and permission to build secured. With the exception of a Portuguese-Chinese railway from Macao to Samshui, these seem likely to be built, if at all, by Chinese alone. Nearly all foreigners are agreed that this is next to impossible under present conditions, especially the lack of unity, engineers, and funds. The effect of the railway development of China is already very marked, but its social, economic, and political effects will be much greater every year.

Legal Code

For some years a commission, of which Wu Ting Fang is the leading member, has been engaged on a revision of the Chinese legal code. The barbarous punishment of slicing to death has been abolished, the use of torture forbidden, and heavy fines are to take the place of the bamboo. No general confidence is felt, however, that these latter innovations will for a long time to come be generally adopted, the obvious motive being to make it appear that China is advancing after the manner of Japan as a preparation for demanding the abolition of extra-territoriality. A striking reversal of old custom is the permission for Chinese and Manchus to intermarry; and for Manchus to engage in trade, etc., as the Chinese do. The ancient discrimination between civil and military officials is now disappearing, as it is felt that to make China strong, the military and naval professions must be respected and respectable. This topic would of itself require an essay. The best Chinese troops, especially those under the command of Yuan Shih K'ai are now well-armed, well-drilled, well-uniformed, and well-housed. In the autumn of 1905 a great military review with maneuvers was executed on the plains of Chili to which foreign military attachés and correspondents were invited, and were duly imprest by the evidences of a revolutionary change in Chinese military effectiveness. During the succeeding year similar exercises took place in northern Honan. It is the plan to unify the hitherto distinct provincial forces into one great Chinese army, and to raise the number of troops to at least half a million. At present the Chinese forces are by no means what they may be expected to become a few years hence when their training and their *esprit de corps* will doubtless render them formidable to any enemy.

Patriotism

The always strong national feeling of the Chinese is being supplemented by what appear to be the germs of patriotism. This is at present accompanied by an intense antiforeign wave, the effect in part of the victory of the Japanese over Russia. Imperial birthdays are now celebrated with processions of school-children, sometimes addrest by scholars or officials. The number of Chinese students in Japan has increased so rapidly that in the autumn of 1906 they were estimated at 14,000. Many of them become dissatisfied with Confucianism and drift into Epicureanism. China's student class is one of her most serious problems.

The two imperial commissions, dispatched in 1905 by China to the West to study forms of government, furnish one of the most significant signs of progress yet seen in China. An unexplained attempt to destroy one of these parties by a dynamite bomb at the Peking railway station was a sinister prelude, and an ill-omened introduction into the East of Occidental methods. Upon their return the commissioners recommended that the proposed changes be adopted by China. Although no date has been fixt, there have been hilarious rejoicings in many of China's cities, with the obvious design of rendering a change of policy more difficult. As a preparation for this step, general, and even compulsory education is recommended by leading officials. It is interesting to observe the freedom with which the most far-reaching administrative changes are now proposed, both in memorials to the throne and by the press. Fifty-three students educated abroad have recently been examined in Peking, eleven of whom were rejected. Nine gained the doctor's decree (Chin Shih), five the master's (Chü-jen) in the first grade, and eighteen in the second degree, while ten failed. The candidates were allowed to write an essay on the value of compulsory education in English as an alternative to an essay in Chinese on a passage from the classics. This is a patronage of the New Learning of a practical sort, and means much for the future. China's greatest need at the present time is a large number of men, not merely of ability, but of incorruptible integrity. Some such there are, but incomparably fewer than are needed. If, with all other social progress, China is able to develop such men in numbers at all commensurate with her needs, she will ere long take her place among the great nations of the earth.

ARTHUR H. SMITH.

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CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES: There is hardly any other country in the world in which the question of immigration even approximately reaches the importance it has in social matters in the United States. Immigration may be divided in various ways; yet two great divisions will always remain, the *desirable* and the *undesirable*. To the latter belong people morally, mentally, or physically unfit for a country's citizenship. Such disqualifications may be inherited or acquired. They may even be based only on the fact that the people concerned do not appeal to the point of view of the country they desire to enter. To accurately determine the line where it will be justifiable to impose discriminating legislation against a whole nation is therefore a matter calling for grave consideration. Yet, for various reasons, the question of excluding the Chinese from the United States has long been a widely, and often hotly, debated proposition.

Statistics

The Chinese, generally, have never evinced any great inclination to leave their native shores, probably because they feel alien in almost every land except their own. Up to the "fifties" of the nineteenth century very few Chinese came to the United States; but in 1854 the numbers arriving annually began to jump, and altho never assuming very large proportions, it became clear that discouragement rather than encouragement ought to be the watchword. Prior to 1854 the largest Chinese immigration recorded for one year was 42. In 1855 it was more than 13,000. During the following decades it fluctuated, reaching the maximum in 1882 with 39,579. The exact figures from 1869 to 1903 are as follows:

Chinese Immigration into the United States, 1869–1903

Year	Males	Females	Total
1869....	11,900	974	12,874
1870....	14,624	1,116	15,740
1871....	6,786	349	7,135
1872....	7,605	183	7,788
1873....	19,403	889	20,292
1874....	13,533	243	13,776
1875....	16,055	382	16,437
1876....	22,521	260	22,781
1877....	10,518	76	10,594
1878....	8,641	351	8,992
1879....	9,264	340	9,604
1880....	5,732	70	5,802
1881....	11,815	75	11,890
1882....	39,463	116	39,579
1883....	7,987	44	8,031
1884....	241	38	279
1885....	12	10	22
1886....	25	15	40
1887....	8	2	10
1888....	21	5	26
1889....	90	28	118
1890....	1,401	315	1,716
1891....	2,608	228	2,836
1892....	2,501	227	2,728
1893....	2,660	168	2,828
1894....	3,805	213	4,018
1895....	913	61	974
1896....	1,382	59	1,441
1897....	3,334	29	3,363
1898....	2,061	10	2,071
1899....	.....	..	1,660
1900....	1,235	12	1,247
1901....	2,417	42	2,459
1902....	1,596	53	1,649
1903....	2,167	42	2,209

The sudden drop of the figures from thousands to tens was caused by a law passed in 1882, suspending Chinese coolie immigration for a period of ten years. This law, however, did not satisfy the Pacific coast states. The question of Chinese immigration has always been most acute in California, and it was this state which first demanded still stricter legislation, so that not only the Chinese should be prevented from entering, but that even those already arrived might be excluded. Such a law was finally passed in 1894. The following figures give a comprehensive survey of the disproportional quota of Chinese in California as compared with the country at large, and they show, furthermore, the fact that the city of San Francisco carries its full share of the burden:

Number of Chinese in United States, 1850–1900

Year	United States	California	San Francisco
1850..	758	660	.....
1860..	35,565	34,935	.....
1870..	63,042	48,826	11,729
1880..	104,468	73,548	21,213
1890..	106,688	71,066	24,613
1900..	81,534	40,262	10,762

These figures show conclusively that California's interest in the matter was paramount; and, indeed, most of the facts calling for restrictive legislation have been furnished by that state. The following paragraphs will set forth the various reasons that have been urged for and against Chinese immigration:

Against Immigration of Chinese

The "Report of the Industrial Commission" (xv., 747 sqq.) advances a great many seemingly valid reasons for excluding the Chinese. It says in condensed language:

> The Asiatic competition has spread enormously in the Pacific coast states. The Chinese colony in San Francisco is a veritable beehive, the units of which, having solved the problem of cheap living, are more than a match for the American laborer. Coolie labor has in many instances displaced white labor on the Pacific coast, and factories and workshops in San Francisco employ thousands of Chinese. They work in boot and shoe factories, in clothing shops, in broom-making, etc., etc. In 1901 there were 1,200 Chinese cigarmakers in San Francisco, and the scale of wages paid to these was from 33 to 50 per cent below that paid to white labor. The latter have almost been driven from the field, and San Francisco, instead of supporting 2,000–3,000 white cigarmakers, has now less than 200 union men who have remained to struggle against hopeless conditions.

In 1901 there were 2,579 Chinese employed in various industries in San Francisco, as will appear from the following table, which also shows the wages paid:

Industry	No. of Workmen	Hours	Wages per Day
Boots and shoes	251	11–12	$1
Shirts	195	11–12	1
Men's clothing	335	11–12	1
Overalls	430	11–12	1
Ladies' underwear	168	11–12	1
Cigars	1,200	10–14	1

Railway lines in California and other Pacific coast states employ a number of Chinese, especially in the construction branches of the service. The pay is $1.75 for ten hours' work. In 1901 there were 3,934 Chinese employed in Californian mines at $1–$1.50 a day as against $2–$3.50 paid to white laborers. In addition there were 3,000-4,000 Chinese employed at placer mining for Chinese companies in California.

The agricultural industries of the Pacific coast states, according to the Industrial Commission, have felt still more acutely the baneful effects of cheap coolie competition. The report says: "The Chinese show great enterprise and thrift, and devote themselves to the industries in which they have become proprietors: truck-farming, etc. As a result they demand and receive fair wages, and enforcement of the exclusion act will gradually remove this rival from the field."

As to the relation of Chinese immigration to crime the following table furnishes interesting data:

RELATION OF ASIATIC IMMIGRATION TO CRIME

(*Year Ending June* 1, 1899)

CITY	POP.	ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS	FOR BURGLARY AND LARCENY	FOR VAGRANCY
San Francisco	350,000	12,183	1,290	2,836
Cleveland	380,000	7,685	1,020	142
Cincinnati	296,000	2,124	853	504

The Industrial Commission, in commenting on this showing, says: "The appalling number of arrests for vagrancy in San Francisco can be accounted for upon no other theory than that the white toilers of the coast have gone down in hopeless defeat in the unequal struggle with their Asiatic competitors."

Highbinderism

One of the strongest arguments against Chinese immigration is their so-called "tongs"—secret societies for committing crimes of various kinds: blackmail, gambling, prostitution. These "tongs" flourish especially in San Francisco, and it is said that out of 25,000 Chinese in that city more than 1,000 belong to the criminal class. They import women and sell them, impose fines, levy blackmail, and kill those who do not submit gracefully. They employ "hatchet men" whose duty it is to murder all those who invoke the displeasure of the "tong." Their power is absolute, because few have the courage to expose their nefarious practises. As a rule they do not molest white people, fearing an uprising against themselves.

Perhaps the most important reason urged both for and against Chinese immigration is that they furnish cheap labor. Those who are on the negative side of the question say that cheap labor is desirable, that it stimulates activities which would otherwise be latent, that it makes it possible to utilize natural resources that it would not pay to draw upon if labor were costlier. The affirmative side, however, aver that "cheapness" in labor is the same as "cheapness" in goods—it doesn't pay. Cheap labor affects the distribution, not the accumulation, of wealth. Cheap labor, by making it possible for a man to do with a small amount of capital what would otherwise require a great deal more, furnishes to industry what may be called the equivalent of usury in the money-lending business.

The opposite view of the matter may be representatively stated in the following quotation from an article in *The Outlook* of April 23, 1904:

For Immigration

No one has yet denied the thriftiness, industry, and loyalty to employer of the Chinese laborers and servants who have come to the United States. Nobody denies that on the whole they have been law-abiding dwellers in a strange land. Nobody denies that the horticultural beauty and agricultural prosperity of the State of California are largely due to the initial work of Chinese laborers who performed tasks with patience, skill, and good humor, that no other men could be found to perform. By our very laws they are forbidden to become citizens of the country. They cannot be naturalized. They are treated with aversion and with contumely. Why should they not segregate and live by themselves? Why should they eagerly adopt American habits of life?

The same article also says that the dangers of Chinese immigration are very much overrated. To quote further:

The census of 1880, up to which time no special restriction existed, showed only 105,465 [inaccurate!] in the United States. . . . If the vicious, the diseased, the incompetent, the paupers, and the contract laborers among the Chinese are excluded, as they are under our general immigration laws, it would probably be time enough to deal with the *hordes* of incoming Chinamen when those *hordes* appeared.

Legislation

The Burlingame treaty of 1868 had provided for free emigration and immigration, but the modified treaty permitted the limitation or suspension by the United States Government of the coming or residence in the United States of Chinese laborers, but the absolute prohibition of such immigration was forbidden. After excited discussion Congress passed in 1882 a bill suspending for twenty years the coming into the United States of Chinese laborers. The bill was vetoed by President Arthur, but a modified act fixing the limit of suspension at ten years became a law. The Chinese who had already become residents of the country were not disturbed, and those who wished to make visits to China with the intention of returning hither were furnished with passports. The suspension of immigration related only to laborers, a term which has been construed to include skilled workmen.

Nevertheless, this law was not considered sufficient by the Pacific coast, and in 1894 a law was passed, not only forbidding Chinese immigration, but excluding those now here except under certain conditions.

A convention between the United States and China, begun in 1880, was concluded at Washington on March 17, 1894; Walter Q. Gresham, U. S. Secretary of State, and Yang Yu, Chinese minister to the U. S., being the plenipotentiaries. The law adopted was ratified on Dec. 8, 1894, and contained the following provisions:

(1) The coming of Chinese laborers to the United States is prohibited for ten years.
(2) The return to the U. S. of Chinese laborers is permitted only if they have wives, children, property worth $1,000, or debts of like amount.
(3) Officials, teachers, students, merchants, travelers for curiosity, etc., are permitted to enter. . . .
(4) Protection and rights to be granted Chinese residents in the U. S. as "most favored citizens." (U. S. Statutes, xxviii., p. 1213.)

On April 27, 1904, the law mentioned in the foregoing being nearly expired, Congress enacted that "all laws in force on the 29th day of April, 1902, regulating, suspending, or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent into the United States . . . are hereby reenacted, extended, and continued without modification, limitation, or condition."

Panama

With regard to the question of the necessity of employing Chinese labor on the Panama Canal, a great deal has been said both for and against. The whole matter may be dismissed from here with the words of President Roosevelt, sent to Congress on Dec. 17, 1906, after his return from the canal zone. Says the President:

It certainly ought to be unnecessary to point out that the American workingman in the United States has no concern whatever in the question as to whether the rough work on the isthmus which is performed by aliens in any event, is done by aliens from one country with a black skin or by aliens from another country with a yellow skin. Our business is to dig

the canal as efficiently and as quickly as possible; provided always that nothing is done that is inhumane to any laborer, and nothing that interferes with the wages of or lowers the standard of living of our own workmen. Having in view this principle, I have arranged to try several thousand Chinese laborers. This is desirable, both because we must try to find out what laborers are most efficient, and furthermore, because we should not leave ourselves at the mercy of any one type of foreign labor.

To conclude, it may not be out of place to give quotations from two articles in *The Forum* of March, 1902 (pp. 53–67). Says Truxtum Beale, in an article entitled "Why the Chinese should be Excluded":

To adapt the Chinaman to our institutions we should be obliged to begin by eradicating his religion, superstition, traditions, ideals, and customs—all of which have been so welded to his mind after four thousand years of inheritance as to have become a part of himself.

Robert Hutcheson takes the other side, endeavoring to show "Why the Chinese should be Admitted":

The Yellow Peril is a specter of the imagination, created of "such stuff as dreams are made of." Under the literal terms of the Treaty of 1868 millions [of Chinamen] might have come to our shores, but they did not. Attracted by the gold fields in California a few thousand came over, and nobody thought anything of it. In 1851 there were about 70,000 Chinese on the Pacific coast. Chinese emigration was always limited to a few districts in the province of Canton.

The objection that the Chinese work more cheaply than other foreigners or Americans in the same lines of industry is not sustained by the evidence. Like all other laborers they seek the highest wages going, and they soon learn what these are. . . . That they live more cheaply and save more money than our laborers is true, but this is a virtue that deserves imitation rather than condemnation.

FRANK F. H. CRAMER.

REFERENCES: *The Forum*, March, 1902, pp. 53–67; *United States Statutes at Large; The Outlook*, April 23, 1904, p. 963; *Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion*, by The American Federation of Labor, Washington, 1902; *The Chinese and the Chinese Question*, by J. A. Whitney; *Emigration and Immigration*, by R. Mayo Smith; *International Review*, iii., 383.

CHINESE LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA: On Feb. 8, 1904, was carried in the Transvaal Legislative Council an ordinance for the introduction of indentured labor into that country "from outside Africa south of 12 degrees north of the equator." Among the provisions of this ordinance were sections to the following effect:

By Section 9 (*b*).—The Chinese laborer is to be bound to serve the master who imports him, or such master to whom the first shall lawfully "assign" his rights.

By Section 14.—The Chinese cannot trade, or hold any license whatever, or lease land, or have any economic rights.

By Sections 18, 19.—The laborer is to be bound to reside on his master's premises, and must not leave them without special permit, signed by a person authorized by his importer.

By Section 20 (2).—If found off the premises without such permit he may be arrested by any policeman without warrant.

Section 31 (10).—"Any person who shall harbor or conceal any laborer who has deserted from the service of his importer, or who has committed any breach of this ordinance, or who shall aid and abet any laborer to desert as aforesaid, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50, and in default of payment imprisonment not exceeding three months."

This ordinance, in order to become law, required the royal consent. The debate on it in the House of Commons lasted two days, and on a division the government won by 281–230. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman gave notice of a vote of censure upon the government on this question, and the vote was lost (299–242).

The ordinance received the royal consent on March 11th, and the further convention with the Chinese Government, by which Great Britain is entitled to obtain Chinese laborers to work in any British possession, was signed on May 12th.

The first batch of Chinese were despatched from Hongkong on May 25th, 1904. Wages were to be 1*s.* a day. In Nov., 1906, the total number of Chinese employed in the Rand mines was over 53,134; and arrangements were then in progress for the shipment of additional coolies from China.

During these months a sufficient number of facts have come to light to enable a general judgment to be passed upon the results of the experiment.

In the first place, from a purely financial point of view, the experiment has not come up to the predictions of its promoters. Indentured labor has many drawbacks even from the employer's point of view; and the cost of bringing out the Chinese and repatriating them at the end of the contract is a heavy item to be set against the profits of their labor. In his book, "Transvaal Problems," Mr. Lionel Phillips, the well-known Rand mine-owner and financier, makes the following candid statement:

The cost of feeding Kafirs and Chinese, taking an average of nine mines from which returns have been obtained, is respectively 3.527*d.* and 6.851*d.* per shift, and shows that the tastes of the latter involve an increased charge for their keep. Adding to this other expenses, like compound and hospital charges, and the cost of importing and repatriating them even spread over the period of their contract time, we may take the monthly (a month is taken as twenty-six shifts) cost of a Chinaman, as far as can be ascertained at present, at, roughly, 12*s.* 9*d.* more than a Kafir, excluding wages.

It must not, however, be concluded from the fact that the mine-owners have given no overt sign of discontinuing the Chinese experiment that it is profitable to the shareholders. It was on political grounds that the mine-owners objected to white labor, and moreover they line their own pockets more rapidly by the fluctuations of the share market than they do by the profits of the mines. Even if the experiment be a financial failure they will be guided by other than the true financial interests of the mines in determining their course with regard to it.

In one respect, however, the coming of the Chinese has undoubtedly benefited the mine-owners. By creating a glut in the labor market, it has cheapened Kafir labor. Thus a correspondent of the *Financial Times* of Aug. 21, 1905, writes:

The employment of the Chinese on a large scale has, however, caused a vast economic upheaval affecting unskilled labor throughout the whole of South Africa. It has diminished the anxiety of the Labor Association to recruit Kafirs, and the native is no longer in a position to turn up his nose at the offers of work made to him by employers throughout the country. The rate of wages is declining; and in proportion to its fall, the Kafir's spells of work will become longer and the intervals of leisure correspondingly shorter.

Great indignation has been felt by all radicals and many Liberals and Conservatives over the introduction of Chinese labor into the Transvaal. Flogging and gross cruelty is shown to have been common. Many of the Chinese have deserted and been a menace to the community. The treatment of the question by the new Liberal administration has been perfidious.

At the same time, the whole question will have to be settled in the last resort by the forces on the spot. The principal event in the Transvaal has been the formation of the National Party, which, composed mainly of Englishmen, sets itself in definite opposition to the financial group who call themselves "Progressives." The new party, one of whose leaders is Mr. F. H. P. Creswell, has declared itself emphatically against the introduction of the Chinese, and for the repatriation of those at present in the country on

the expiration of their terms and at the expense of the mine-owners.

Pending the introduction of self-government no further importation is to take place after Nov. 30, 1906. At the elections in 1907 Mr. Cresswell was defeated, but the National Party (Hît Volk) won pledged to abolish Chinese labor.

CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM: The relation of Christianity to social reform and of the Church to social reform is considered elsewhere. In this article only the personal relation of Jesus Christ to the problems of social existence will be discust. With His relation to the individual, and with theological conceptions of Christ, this cyclopedia is not concerned, save in so far as these conceptions bear directly upon social reform. But to a large number of minds this is very distinctly the case.

I. We may speedily state the opinion of those to whom Christ was but an ordinary human being, tho the noblest, the best, the most inspired, nay, even in this sense, the most divine of men. Christ is conceived by those who hold this view in two main ways: (*a*) as a great idealist and religious teacher, quickening the world by lofty maxims, altruistic ideals, spiritual insight, and, above all, by a pure, self-sacrificing life. He is as Sakya-Mouni, as Confucius, as Socrates, as St. Francis, as many another, tho greater than any other. His relation to social reform, according to this conception is, therefore, to raise ideals of brotherhood, of self-sacrifice, of the supremacy of character over circumstances, of the scorn of material comfort. W. M. Salter says in his "Ethical Religion," pp. 188, 189:

A Religious Reformer

> It cannot be claimed that we stand in any such relation to Socrates or the Hindu prince or Confucius as to Jesus. Socrates has not been without influence upon us, but it cannot be soberly called a tithe of that which Jesus has had. Would that men read the "Apology" oftener; they would find meat and drink in it, a tonic and an inspiration for their lives! But there is need for no such wish in relation to the Gospels. Jesus is an ideal of goodness, all too indistinct often, but hovering in the thought of well-nigh every one of us. It is true that there is much uncertainty relating not only to His life, but to His teaching; yet as there need be no doubt as to the main tenor and events of His life, so there need be none as to the commanding features of His teaching. They make too largely consistent a whole, and bespeak a mind of too much freshness and originality and power, to allow us to think of them as coming in an indefinite way from an age otherwise so traditional, so barren, and so prosaic.

The ethical features which Mr. Salter finds in Christ are: (1) His opposition to the traditional morality of His day; (2) His giving to the moral law a more distinct inward application, teaching that thoughts and words have a moral significance, like that of actions; (3) His removing of all barriers of love to our fellow-men; (4) His teaching that the "kingdom of God" is to come from above, and not in the natural course of things—i.e., "not from the onworking of man's natural self-regarding impulses." The limitations in Christ's ethical teachings, Mr. Salter finds, *at least as far as the ethical requirements of our own day are concerned*, to be (1) His failure to emphasize "the intellectual virtues," straightforwardness, etc.; (2) His lack of concern with the State. Says Mr. Salter: "Jesus was not concerned with the State, indicating neither ideal nor practical courses for it to follow." He was ever looking for a kingdom to come, which, says Mr. Salter, has proved one "of humanity's blighted hopes"; (3) Mr. Salter finds in Christ's teaching little guidance for industry; and (4) no clear presentation of an ideal to be the end of human existence.

But (*b*) there is another conception of Christ held by those who deny the deity of Christ, very different from and at almost every point opposed to the conception we have just noticed. This is the conception that prevails largely among working men outside of the Church, and especially among materialistic Socialists. To such minds Christ was preeminently a social reformer. He is the first Socialist. They term Him the good "Sansculotte," to use Camille Desmoulin's phrase of the French Revolution. "The First Representative of the People" were the words written beneath the pictures of Christ that were posted in the halls of the French communists of 1848. "The Carpenter of Nazareth" is the name dearest to many working men. According to this conception, Christ was a Jewish labor leader, a religious trade-unionist, who taught of a kingdom of brotherly love, where inequalities and oppression were to vanish; where the poor, the weak, the unfortunate were to overthrow the kingdoms of wealth and of injustice. For opposing the rich and preaching communism He was crucified by the chief priests exactly as the pastors of the churches of wealth to-day oppose socialism and would hang all revolutionists. Christ, argues Austin Bierbower, in his "Socialism of Christ," sought to establish a kingdom in the interest of the "outs." He proposed to reverse existing conditions—to "lay the ax unto the root of the tree," "to put down the mighty from their seat," "to scatter the proud in the imagination of their hearts," "to send the rich empty away," "to fill the hungry with good things," "to exalt them of low degree." Christ's miracles, says Bierbower, "were all done in the interest of the poor." "The common people heard Him gladly." His command was to give up "houses and lands for the kingdom of God's sake." He said to the rich young man, "Sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor." The leading clergy Christ called hypocrites and whited sepulchers. Christ's method, says Bierbower, was one of revolutionary force. He was an insurrectionist, who could be confused with Barabbas. He came "not to bring peace, but a sword." He prophesied a reign of terror. Jerusalem was to be destroyed. Not one stone was to be left upon another. Pilate accused Christ of stirring up the people. This insurrection was to establish a communism. In Christ's teaching all men were to be equal. "Call no man master." There was to be no more clean and unclean. Men were to live in simplicity, to "take no thought for the morrow"; not to have two coats. Many working men think that Christ was an Essene, or at least the founder of a communistic sect like the Essenes, of which the Orient was then full. According to Osborn Ward's "The Ancient Lowly," Palestine was in the time of Christ full of trade-unions or secret gilds of slaves and despised artizans, and to these organized laborers Jesus Christ appealed, entering into their life and carrying their principles of fraternity and equality through the world.

A Social Reformer

Working men are not surprized that Christ was crucified. "The cross and hemlock cup have ever been the reformer's reward." Such is the materialist reformer's conception of Jesus Christ.

II. We now come to the views of those who

hold that Christ was more than man—God manifest in the flesh. Here again we find two divergencies. According to the one view (*a*) Christ's message was only to the individual and at most to the Church, the body of the redeemed who have been made one with Him.

The Individualist View

The holders of this view do not deny that Christ's teachings affect society, and are to be applied in the State; but they hold that the State and society are to be influenced only through the individual. "Make," they say, "perfect men and women, and then you will have a perfect society." Some do not even hold that society as a whole ever will be perfected on this earth, at least not in this present dispensation. The kingdom of God, they reason, is to be composed of the redeemed, of the elect out of the world. The kingdoms of this earth are, they teach, not to be conformed to the law of God, but to be destroyed and replaced by the kingdom of heaven. It is "a mistake," said the Bishop of Peterborough, at the diocesan conference at Leicester, England, October, 1889, "to attempt to turn Christ's kingdom into one of this world." The *Regnum Hominis*, he argues, can never be the *Civitas Dei*; the State does not and cannot exist on Christian principles. Did not Christ Himself say, "My kingdom is not of this world"? Were not Christ and all His disciples continually speaking of and looking forward to the end of the world, its destruction, and the coming of the new heavens and the new earth? Christian Socialists, says this school of thought, forget the doctrine of the second Advent, the personal coming of Christ, when this earth shall be destroyed and only the redeemed be saved. However, not all who hold that Christ's message is only to the individual argue from it that Christ's life is not to be applied to present social organizations. They hold that the Christ life will and inevitably must transform, nay, even revolutionize, human society. They assert strongly that Christ is the savior of society: but they hold that the salvation of society is to come only through the new life in the individual, by creating better men and women to compose the State. Such thinkers deny that Christ was a Socialist in any sense implying that He has a message for the State apart from the individual. Says Dr. Lyman Abbott, in his "Evolution of Christianity": "It has been said that Jesus Christ was the first Socialist. This is certainly an incorrect, if not an absolutely erroneous statement. It would be more nearly correct to say that He was the first individualist. The Socialist assumes that the prolific cause of misery in the world is bad social organization. Christ assumed that the prolific cause of misery in the world was individual wrongdoing." Those who hold this view argue that Christ came to save the world by saving individuals. Individuals, indeed, may cooperate in all kinds of reform and charitable societies; they may and should enter into politics; but the redeeming power is ever in the individual heart, and the Church's prime message, like Christ's, is to the individual. A few, like Tolstoï, carry this view to such lengths that they may be called, as occasionally they call themselves, Christian anarchists. They would do away with organization. To obey the State is to take an oath of loyalty, and Christ said, "Swear not." Society can only be saved by personal sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is the one word. Renounce life and you gain life. (For a full statement of this view of Christ, see Tolstoï.)

The First Individualist

But lastly, we come (*b*) to the view of Christ held by Christian Socialists. (See also Christian Socialism.) We are here concerned simply with the view of Christ held by this school. According to this conception, Christ is the King and Head of all humanity, and therefore with jurisdiction over all life, secular as well as spiritual, political and social quite as truly as individual. Christian Socialists do not deny, but assert the necessity of personal conversion and the new birth. Christ does not force any man to serve Him. A forced righteousness is not righteousness. Christ draws, but does not compel any man to follow Him. Hence all moral action from men in a sense commences with the individual, and in this sense Christian Socialists are individualists; but they deny that Christ came *only* to the individual; they deny either that Christ came only to save individuals out of a lost world, or even to save the world through the working alone of a new life in individual hearts. They do not admit that Christ taught that "individual wrongdoing is the prolific cause of misery in the world." They hold that man is born in society, and in a sinful society, which fact is the cause of deep evil. Throughout the Bible they find a teaching of racial sin. The child suffers for the father's sin, and the mother in the child's wrongdoing. They find a socialism in sin as well as a socialism in Christ. Men are not alone; men are molded by inheritance and by environment. Now, Christ, as the King of all the world, came to change this. He came to save rebellious individual men, but also to establish a new environment. He came to found a kingdom. He prayed for its coming. He taught that God's will should be done on earth even as in heaven. Those who argue that Christ's message is only to the individual, that He took no notice of the State and that He cared little for organization, forget, say Christian Socialists, Christ's whole relation to the Old Testament and the world. The old Testament is two thirds of the Bible. Christ only came after a long preparation of the Jews in social righteousness. He came, he declared, to fulfil the Old Testament laws. He Himself fulfilled and bade His disciples to fulfil every minute detail of the ritual law. Christ indeed denounced and reproved the rulers of the Jewish Church, but it was not because they fulfilled the law, but because they did not fulfil the law, because they made it of no effect through their traditions. Jesus Christ was the great conformist. He was circumcised; He was baptized; He was made a Son of the Law; He kept Feast and Fast; He obeyed all the law; He bade His disciples obey even the very priests He denounced. As to the assertion that Christ did not recognize the State, men forget what the Hebrew Church was. It was a State almost as truly as a Church. It was a Church State. Christ paid little heed to the Roman heathen State, tho He obeyed even its laws; but He magnified the ideal of the old covenant, the Divine State, the heavenly kingdom. He was ever speaking of it. Of it are most of His parables. He came to fulfil its laws. It is true that Christ idealized, spiritualized the materialistic conception of the laws held by the Jews. He came to fulfil them through love, not through legalism. But he did not come to abrogate the laws. Law must fulfil

The Christian Socialist View

law, not destroy law. Spirituality is not to make men disregard matter. Never did any one ever honor the material body as did Christ. Almost all His works were works of healing to the body. They were almost all secular Socialist works. He who thus magnified the body, law, organization, cannot be said—so Christian Socialists argue—to have come simply to save people out of a wicked world into heaven, or even to save a world on earth simply through the individual. If society, organization, the nation, count for nothing, why the thousands of years of the old covenant before Christ came? The law is the schoolmaster to lead to Christ, and Christ is the great Teacher to help us fulfil the law. Christian Socialists agree with the material Socialists that Christ was a social reformer—*the* social reformer; that He did come to establish a reign of equality, brotherhood, communism, here upon earth. They believe Christ's Church to be the world's first International; the call the Magnificat "the hymn of the universal revolution." Christian Socialists disagree with the materialist Socialists that He appealed to force or *depended* simply on organization. He came to bring a sword in the same sense only that the knowledge of the law brings forth sin. Christ has made a man's enemies those of his own household; He has turned the world upside down. He is the great revolutionist. But His appeal is not to force. He did not come to draw the sword any more than the law bids men to sin. He was led as a lamb to the slaughter. He conquers by self-sacrifice. His method is the cross. His kingdom is not of this world, but it is to include this world. "The kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." Christ's whole teaching, according to some, may be summed up in the words: "Father, Child, Brother."

Not a Lawbreaker

References: For the different views of Christ in relation to social reform, see *Ethical Religion*, by W. M. Salter, Boston, 1889; *The Socialism of Christ*, by Austin Bierbower, Chicago, 1890; *The Larger Christ*, by G. D. Herron, New York, 1891; *Lessons from the Cross*, by Stewart D. Headlam, London; *Christian Socialism, What and Why*, by P. W. Sprague, New York, 1891; *The Incarnation and Common Life*, by B. F. Westcott, London, 1893; *The Evolution of Christianity*, by Lyman Abbott, Boston, 1892; *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, by Shailer Mathews, 1897; *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, by Francis G. Peabody, 1901.

CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH, THE: Organized in 1896, in Muscogee County, Ga., by forty people, mostly from the Northern States. A college professor, a civil engineer, an editor, and the pastor of an institutional church were the leaders in the movement. They determined to open their doors freely to all who would come, confident that a hearty welcome to their brotherhood and to all the privileges of their association would soon put a new purpose and spirit of life even into the tramp and the loafer. They wanted no narrow or limited brotherhood. They bought an old plantation, at a price far beyond its value, on which they were able to make but a one-fourth payment. They had not sufficient means to lay in a three months' supply of food, and many months elapsed before they could hope to get returns from their planting. Yet they invited and received families from all parts of the country, most of whom came absolutely empty-handed and very few of whom added much to the financial strength of the colony. As the editor of *The Social Gospel*, the organ of the community, expressed it, "The colonists were kept sensibly dependent on heaven-sent supplies."

The first year all engaged in manual labor—farming, gardening, grubbing, building, fencing, preparing fuel, logging, milling, carpentering, orchard and nursery work, etc.

The society was not incorporated until Nov. 14, 1899. Its constitution adopted under its charter reads, in part, as follows: "Article 2. Object: The Christian Commonwealth is a society whose purpose is to obey the teachings of Jesus Christ in all matters of life and labor and in the use of property. The society is incorporated to establish a community of people on a cooperative basis, with the purpose of demonstrating to the world the practicability and desirability of Christian cooperation as the best method of earning a livelihood, of developing nobility of character, and promoting all the ends of a true Christian civilization."

Writing in Sept., 1899, the editor of *The Social Gospel* says: "The Christian Commonwealth lives and grows and is increasing in spiritual power and material equipment. Loaded down with the poor and with almost nothing in hand, by most self-denying economy and the hard labor of its people, the Commonwealth has made slow but steady economic growth." Yet one year later the whole property was in the hands of a receiver and the colony disbanded. The creditors, however, were paid, we are informed, in full, which indicates that the colonists must have made something more than a living, and that lack of business management or want of harmony must have been a factor in the breaking up. The spirit of brotherhood did not share the fate of the colony so far as the prime movers were concerned. Two of the leaders published for a while *The Social Gospel*, at South Jamesport, N. Y., and others *Social Ideals* at Elgin, Ill., tho these publications did not endure.

CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM: This is communism on the basis of the Christian religion, and has had illustration in all ages. These are, however, best considered separately. For the communism of the primitive Church, see Church and Social Reform. For the communism of the Church in medieval times, see Brotherhoods, Religious. For more modern times, see Anabaptists, Amana, Christian Commonwealth, Harmonists, Hopedale, Oneida Community, Shakers, Zoar. It is scarcely too much to say that religious communism has seldom *financially* failed, but that all the various attempts at Christian communism have failed because of being committed to celibacy, or some narrow religious tenet. The number willing to embrace its tenets has fallen off or become *nil*. See also Communism.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM: A term used in a larger and in a narrower sense. In its larger or looser sense, it may be defined simply as the application of Christianity to social problems. Used in its narrower and more accurate sense, it is socialism, but socialism in the name and spirit and on the principles of Jesus Christ. In the larger sense almost any Christian may call himself a Christian Socialist and the term comes often to mean little more than a vague interest and too often to become only a catchword, in the endeavor of the Church to enlist the interest of persons engaged in working out social prob-

lems. Much Roman Catholic and, in the United States especially, considerable Protestant so-called Christian Socialism is of this vague type. It is not really socialism at all and is not seldom actually opposed to socialism. In England, however, and on the Continent and in the U. S., when used by societies of Christian Socialists, or members of those societies, the term does indicate usually a very large acceptance and not seldom a complete acceptance of at least the fundamental principles and often the whole program of ordinary socialism. This is more especially true of more recent Christian Socialist movements, and is the result in part of a more accurate use of words in the course of the evolution of social thought, and in part of an increasing radicalism on the part of not a few of the younger clergymen in all branches of the Christian Church. To understand, therefore, the use of the word by particular writers or schools of thought it is necessary to know their definition of the word, or at least their modes of thought and expression. The term was first employed by the little group of men who gathered around Maurice (whom they considered their master), Ludlow, and Kingsley in England in 1848. It was used by them to express their conviction that socialism was really but a historical development or manifestation of Christianity. If in practise they understood by socialism little more than the principle and practise of cooperation as opposed to economic competition, it must be remembered that socialism itself had not developed into that more precise economic thought which is understood by the word to-day. The first Christian Socialists were accurately and truly Socialists of their day and generation, only holding that socialism to be practical must be founded on the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood in Jesus Christ. They spoke of socialism as "the nineteenth-century livery of Christianity," and Maurice wrote in a tract in 1850, when the term Christian Socialist was first decided upon, "that is the only title which will define our object and will commit us at once to the conflict we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists."

Beginnings

The year 1848 was a dark one for English working men. Bad harvests, heavy taxes, the potato famine had brought to a head all their sufferings and wrongs. Ireland was on the verge of rebellion. There were riots in more than one English town. On April 10th there was an immense mass-meeting at Kennington Common. London was thrown into intense excitement and fear. Two hundred thousand special constables were sworn in.

Meanwhile, two clergymen of the Church of England, F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, with a young lawyer, J. M. Ludlow, had been growing more and more interested in social questions. Charles Kingsley now rushed down from his parish at Eversley, and meeting Ludlow at Maurice's house, it was decided to publish placards and spread them broadcast, sympathizing with the workmen, but urging restraint from violence, and the necessity of virtue and religion to make men fit for liberty. Charles Kingsley wrote all that night, and the next morning appeared on thousands of posters his address to the workmen of England, signed "A Working Parson." A pouring rain and the energy of O'Connor prevented any outbreak.

It was now decided by the above three to publish a penny weekly, entitled *Politics for the People*. In these, in addition to Maurice, Kingsley, and Ludlow, we find articles by Archdeacon Hare, Professor Conington, Sir Arthur Helps, Archbishop Whately, Dr. Guy, French, Stanley, Osborn, and others—a rare galaxy of brilliant minds. Kingsley wrote in it the well-known articles signed "Parson Lot" (see KINGSLEY). The first number appeared May 6, 1848. The paper, however, was discontinued after seventeen numbers for lack of support, altho it attained a circulation of 2,000.

The little knot of writers, however, now including Thomas Hughes, held meetings all winter, meeting with many of the Chartist leaders, and starting night-schools. It was at one of these conferences that Kingsley made his celebrated speech beginning, "I am a Church of England parson and a Chartist," in which he acknowledged the grievous wrongs of the workmen, but dissuaded them from violence.

A Mr. Mayhew at this time contributed to the London papers a series of articles on the sweating system, which called out Charles Kingsley's burning and indignant tract on "Cheap Clothes and Nasty." But Maurice from first to last remained its directing spirit. Ragged schools were begun under their auspices, and "sanitary leagues" when the cholera began to rage. Colonization was projected. "Let us devise a Socialist home-colonization as soon as you please; provided only we give it a ground to stand upon, the sooner, the better," said Mr. Maurice, in a letter to Mr. Ludlow.

A cooperative institution, which was a practical embodiment of their ideas, was started, being an association of tailors in Castle Street, nearly opposite to the place where now stands the Cooperative Institution. This was in 1849. In 1850 a society for promoting working men's associations was formed, with Maurice for its president, and became the nucleus or center of the cooperative movement. The fundamental principle of this society was "the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry."

"Christian Socialism" First Used

In December, 1849, a dinner was held at Ludlow's and a plan for cooperative stores was discussed, and for the first time the term *Christian Socialism* was agreed upon. The name was favored by Maurice largely under the influence of Ludlow, who had been in Paris and seen there the *associations ouvriers*, and who had written to Maurice from there that "socialism must be Christianized or it would shake Christianity to its foundation, precisely because it appealed to the higher and not to the lower instincts of man." The Christian Socialists, now working under this name, started a periodical and also a cooperative store under the leadership of Walter Cooper, the ex-Chartist.

Their periodical, *The Christian Socialist*, was edited by Ludlow, but contributed to by all the members. The following, by Ludlow, clearly expresses its ideas:

"A new idea has gone abroad into the world: that socialism, the latest born of the forces now at work in modern society, and Christianity, the eldest born of those forces, are in their nature not hostile, but akin to each other; or rather, that the one is but the development, the outgrowth, the manifestation of the other. . . . That Christianity, on the other hand, in this nineteenth century of ours, becomes in its turn chilly and helpless when stripped of its social influences; or, in other words, when divorced from socialism. . . . That if the Gospel speaks true, and 'ye cannot serve God and Mammon,' it is wholly incompatible with a political economy which proclaims self-interest to be the very pivot of social action; . . . but that it is compatible with those theories or systems which have for a common object to bind up into fellowship, and not to divide by selfishness and rivalry; to substitute fair prices and living wages for a false cheapness, and starvation, its child; and which have adopted for their watchwords *Association* and *Exchange* instead of *Competition* and *Profit*."

The Christian Socialist was, nevertheless, less long-lived than *Politics for the People*. The movement, however, did not end. Kingsley published his "Alton Locke." It brought down on the Christian Socialists a shower of abuse. Says Professor Seligman of it:

Opposition

"Tracts full of raving and disreputable rant; mouthpieces of class selfishness, popular prejudice and ignorant passion; ravings of blasphemy, rapine and nonsense; miserable delusions; mischievous provocations clothed in oily phrases of peace and charity; a clique of wayward-minded men, who, from a morbid craving for notoriety or a crazy straining after paradox, have taken up the unhallowed task of preaching the doctrines of Jacobinism and the Jacquerie"—this and much more of the like was said of them in all the reviews and journals. Advertisements were refused by the daily papers; booksellers did not dare to keep copies of their publications. *The Christian Socialist* was prohibited by the French Government from circulating in the realm. A committee of King's College was appointed to investigate Maurice's activity in these dangerous schemes, and he narrowly escaped losing at once his professorial position. Kingsley was invited to deliver a sermon in a London church, and at the close his opinions were openly branded as untrue and dangerous by the officiating rector.

Eventually Maurice was removed from his chair at King's College, and very affecting is the address of condolence presented to him by those workmen who had through him come to believe in the divine mission of Christianity in saving society. But opposition and obloquy, so far from discouraging the Christian Socialists, only acted as a spur to further exertion. "I am a revolutionist," says Kingsley in one of his letters. His "Bible Radicalism" meant to go to the root of the matter, and to recover the true and original basis of Christian fellowship. At the same time they all felt that if their work was to prosper they must put their hand to the plow and give a practical demonstration of their theory. Mr. E. Vansittart Neale provided the funds for the first attempts in cooperative production and the establishment

of the central cooperative agency. Many of the aristocracy and clergy wished to encourage the promoters. Orders came flowing in, and the success attained induced the promoters to open an "East-End Needle-women's Workshop," and an association of shoemakers. In course of time a number of productive associations were formed in London and the provinces, principally in the north. Out of this came an agitation for needed legislation and the "Magna Charta of Cooperation," the Industrial and Provident Partnerships Bill of 1852.

The early Christian Socialists, too, worked much for popular education. This led to the establishment of the Working Men's College, which was opened in 1854. Henceforth the Christian Socialism of England of this period is lost in the cooperative movement developing in the north of England. The London stores either failed or were swallowed by the larger movement. But the Christian Socialist thought lived.

Says Professor Seligman: "These Christian Socialists were reformers in the fullest sense of the word. The kingdom of Christ was to them no empty formula; they were thoroughly imbued with the belief that this kingdom, created through revelation, actually existed and was destined in time to subjugate all wickedness and misery. Society, according to them, is not to be made anew by arrangements, but is to be regenerated by 'finding the law and ground of its order and harmony, the only secret of its existence, in God.'" The Bible they considered the poor man's book, the voice of God against tyrants and humbugs. "Justice from God to those whom men oppress, glory from God to those whom men despise," was to them the thought running through the Bible.

Principles of the Early Christian Socialists

Men of such a stamp viewed with a sovereign disdain the social doctrines of the Manchester school. They wrote: "Of all narrow, conceited, hypocritical, anarchic, and atheistic schemes of the universe, the Cobden and Bright one is exactly the worst." Said Kingsley:

"I expect nothing from a public press which panders to popular Mammonism by scraps of politico-economic cant, and justifies the ignorant miser to himself by retailing Benthamite phrases which sound like scientific laws, while they are really nothing but the assertion of barren truisms. I expect nothing from the advocates of *laissez faire*—the pedants whose glory is in the shame of society, who arrogantly talk of economics as of a science so completely perfected, so universal and all-important that common humanity and morality, reason and religion must be pooh-poohed down, if they see n to interfere with its infallible conclusions, and yet revile, as absurd and utopian, the slightest attempt to apply those conclusions to any practical purpose. . . ."

"Competition," said Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. That is a lie. The time is come to declare that it is a lie, by word and deed. I see no way but by associating for work instead of for strikes." Kingsley maintained that not self-interest, but self-sacrifice, was the only law upon which human society could be grounded with any hope of success. "That self-interest is a law of human nature, I know well. That it ought to be the root-law of human society, I deny, unless society is to sink down again into a Roman empire and a cage of wild beasts." The enthusiasm of the promoters was unbounded. Thomas Hughes thought they had found the solution of the labor problem and that "we had nothing to do but just to announce it and found an association or two, in order to convert all England and usher in the millennium at once, so plain did the whole thing seem." The majority of the promoters were equally sanguine.

The Christian Socialists were mistaken. Not thus are millenniums ushered in. Says William Clarke in the "Fabian Essays":

"*The Christian Socialist*, which was the organ of Maurice and Kingsley, betrayed great simplicity as to the real nature of the economic problem. It neglected Owen's principle of 'community in land,' and supposed that by working together and selling articles of good quality at a fair price poverty could be eliminated, while yet every worker in the community was paying his tribute of economic rent to the owners of the instruments of production."

After this wave of Christian Socialism in England, we have a long gap. Socialism of all kinds seemed dead in England. But early in the eighties the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam founded the *Guild of St. Matthew*. A High Church organization, it has become the leader of a remarkable movement among the younger Catholic wing of the Church of England toward radical socialism. It believes the secular to be spiritual, and finds secular principles involved in the highest Church teachings. Mr. Headlam long edited the *Church Reformer*, the organ of the gild, and an outspoken mouthpiece of Christian Socialism. Its radical nature can be seen in its reference to the Queen's Jubilee celebration as that "blasphemous" adulation going on at Westminster Abbey; and by the ultra-socialistic literature advertised and commended in its columns.

Later English Christian Socialism

Of more recent date and not so radical in its socialism, and yet doing a very wide and important work in the Church of England, is the Christian Social Union, founded in Oxford in 1889, under the lead of the Bishop of Durham and Canon Scott Holland. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION.) While it does not declare explicitly for Christian Socialism, its principles and teachings so largely tend this way that it is commonly spoken of in England as a Christian Socialist movement. It is significant, therefore, that the union embraces so many of the leading members of the Church of England, is the publisher of the able *Economic Review*, and includes men of such power and spirituality as Bishop Gore, Bishop Stubbs, and others, including its secretary, the Rev. John Carter. Quite recently an out-and-out *Christian Socialist Society* has been formed in connection with the Church of England. Outside of the Church of England, too, there is much Christian socialism. A society of Christian Socialists organized early in the eighties, not confined to the Church of England, and which from 1883 to 1891 published an organ, *The Christian Socialist*, did not endure, but its work was taken up by *The Christian Socialist League*, with the Rev. Dr. John Clifford, a leading Congregational clergyman, as president, and J. Bruce Wallace, Percy Alden, E. D. Girdlestone, John H. Belcher, Professor Shuttleworth and the Wesleyans, Revs. Hugh Price Hughes and Mark Guy Pearse are outspoken Christian Socialists; while the Rev. John Glasse, of the Church of Old Greyfriars, became a pioneer of socialism in Scotland.

This league, too, disappeared, but has given place to various movements and leagues for social service, and the London Free Church Social Union. (See FREE CHURCHES AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Apart from all regular church organizations, yet standing for a very vital Christian socialism, are the labor churches (*q. v.*) begun in England by John Trevor (*q. v.*) in 1891, which represent a radical movement politically in connection with the Independent Labor Party, yet insisting on a religious character of the labor movement. They have now largely disappeared yet played their part.

GERMANY

Christian socialism in Germany dates in its present form from the period of the Lassalle agitation, yet had its precursors in the philosophy of Fichte and Hegel and the communistic preaching of Albrecht the Prophet and of Weitling (*q. v.*). We consider its Roman Catholic and Protestant developments separately.

The Roman Catholics come first. Early in the nineteenth century Franz Xavier von Baader (*q. v.*), moved by the sorrows of the working class, recommended a "theocracy," a monarchy guided by Divine politics, as opposed to a democracy of revolution, a State held together by Christian love, equally free from slavish despotism and lawless individualism.

A greater German Roman Catholic Christian Socialist was Wilhelm von Ketteler (*q. v.*), the late Bishop of Mayence. Von Ketteler was in very many ways like Kingsley. He said of himself: "I have lived with and among the people, and know them in their sorrows and complaints. There are few of the tears and none of the sufferings among the people committed to my charge which have escaped my notice." He especially endeared himself to his people by his bravery and devotion during an epidemic of typhus fever in 1847. He was elected to represent his district in the Germanic Confederation at Frankfort. As early as 1848 he preached a course of sermons on the social subject in the cathedral at Mayence to audiences of many thousands. He largely endorsed the socialistic program of the day, invoking State protection against the encroachments of irresponsible capitalists; but he held that to endure, society must be founded on the rock of St. Peter. He pointed out the impotence of legislation to equalize property. Christianity alone, he taught, could put cooperative associations on a sound basis. "May God in His goodness," he cried, "bring all good Catholics to adopt this idea of cooperative associations of production upon the basis of Christianity." Yet little directly resulted. In 1864, however, Ketteler published a treatise, "The Labor Question and Christianity," and in 1868 organization was reached in the Christian Social Working Man's Associations. An organ of the movement was started, *Die Christliche Sociale Blaetter*. In 1870 the Catholic Journeymen's Clubs, which had been started in 1847 by Father Kolping, a pious artizan, joined the Christian Socialist movement. These clubs numbered, in 1872, 70,000 persons, mainly in Bavaria and Westphalia. They were strictly under the control of the Church, and therefore were more or less opposed by the Social Democrats. Yet the movement grew. In 1878 it numbered 12,000 in Westphalia alone. It took many forms—benefit associations, savings and credit associations, associations for diffusing literature, working girls' associations, etc. At the meeting in 1871 Canon Moufang presented the points which became the program of the movement: (1) Legislative protection of the rights of labor; (2) pecuniary state subvention in aid of cooperative associations; (3) reduction of the burdens of taxation and military service; (4) restriction of the

Catholic Christian Socialism

power of capital, and the removal of evils arising from usury and overspeculation.

Gradually, however, two wings developed, one tending to "self-help" and beneficent associations apart from the State, the other calling for State action and much of the Socialist program. The movement in one form or another has gone on, having to-day a large number of associations, mainly cooperative, and particularly among the peasants in Roman Catholic sections of the empire, but always distinctly under the control of the Church.

There are Catholic associations of masters and apprentices, of factory laborers, miners, and vintners; there are "Patriotic Bavarian" and Westphalian unions of peasant proprietors and a number of other societies of men and women in every direction, exercising a powerful influence under strict clerical supervision, the result of which is that in purely Catholic regions, for any efforts of social reform to be successful, it is essential in the first instance to secure the Catholic ecclesiastics as auxiliaries in any such undertaking.

This, too, has given the Roman Catholic Church in Germany large political power.

The Roman Catholic population of the empire is only 20,000,000 to 35,000,000 Protestants, and yet in the Reichstag, the Roman Catholic party, the so-called Center, has more delegates than any other party in the empire. It won in the last election 100 seats. Indeed the Protestant imperial government has usually had to depend for its majority on a coalition between the Roman Catholic Center with the Liberals or Conservatives. In that situation Rome is in power in the legislature and among the people. At a congress of German Catholics in Strasburg in Aug., 1905, Count Oppersdorf said, "Let every Catholic in Germany be a friend to every one in need." The Roman Catholic German Union for Works of Charity is a strong organization with 3,087 members and a very active life. There is also a strong Catholic propaganda and organization in Germany against the use of alcohol. Another organization is the Union of Catholic Women's Societies which publishes an attractive organ, *The Christian Woman*. Besides these and other societies, avowedly Catholic, German Catholics enter into every humane movement of every kind where they can exert influence. For example, at the International Congress for the Protection of Labor held in Zurich, 1897, a very strong Catholic delegation was present, including many priests. The congress received the papal approbation and one of its three presidents was the Swiss Catholic leader Decurtins. So also with the International Congress for Labor Legislation held in Berlin, 1890, and in Brussels in 1897.

Present Strength

This German Catholic movement is deeply founded and ably led. It does not drift with the times. There are in Germany at least a dozen Roman Catholic theological magazines and these give much space to developing from the principles of Catholic theology their scientific application to social reforms.

Protestant Christian Socialism in Germany has been a wholly separate movement. As early as 1838 Victor Aimé Huber (*q. v.*), who may be called the founder of German Christian socialism, at the request of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. of Prussia commenced in Berlin a paper, the *Janus*, advocating religious cooperation. He gave his life to this work and sowed much seed, but with little direct result.

Protestant Christian Socialism

About 1878, however, commences the chief movement of Protestant Christian Socialism in Germany, begun by Pastor Todt and brilliantly championed by Stöcker, the court chaplain. From the first it allied itself to the paternal State socialism, which has become the policy of the Prussian monarchs.

Kaufmann, in his *Christian Socialism*, says, however, of this movement that its name Christian Socialism "is somewhat misleading, since those to whom it is applied, and who cheerfully accept the appellation, are so far from being Socialists, in the ordinary sense of the word, that the name 'Defenders of Society on Church and State Principles' would convey a more correct idea of their aims and purposes to English readers. Properly speaking, they are conservative would-be saviors of society, who see no other means of escape from the present social dilemma but in a firm alliance between crown and altar for the purpose of regenerating society."

Two fundamental principles were laid down in the program, one indicating the duties of the State, the other those of the Church:

(1) That thorough reforms have become necessary in order to inspire the enfranchised masses with confidence toward the government.

(2) That the solution of the social question is impossible without the cooperation of the moral and religious factors and the Church's recognition of the just demands of the fourth estate (the working men).

But Stöcker, the leader of the movement, gave it a strong political bias. Two associations were formed, a Central Union for Social Reform on a religious, constitutional, monarchical basis, and the Christian Social Working Men's Party. The Union for Social Reform was to be composed of well-to-do and educated men, such as ministers of the Church, professors, manufacturers, and landowners, who would join in seeking for means of conciliating the anarchic classes through reforms inspired by the spirit of Christianity. The Christian Social Working Men's Party was to rally and aid working men.

The movement met great opposition. All the progressive papers protested against it as *mucker-socialismus*, or sham socialism. The liberal press also opposed it. "We prefer," said one paper, "Socialists in blouse to Socialists in surplice."

The higher dignitaries of the Evangelical Church held aloof from the movement, or were hostile to it; but the common clergy were stirred. More than 700 ministers sent in their adhesion to the Central Union for Social Reform. Dr. Stöcker displayed great energy. He attended public meetings at Berlin, where he confronted the most fanatical opposition of the Socialist Democrats, and sometimes, by sheer force of eloquence, he won cheers from the hostile crowd. He was attacked with extraordinary violence by Herr Most, who organized what he called a *Massenaustritt aus der Kirche*, or formal renunciation of the Church.

The Central Union for Social Reform also obtained the adhesion of several well-known economists, such as Prof. Adolf Wagner, of Berlin University; Dr. Schaeffle, former Minister of Finance in Austria, and author of "Socialismus und Capitalismus"; Herr Adolf Samter, banker at Konigsberg; and Professor von Scheel.

Pastor Todt was the chief author of the movement. In his "Radical German Socialism and Christian Society," he condemns the economics of liberalism as unchristian, and seeks to show that the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity are scriptural, as are also the Socialist demands for the abolition of private property and of the wage system, the laborer to have the full produce of his labor, and labor to be associated. Herr Todt places the following epigraph at the head of his work: "Whoever would understand the social question and contribute to its solution must have on his right hand the works on political economy, and on his left the literature of scientific socialism, and must keep the New Testament open before him."

The movement, however, was hurt by its politics. Depending in part on imperial support, this finally failed it. Dr. Stöcker, with unquestioned motives, but with doubtful wisdom, early became a leader in the anti-Semitic movement, and by so doing attached to himself a certain political following not always of a desirable character, and, at the same time, prejudiced against him many who had been attracted by his Christian Socialism. The movement, therefore, so far as it was Christian Socialist, broke away from his lead, and for the most part became a movement for all kinds of church and social philanthropic societies and efforts. It has in this line developed a large and useful activity, but so connected with the "Inner Mission" (*q. v.*) that we consider it best under that head. Only a few of the younger men adhered to any large extent to the radical Christian Socialism of England and America.

Dr. Göhre (*q. v.*) developed a radical wing, largely helped by the revelations in his book, "Three Months in a Factory," but he has gone over to straight socialism. Dr. Naumann, formerly of Frankfort and now of Berlin, with his paper *Die Hilfe* has stood for a more evangelical socialism. There exist in Germany a large number of so called Christian Trade Unions, both Catholic and Protestant, but they are best considered under Trade Unions. See also Germany.

France

France may be said, in a very real sense, to be the birthplace of Christian Socialism. As long ago as 1790 Claude Fauchet (*q. v.*), once a court preacher, and then a leader in the Revolution, advocated a radical Christian communism, and founded a Christian communist paper —the first Socialist paper of the world, *Bouche de Fer* ("The Iron World"). He founded Christian Socialist clubs, and exerted no little influence. The *bon mot* of Camille Desmoulins, calling Christ *le bon sansculotte*, is well known. Saint Simon (*q. v.*) himself has been sometimes called the first Christian Socialist. His first idea was to induce the Pope to found a new Christian social order, and when he failed in this, he undertook himself to found what he called a New Christianity. Several of the Saint Simonians, notably Buchez (*q. v.*), believed that they could, and endeavored strenuously to establish a new social Christianity. Far more truly may Lamennais (*q. v.*) be considered a leading French Christian Socialist. His journal, *L'Avenir*, begun in 1830 with its motto, "God and liberty, the Pope and the people," and after his break with the papacy, his *Les Paroles d'un Croyant* ("The Words of a Believer," 1839), are among the noblest and most

burning Christian Socialist utterances ever made. Cabet, the brilliant author of the utopian *Icaria*, must also be mentioned here, with his book, "Le Vrai Christianisme suivant Jesus Christ" (1846), striving to show that Christianity is communism. Yet in spite of these and other brilliant utterances there has been no organized Christian Socialist movement in France until recent times.

Says Kaufmann, in his "Christian Socialism," p. 169: "De Maistre, Lamennais, Lacordaire, on the one hand, Bonald, Le Play, and le Comte de Mun, on the other, represent in the order we have placed them, tho not in chronological sequence, the ascending and descending scale from and to the ultramontane standpoint of Christian Socialism."

The great movement of Le Play (*q. v.*) can, in itself, however, scarcely be called a Christian Socialist movement, altho it has led to some extent to a movement sometimes using this name. Le Play himself, altho a devout Roman Catholic, aimed to make his movement purely educational. The founder of the real Roman Catholic Socialist movement in France is the Comte de Mun (*q. v.*). He, with the Comte de la Tour-du-Pin Chambly, founded, soon after the Franco-Prussian War, the *Œuvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers*, an association organized for the purpose of bringing together working men on a Church basis, and standing on the social principles of the encyclical and syllabus of 1864. Its professed object was "the counter-revolution, made in the name of the syllabus, and the great work of reestablishing a Christian order in the world of labor." The followers of this school hold the Protestant Reformation to be the parent of all France's moral and social ills. They see in the Reformation a revolution against God, the worship of the sovereignty of the man in place of the sovereignty of God. They class Luther, Calvin, Voltaire, Rousseau, Danton, Robespierre, side by side. Against the Reformation, with its asserted ecclesiastical, political, social, and moral results, they declare war. In place of Protestantism and economic individualism they would establish cooperative association with State aid, under the patronage of the Church of Rome. With the Social Democrats they have nothing to do. When the Pope, however, condemned socialism under that name, tho indorsing many of its principles, they denied there could be a Christian socialism. The movement is more ecclesiastical and political than really Christian Socialist. It is an effort to hold the working classes for Rome. The direction of the unions is placed in the hands of local committees in close connection with a central committee in Paris. It is an attempt, moreover, to bring together the higher and lower classes of society by means of Christian sympathy, and so to effect social union.

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In 1887 there were 400 *cercles* and 130 cooperative associations.

Their leader, the Comte de Mun, an active politician and fluent speaker, tho sometimes defeated, has frequently been elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

This movement, however, is not the only Roman Catholic social movement in France. In 1890 Bishop Frippel founded *La Société Catholique d'économie politique*, representing the Le Play movement, but in direct conjunction with the Church.

French Roman Catholic political Christian Socialism, however, has not been a success. Compromised by their persecutions of Dreyfus, accused of plotting against the French Republic, the French voter has voted against these Ultramontanists. Therefore the movement is now taking a more practical turn.

Marc Sangnier, a brilliant young student at the Collège Stanislas in Paris, developed a burning interest in social reform, and finally, in the year 1899, an institution known as the *Sillon*, in many senses the Young Men's Christian Association of Catholic France, and, like this, with many branches or clubs of an undenominational character.

These clubs are open to all. Their organization varies. In towns they may take the form of literary and musical societies, daily classes for shorthand, English, or drawing, debating clubs, and the like. In the country they meet less frequently, and generally occupy themselves with lectures on agricultural or industrial topics. In every case the *Instituts* endeavor to meet the social wants of the district. Altho they are not exclusively Catholic, every occasion is taken to bring before those who attend them the truths of Catholicism and its social sympathies. Besides these *Instituts Populaires* the *Sillon* has founded a number of cooperative societies in various parts of France, and an *Office Social*.

An equally important association for social purposes in the French Church, tho perhaps more theoretical than practical, is the *Action Populaire* which undertakes to exhibit the condition of certain sections of the laboring classes, to teach the people that they must organize themselves, and to show them how to do so.

These two associations show which way the Catholic Church in France is moving. They are not political; they oppose socialism, but are social efforts to hold the people for the Church.

Protestant Christian Socialism in France is still more recent.

In 1887 Pastor L. Gouth of Aubenas (Ardèche) took the initiative in the establishment of a Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions. And on Oct. 18 and 19, 1888, the association held its first general assembly at Nimes (Gard). The aim of the association, as the result of its studies, was to labor to repair the evils from which we suffer, by pointing out to Christians their social duties, by suggesting to them the initiative in works of brotherhood and relief, and by acting upon public opinion and the established powers to bring about necessary reforms.

Protestant Christian Socialism

Many general assemblies were held—at Nimes, Lyons, Montbeliard (Doubs), Marseilles, Havre, and Paris, and much thought aroused. Professor Gide, Pastor Fallot, and Charles Secrétan were active in it. The association early developed 600 members. Several of the members have established in their churches, or rather in their communes, institutions answering to its aims, a bureau of information and employment, a *maison de travail*, a mutual aid society; elsewhere a society for the aid of young apprentices of both sexes, lodging-houses, and the like institutions. The *Review of Practical Christianity* became the official organ of the association.

Belgium

Belgium has distinguished herself in the literature of Christian Socialism. Colins, born in Belgium, should be mentioned here, tho he wrote mainly in Paris, and developed a philosophy in most respects anything but Christian, since he believed, strange to say, in immortality, but not in God. As an ardent land nationalizer, however, and with a religious spirit, altho a bizarre theology, he sowed seeds which have sprung up in Belgian Christian Socialism. Huet (*q. v.*) was an out-and-out Christian Socialist. His "Le Regne Social du Christianisme," published about 1850, is one of the earliest and best statements of Christian Socialism in any language. Professor de la Laveleye was his pupil, and says of this book that it has not received the attention it deserves, being too full of Christianity for most Socialists and too full of socialism for most Christians. A Roman Catholic of the school of Pascal and Bossuet, he protested to the last against ultramontanism, and for a liberal Catholicism and a spiritual secularity. Professor de Laveleye, his most distinguished scholar, belongs to the same school. Professor of political economy at Liège, he became as well known for his Christian Socialism as for his economic and sociological writings. A Catholic, of the extreme liberal type, his position on Christian Socialism may be summed up in the passage from the introduction to his "Contemporary Socialism," where he says: "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within himself an unconscious Christianity." Prof. C. Perin, of the Roman Catholic University of Louvain, belongs to the ultramontane school. His treatise on "Wealth in Christian Society" was published in 1861. Later he published a work on the "Laws of Christian Society," which was prefaced by a pontifical breve, dated 1875. In 1879 he published a work on "Christian Socialism," to which was added an address he delivered at the opening of the Congress of the Directors of the Roman Catholic Workman's Associations, at Chartres, Aug. 9, 1878. Perin founds social order on divine authority, but trusts largely to the moral rather than the dogmatic influence of the Church. Industry, he believes, should be organized, both paternally and fraternally, under employers, and yet with a Christian fraternal spirit. (For further details, see Colins; Huet; Laveleye; Perin.) With all these and other Christian Socialist writers in Belgium, one is not surprised to find much fruit. Indeed, in no other country of the world has a whole national church been so penetrated with Christian Socialism, as the Roman Catholic Church. Hence, many think, its deep hold on the people.

As early as 1854, a Jesuit, R. P. Van Caloen, organized in a Brussels basement a few working men into an association of St. Francis Xavier. Its object was to evangelize working men by working men, but it early developed social activities, including economic branches, cooperative societies, institutions for saving, trade-unions of various trades. To-day it has 354 societies, some 70,000 adult and 10,000 juvenile members, besides thousands of women, connected with it only to pray for its success. In 1867 was founded the Belgian Catholic Federation (for working men). In 1869 it published an organ, *The Christian Economist*, and later a popular journal, *The Worker*. In 1882 the first named was changed to the *Catholic Economist*. In 1888 was organized the Belgian Federation of Catholic Working Men's Societies, which in 1891 became *The Democratic League* (under the guide of the Church), and has held twenty-nine congresses in various parts of the kingdom. Its aim is declared by its constitution to be the moral and material improvement of the working classes and the pacification of labor and of capital. Societies may be affiliated with it composed either of employers or employees, but all must accept its aim, and recognize the indispensability of religion to the social order. The league has 300 societies with about 90,000 members. It is this league that largely gives Catholicism its political power in Belgium.

Catholic Movement

These societies are largely under the lead of the parish priests. The movement agitates for legal reforms, such as laws limiting child labor, woman's work, providing for working men's insurance, a Sunday rest, etc. It has established working men's hotels, schools, orphanages, savings-banks, mutual purchasing societies. Particularly has the movement organized cooperative agricultural societies, as one of its writers says, "for the salvation of agriculture, the first of all industries."

The movement has been an educated and instructed movement. It was Roman Catholic Louvain that first inaugurated a course in social studies in Belgium in 1885. By 1891 this had grown into a school of political and social sciences. To-day this school has thirteen professors, with some forty students. It has a course of two years and a half, grants diplomas, has already published twenty-five volumes and nineteen doctrinal theses. This is for the leaders of the movement who make social studies their specialty, but at every theological seminary in Belgium departments exist for the social and political instruction of the priests.

A Jesuit writer, A. Vermeersch, has published (1904) the most complete work on Belgian social legislation and activities.

Other European Countries

In other European countries Christian Socialism has had less development. In the Netherlands both Protestants and Roman Catholics have gone largely into politics and have created Church parties which separately or by combination have till recently largely ruled the country, but they have been in the main ultra-conservative. Recently, however, the growth of radicalism has compelled action on social lines.

A Catholic Social Union (Katholicke Sociale Actie), covering the whole country, has been formed, its central office in Leyden. This society will take the initiative in social action, and will be a bureau of information.

The Calvinists are following suit in a society in connection with the "Patrémonium," a working man's society.

In Scandinavia one recalls the late Bishop of Zeeland with his book, "Socialism and Christianity as a Fragment of Christian Ethics." There has, however, been little or no organization on Christian Socialist lines, except the efforts of a few pastors and others for temperance and other particular reforms.

In Austria, Christian Socialism was first advocated by a Protestant, Rudolph Meyer, but was taken up by Roman Catholics, Prince von Leichtenstein, Counts Blome and Knefsteen, and above all Baron von Vogelsang, and has grown into a large movement. It has, however, been principally a political movement to increase the political power of the Church, by organizing working men as in Germany into societies under the guide of the Church. It has also had much to do with anti-Semitism.

In Switzerland there have been various local Protestant Christian Social societies and a few leaders of economic thought, but the movement has developed little more than some charitable efforts on the part of the respectable upper middle class. Swiss Roman Catholic Christian socialism has been more radical, and some of the priests have been very active cooperators in the labor movement.

In Italy there has been nothing that can be called Roman Catholic Christian Socialism, except for a few utterances like Rafaele Mariano's "Christian Catholicism and Culture," and Professor Nitti's notable "Catholic Socialism." Some of the evangelical pastors write and preach on Christian Socialist lines.

The United States

Christian Socialism in America made a more recent appearance. This is due undoubtedly mainly to economic conditions, in part to the American idea of the divorce of Church and State, which has meant too often the divorce of secular and religious life. There have long been those, however, in America who have individually looked this way. Many of the participants in the Brook Farm and the early Fourier experiments acted on motives largely those of Christian Socialism. As early as 1849 Henry James, Sr., in a lecture delivered in Boston, argued the identity of Christianity and socialism. In 1872 a Christian Labor Union was organized in Boston under the lead of George E. McNeill, Edward H. Rogers, Hon. T. Wharton Collins (of New Orleans), the Rev. Jesse H. Jones, Henry T. Delano, and others. The Rev. Jesse H. Jones from 1874–75 published a paper in Boston called the *Equity*, really a paper of Christian Socialism. The writings of Dr. R. Heber Newton, of Drs. Lyman Abbott and Washington Gladden, of Prof. R. T. Ely, are well known. Yet there were no Christian Socialists, so called, in America till organization was effected in Boston, April 15, 1889, largely under the lead of the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. It was called the Society of Christian Socialists, and adopted the following principles:

Society of Christian Socialists

To exalt the principle that all rights and powers are gifts of God, not for the receiver's use only, but for the benefit of all; to magnify the oneness of the human family, and to lift mankind to the highest plane of privilege, we band ourselves together under the name of Christian Socialists.

I. We hold that God is the source and guide of all human progress, and we believe that all social, political, and industrial relations should be based on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, in the spirit and according to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

II. We hold that the present commercial and industrial system is not thus based, but rests rather on economic individualism, the results of which are:

(1) That the natural resources of the earth and the mechanical inventions of man are made to accrue disproportionately to the advantage of the few instead of the many. (2) That production is without general plan, and commercial and industrial crises are thereby precipitated. (3) That the control of business is rapidly concentrating in the hands of a dangerous plutocracy, and the destinies of the masses of wage-earners are becoming increasingly dependent on the will and resources of a narrowing number of wage-payers. (4) That thus large occasion is given for the moral evils of mammonism, recklessness, overcrowding, intemperance, prostitution, crime.

III. We hold that united Christianity must protest against a system so based and productive of such results, and must demand a reconstructed social order, which, adopting some method of production and distribution that starts from organized society as a body and seeks to benefit society equitably in every one of its members, shall be based on the Christian principle that "We are members one of another."

IV. While recognizing the present dangerous tendency of business toward combinations and trusts, we yet believe that the economic circumstances which call them into being will necessarily result in the development of such a social order, which, with the equally necessary development of individual character, will be at once true socialism and true Christianity.

V. Our objects, therefore, as Christian Socialists, are:

(1) To show that the aim of socialism is embraced in the aim of Christianity. (2) To awaken members of Christian churches to the fact that the teachings of Jesus Christ lead directly to some specific form or forms of socialism; that, therefore, the Church has a definite duty upon this matter, and must, in simple obedience to Christ, apply itself to the realization of the social principles of Christianity.

VI. We invite all who can subscribe to this declaration to active cooperation with us, and we urge the formation of similar fellowships in other places throughout the land.

This society included members of all churches. Its president was a Baptist, the Rev. O. P. Gifford, and among its officers Rev. P. W. Sprague (Episcopalian) and Mrs. Mary A. Livermore (Universalist). Branch societies were also started in many cities. The society also established, in 1889, a monthly organ, *The Dawn*, for some years published in Boston by Mr. Bliss. The society, however, no longer exists. Mr. Bliss established an Episcopal mission, the Church of the Carpenter, in Boston. This movement as an organized movement has disappeared, but the seed has been widely sowed. *The Dawn* in 1893 published a list of some 700 clergymen more or less actually engaged in Christian social reform. To-day there are many more.

In the Episcopal Church the *Christian Social Union*, established in 1891, under the lead of such men as Bishop Huntington, Dr. Holland, of St. Louis, Prof. R. T. Ely, Mr. Bliss and others, attained considerable following, and still exists, tho the organization as an organization has not grown. The more radical and locally more active *Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor* ("C. A. I. L."), organized in New York in 1887, has had more permanent success. The undenominational *Brotherhood of the Kingdom*, established in 1893, by Dr. Leighton Williams and others largely of the Baptist churches, has done, and still does, a quiet but good work. In his Christian Socialist days, Dr.

George Herron, by his brilliant books and burning words, stirred up much thought and some organization, particularly in his own denomination, Congregational; but this, so far as organization goes, was largely undone by Dr. Herron's later break with organized Christianity. Dr. Josiah Strong, tho never calling himself a Christian Socialist, has done very much for Christian social thought through the country. The same may be said of Dr. Gladden and several other prominent religious leaders. In 1906 a national Christian Socialist League, definitely committed to socialism, was organized in Louisville, Ky. But for all these different societies and forces, see articles under the respective names. The following is perhaps a correct representation of the principles and actual methods usually advocated by avowed and radical Christian Socialists:

Christian Socialism is the application to society of the way of Christ. Christ has a social way, and only in this way are there healing and wholeness for the nations. Christian Socialists do not deny the necessity of individual Christianity. Christian Socialism is no salvation by the wholesale, by machinery, by power of environment; it is no new gospel. It is, rather, the carrying out of the old full gospel, which is to all people. It holds that Christian Socialism follows from and is involved in personal obedience to Christ. It is Christian. Its starting-point is the Incarnation.

But this being so, it quickly adds, that while Christian Socialism follows from personal obedience to Christ, *it is not enough to-day to say that all that is needed is for the individual to follow Christ.* This, *while true*, begs the question. *We need to be told what it means to follow Christ.* Those sentimental Christians who say that all that is necessary is for individuals to obey Christ are in danger of saying, "Lord, Lord," without showing what the Lord would have us do. Christian Socialism tries to voice the social law that it has learned from Christ.

Christian Socialist Principles

First, it declares that all men are the children of God. It follows that men are not *merely* individuals; they are born united. The world *is* one. Society makes the individual, more than the individual makes society. Society begins in God. The first social necessity is to recognize this. We are to develop the social unity we derive from God. *Second*, the *law* for the social life is revealed in part in the Old Testament. The Mosaic revelation founded a theocracy on earth. God was the Universal Father; every man of the theocracy a brother. Property in land was not absolute; the land was conceived as belonging to God. No individual could own it in fee simple. He could only use it. In its use he was inalienably protected. It came to him through the family as an inalienable inheritance. If, through poverty or misfortune, he temporarily parted with it, it returned to him in the year of jubilee. No landless, homeless class could, therefore, be *permanently* developed among the Hebrews. (See JUDAISM.)

The law went farther. It cared especially for the poor, the oppress, the children, the fatherless, the widow. Usury (or interest: all scholars agree that the two words originally meant the same thing) was forbidden between members of the theocracy. The law provided for every one's independence. It not only provided land for the worker, but defended him in the ownership of clothes, tools, etc. (capital), which could not *permanently* be taken from him. If taken as a pledge, they must be returned before night. No permanent mortgage indebtedness was, therefore, possible on either land or capital; that is, the law was truly socialistic in providing in the name of organized society for both land and capital for every family. And this was *not*, be it remembered, a law of mere individual righteousness. *In order to reap its benefits, the family had to belong to the theocracy.* The Jew could take interest from a foreigner; the foreigner could be enslaved, even killed. The law was essentially national and institutional.

Third, this law is to be fulfilled *in Jesus Christ.* The Hebrew law did not work; no law can work; *man must work the law*; hence the Christ, conversion, the sacraments, the means of grace. Jesus Christ came to enable us to fulfil the law. What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, that Jesus Christ came to fulfil. Individualism forgets law; institutionalism forgets grace. A true Christian Socialism fulfils the social law through grace. The Old Testament gives the world its social track; Jesus Christ gives the locomotive power. To preach as Tolstoy and most Protestants do, the latter without social organization, is to try and run a locomotive without a track. Protestanism has run the world into a quagmire. Jesus Christ is the locomotive power drawing the world along the social track.

Fourth, a social law must be fulfilled *socially*. Protestantism has here made a grievous mistake. But to make a mistake here is to misconceive the whole Incarnation. In Christ, God became man *on earth*. He took all humanity into Himself. Christ was not only a man, but MAN; man in all that is in man or possible to man; man in art, in science, in letters, in politics, in society, in commerce, in industry. In the Incarnation God entered into all life. God's laws are practical. What is impractical is not divine. Individualism has been found impractical. Men have tried to carry out the Golden Rule on individual lines, and they have failed. We do not say they have wholly failed. No earnest effort, even tho mistaken, wholly fails. But, generally speaking, they have failed. Large numbers of business men say to-day that the Golden Rule cannot be applied to business. They are right on the present system of business, because the system is wrong. You 'cannot serve God and Mammon." Pathetic, noble but impractical are the desperate efforts of Christian men and women to do good and be Christ-like in modern business. It is a hopeless task. God's way demands a social basis.

Fifth, Christian Socialism would fulfil the social law by striving to build up a socialism based on Christ.

It would aid the eight-hour movement. It would reduce the hours of labor in factory and in shop, that men may have longer hours of labor in the home, the library, and the church. Christian Socialism would favor *direct legislation*, through the initiative, the referendum, and proportional representation, purging our politics of corruption, breaking down the machine, and teaching the people self-government. It would emancipate woman as well as man. It does not believe in a democracy of half the people. It would develop a true municipalism, as is being done in Birmingham, Glasgow, London, Berlin, and other cities. Glasgow, by spending $7,000,000 in tearing down and rebuilding the worst tenements, and by municipally clearing courts and passages; by providing municipal baths, wash-houses, etc., has reduced her death-rate from 54 to 29 per 1,000.

Measures Favored

This Christian Socialism considers practical Christianity. It would have the city employ the unemployed, in ways not to compete with present labor. Says Turgot, whom Matthew Arnold calls "the wisest statesman France ever had": "God when he made man with wants and rendered labor an indispensable resource, made the right of work the property of every individual; and this property is the first, the most sacred, and the most imprescriptible of all kinds of property." It would have cities obtain the funds for doing this by conducting gas works, surface railroads, etc., for a profit for the city, instead of having them owned by rich capitalists favored by city franchises.

Christian Socialists would have the nations own and manage railroads, the telegraph, expressage, etc. In every way it would replace competition by fraternal combination, and it would press toward reform in all these ways. It is not one reform. It is many reforms on *one principle*. Perhaps most important of all is land reform. Christian Socialism would revert to the Bible principle, that God is the owner of all the earth, and men only entitled to its use. It would, therefore, favor the reclaiming of the land for the use of all the people, by taxing land values on a graduated scale, and increasingly every few years, till finally the whole value of the natural resources of the earth be taken for the people, and not for the favored few. Christian Socialism would not go out of the world to save the world. It would be in it, tho not of it. Gradually it would influence cities and states and nations.

REFERENCES: (*a*) *Historical: Owen and the Christian Socialists*, by Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, in the *Political Science Quarterly* (June, 1886); *Christian Socialism*, by Rev. M. Kaufmann (London, 1888); *The Socialism of To-day*, by De Laveleye (Eng. trans., London); *The Church in Germany and the Social Question*, by J. G. Brooks, in *The New World* (Dec., 1892); *The Social Movement in French Protestantism*, in *The New World* (June, 1893); Stegmann and Hugo's *Handbuch des Socialismus*, art. *Christlicher Socialismus; Catholic Socialism*, by F. S. Nitti (London, Sonnenschein, 1895). (*b*) *Statement of Principles: Christian Socialism*, a tract by F. D. Maurice (1849; republished by the (Eng.) Christian Social Union); *Social Aspects of Christianity*, by B. F. Westcott, the Bishop of Durham (London, 1887); *The Incarnation and Common Life*, by the same (London, 1893); *The World the Subject of Redemption*, Canon Fremantle (1895); *Christian Socialism*, a tract by Stewart D. Headlam (London Fabian Society); *Christian Socialism—What and Why*, by Rev. P. W. Sprague (New York, 1891); *Socialism and Spiritual Progress*, a tract by Miss Vida D. Scudder (Boston, 1891); *Social Aspects of Christianity*, Prof. R. T. Ely (1899); *The New Redemption* and the *Christian Society*, by Rev. G. D. Herron (New York, 1893 and 1894); *What Christian Socialism Is* and *The Social Faith of the Catholic Church*, tracts by Rev. W. D. P. Bliss (Boston, 1894); *Christian Socialism in England*, by Arthur V. Woodworth (1903); *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, by Francis G. Peabody (1901); *Religious Movements for Social Betterment*, Josiah Strong (1890); *The Captive City of God*, Richard Heath (1904). (See also CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, THE (AMERICAN): Organization founded in New York, April 3, 1891, on the basis of the English Christian Social Union. Its first president was the Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York; its first secretary, Prof. R. T. Ely; and its traveling secretary and lecturer, the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. For its principles, see CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION (ENGLISH). It has found considerable response among clergymen and others, and has issued numerous tracts. Its president is Dr. Clinton R. Woodruff; its secretary, the Rev. A. J. Arkin, 3113 Richmond Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, THE (ENGLISH): An organization of the Church of England, founded in 1889 for the study and advocacy of Christian social principles.

The first regularly constituted branch was organized at Oxford, Nov. 16, 1889. The London branch began in 1890. The Oxford branch has been mainly engaged in the systematic study of economic facts; the London branch has been more active in holding public meetings, organizing courses of sermons, and issuing addresses on definite political, social, and industrial problems.

The principles of the union declare it to consist of Churchmen who have the following objects at heart:

(1) To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practise.
(2) To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
(3) To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.
Members are expected to pray for the well-being of the union at Holy Communion, more particularly on or about the following days: The Feast of the Epiphany, the Feast of the Ascension; the Feast of St. Michael and all Angels.

The president of the union is the Bishop of Worcester, who has succeeded the late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Westcott, who was the first president. The largest branches are at Oxford and in London; there are also branches at Cambridge Leicester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, and some thirty other centers. Canon Scott Holland, Professor Sanday, Professor Stanton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Liverpool, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Rochester, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Chester are prominent members. The Rev. John Carter, of Pusey House, is the honorary secretary. Canon Scott Holland is chairman of the executive committee of the London branch, and the Rev. Percy Dearmer (102 Adelaide Road, London, N. W.), is secretary. The union has upward of 5,000 members in sixty branches, and is very influential in Church of England thought and activities. It has affiliated societies in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. It has two organs: *The Economic Review*, published at Oxford; and *The Commonwealth*, published in London (3 Paternoster Buildings, E. C.).

The spirit of the union may be seen in the following quotations from a tract, "The Ground of Our Appeal," by Canon Scott Holland:

(1) We start from the conviction which has been for so long stamped on every heart that feels or brain that thinks that the time is come to vote urgency for the social question. We believe that political problems are rapidly giving place to the industrial problem, which is proving itself more and more to be the question of the hour. . . .
(2) We are of those who are convinced that the ultimate solution of this social question is bound to be discovered in the person and life of Christ. He is "the Man"; and He must be the solution of all human problems. That is our primal creed. . . .

It is true that this relationship of His to the social life of men is less obvious and direct than His relationship to their sorrows or their sins as the Redeemer. For the victory which gained Him this living lordship over all that man is was won by Him not in the social, or economic, or political, but in the *spiritual* sphere. He redeemed men's souls from sin. That was His primary task; . . . but its significance is bound to tell on every level of existence down to which the influence of the victorious spirit reaches. The whole of human nature is to be brought within the sway of the "New Man." And human nature is corporate; "man is a social animal." The natural bonds which hold together men into societies and races must, of necessity, receive the new inflowing force which comes to them out of the supremacy of Him, who gathers all men unto Himself.

(3) But this application of the redemptive force of Christ to actual society can be no very simple matter. The problems raised by human society are manifold, intricate, and immense; and however firm our conviction may be that Christ is Himself their one and only solution, yet the solution of a difficult problem must, of necessity, be itself difficult; and if the perplexities have been themselves a matter of long and gradual growth, then their undoing, also, will be slow and gradual.

These are the questions; and they can only be answered by those who have got long past the merely sentimental assertion that Christ is all in all, and have set themselves to the solid task of discovering what that solemn truth really and precisely means, and have worked it down into the concrete facts, and have surveyed and estimated the full need of the circumstances, and striven to make clear to themselves what is the first step, and what the second, and the third, if that great royalty of Christ is, in very deed, ever to be made good here on earth, amid men as they are, and after a history such as they have hitherto had.

We cannot all of us undertake such a study as this involves; we have not the leisure or the brains. But that is just why we should all take some direct measures for keeping in touch with those who have the faculties and the opportunities that we lack. Some servants of the Church there *must* be who will give themselves seriously to the training that such a task involves. . . . They will arrive at the discussion possest by two deep convictions: First, that the present situation is intolerable; and, secondly, that its solution must be found in the unfaltering assertion of *moral* as supreme over *mechanical* laws. . . . It is to collect together such men as this, it is to foster and to enlarge such a spirit, that the Christian Social Union exists.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP, THE: Organized in Louisville, Ky., June 18, 1906. Objects: To permeate churches, denominations, and other religious institutions with the social message of Jesus; to show that socialism is the necessary economic expression of the Christian life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth." Membership is open to all who agree to the objects of the fellowship. Organ, *The Christian Socialist*. Secretary, E. J. Ward, 5406 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS, THE SOCIETY OF: A society organized in Boston, U. S. A., in 1889, but tho not disbanded, not now in active existence. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM: This article is concerned neither with the teachings of Christ, nor with the activities of the Church, but solely with the effect of Christianity on social problems, and with the principles of a Christian sociology. The subject is considered under two heads: (1) History, and (2) Christian Sociology.

I.—History

The first effect of Christianity upon society was to introduce a new spirit of brotherhood, of equality, and of humanity to the suffering and the lowly (see CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM). Outside of Judea, at least, it seems probable that up to the third century Christianity spread largely among the vast slave and despised population of the empire, perhaps mainly among the trade *sodalities* or *colleges* or brotherhoods with which Mr. C. Osborn Ward shows the empire to have been honeycombed (see GILDS). Spreading mainly among these, the enslaved

rather than the masters, it is evident that Christianity could not at once overthrow slavery; but it did what it could to elevate the position of the slave. It bade him submit, in the spirit of Christian love, to his master, and yet it treated him as an equal and a brother. It inculcated a spirit and *practise* of brotherly love. "How those Christians love one another!" is the suggestive exclamation concerning life in the primitive Church. For a beautiful tho imaginative picture of the life of the early Church, see Koun's "Arius the Libyan."

Coming to more authoritative and established facts, we can see the evidence of the social effect of Christianity by comparing legislation before and after its influence began.

The Family

Rome, like all early civilizations, gave almost unlimited power to the father. He could and often did chastise or even slay an adult son. He could take his property, assign him a wife, divorce him when married, transfer him to another family by adoption. See *Val. Max.*, v., 8; *Liv.*, vii., 7; *Plut.* (*P. Gr. et Rom.*). Over the daughter he had still further power. Under the Christian emperors, whatever their personal character, this was abridged. Constantine punished a parricide, and Justinian went much further. The father could now only inherit from a son to a less degree than the son's minor children. Under Justinian the son had full control over all his acquisitions. He could not be killed, exposed, bought, sold, or imprisoned, save by decree of the courts. Under old Rome, inheritance was not by blood, but by *power*. Relationship was limited to descendants by males, tho a daughter inherited equally with a son. But neither an "emancipated" son nor a married daughter who had "left the family" inherited. They were *cognates*, not *agnates*. Under the Christian emperors this distinction disappears. Under the old Roman law the woman was almost wholly under the tutelage of her male relations. A court of her relatives could try her. Her husband had power of life and death over her, and power over her property. To the three ancient forms of Roman marriage, the *confarreatio*, or religious, the *coemptio*, or civil, and the *usus*, or without ceremony, there was gradually added "free marriage" in the interest of the woman, which was recognized by law, but did not make the wife of the husband's "family," leaving her her own property, her own gods, and her old family relation.

Under the Christian emperors this was changed. "Tutelage of women must be done away with," says Justinian in his "Institutes." The absolute power of the husband ceased. If unjustly divorced, she received full paternal power (*C. Theol.*, v., 4, 5).

Marriage

Under Rome, divorce had become frequent to the utmost. Juvenal declares that "no crime or deed of lust was wanting to the age" ("*Sat.*," vi., 223). Modesty was held to be a presumption of ugliness (*Plut. Vet. P. Aem*). In the year 19 A.D. the Roman senate had to pass a law that no woman of a certain rank could make her person venal. (*Tac. Ann.*, 2, 83). In 330–331 A.D., however, a wife might be divorced from her husband only when he was a murderer, a magician, or a violator of tombs. The husband could be divorced when the wife was an adulteress or given to evil practises. If the wife's innocence was proved, she had right again to all the property of her husband, and even the *dos* of the second wife. A married man was prohibited (340 A.D.) from having a concubine, and finally adultery was punished by death. Justinian's code, however, extended the causes of divorce. Jerome confesses that "some were the laws of the Cæsars, and some of Christ." A stoical jurist, Paul, writes in the third century: "Women in every kind of affairs and obligations, whether in behalf of men or women, are prohibited from having any concern" (*Paul Sent.*, ii., xii.). Justinian says that nothing in human affairs is so much to be venerated as marriage. "We enact then that all persons, so far as they can, shall preserve chastity, which alone is able to present the souls of men with confidence before God" (*Nov.*, iii., 1, 14).

Slavery

In ancient Rome and Greece, unnatural vices became the rule even among the learned (confer Lucian, Apuleius, Arbiter, Athenæus, Plato's *Symposium*). The plain words of St. Paul are well known. The Theodosian code, which codified the legislation of Constantine, ordered the most intense punishments to be inflicted on those guilty of such crimes. He says: "Taught by the Holy Scriptures, we know what a just punishment God inflicted on the inhabitants of Sodom" (*Cod. Theod.*, ix., tit. 7).

Slavery was probably never worse than just before the advent of Christianity. Stoicism mildly denounced, but did not alleviate it. Cato approved of selling a sick slave (*De remot.*, II.). Six hundred slaves were put to death because one had slain their master, and Cassius defended the act, which the law requited (*Tac. Ann.*, xii , *lib.* 42). Similar inhumanities are well known. Slaves were fed to fish and put to death for amusement. Under Christianity the Lord's day became a day appropriate to emancipation (*Cod. Theod.*, l. 2). The setting free of slaves became common. In 312 A.D. the poisoning or branding of a slave was declared by law to be homicide. In 314 liberty was a right which could not be taken away. By 316 emancipation in the church before witnesses was emancipation before the law. Later a few words from a priest could emancipate. Under Justinian those who served in the army or entered a monastery, with the consent of their masters, became free. Slavery was suppress by penalty. If, at the death of the master, the heir was directed to free one slave, all became free. The marriage of the master with the bondwoman freed and legitimatized all the children, and even without marriage, if the woman held the position of a wife, she became free with her children. The violation of a slave woman was made an equal offense with crime committed upon a free woman, and punishable by death. The movable property of slaves became their own, and with it they often purchased their liberty. The code declared its purpose "to have the republic frequented by freemen rather than liberated slaves." These were but the principal enactments. Under Leo (717) all slaves on imperial domains were allowed to do with their property as they chose. If property reverted to the State (867), the slaves became free. In the ninth century St. Theodore of Studium (Constantinople) commanded "Thou shalt possess no slave, neither for domestic service nor for the labor of the fields, for man is made in the image of God" (Wallon's "Hist. de l'Esclavage," v. iii., p. 484). Slavery had disappeared in Europe when the Reformation came.

Humanity

The gladiatorial games of Rome are well known. The Stoics objected to them, but it did no good. Cæsar had 320 pairs of gladiators at once in the arena. Trajan surpassed all in forcing 10,000 prisoners and gladiators to contend for life in a carnage lasting 123 days. Constantine, in the very year before he accepted Christianity, exposed a vast number of prisoners to wild beasts in the amphitheater. The early Christians protested against all this. In 325 A.D. Constantine passed the law, "Bloody spectacles in our present state of civil tranquillity and domestic peace do not please us, wherefore we order that all gladiators be prohibited from carrying on their profession" (*Cod. Theod.*, lxv. tit. 12, l. 1). Their final abolition by the leaping into the arena of the monk Telemachus (404) is well known.

Under old Rome public spectacles were licentious as well as bloody. Nude women were made to bathe before the spectators. The actresses were prostitutes and the plays obscene. The Christians denounced these, as they did the gladiatorial shows. By 343 no Christian woman, bond or free, could be forced to serve as a prostitute on the stage. Exhibitions were forbidden on Sundays and saints' days. By 439 a law of Theodosius forbade the profession of the *leno*, or procurer. Under Justinian no woman could be retained by force on the stage. Under Theodosius it was forbidden to sell or train women for social entertainments. A slave mutilated became free. Often when examined a slave would answer, "I am not a slave; I am a Christian; Christ has freed me."

Under ancient Rome, the exposure and frightful mutilation of children, and especially of female children, were frequent. Even Seneca approved of exposing weak infants. Exposed children were often taken to be prostitutes. The Christian fathers were full of denunciation of the custom. Constantine (315) forbade the practise, and had his revenue and treasure used to rescue any who were exposed. The Council of Nice ordered the foundation of hospitals in the principal towns. Houses of mercy for children were founded by Justinian. A marble vessel was provided for exposed children at the door of each church, and nurses were employed for them.

Under Constantine began the first prison reform, and with the Christians, the first active condemnation of war and the adoption of arbitration. Many of the Christians refused to fight or to go to law. Tertullian called Christians "priests of peace." The first hospital is said to have been built in Rome at the end of the first century. Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius the Younger, built and endowed several at Constantinople.

The Middle Ages

It is often claimed that the elevation of woman under the Christian emperors could not have been due to Christianity, because the same elevation was found in unchristian Germanic tribes. But the same elevation was not found. The woman occupied a higher position than under ancient Rome, but not so high as under Christian Rome, and when Christianity conquered these tribes her position was very much bettered. It is true, according to Tacitus, that woman among these tribes was the companion of her husband, and often the honored prophetess; a high ideal was maintained of female purity; and the debauchery of Rome was unknown; nevertheless the wife was under the absolute authority of her husband, and could be bought, beaten, or killed. The wife was usually bought, being rated at so many pieces of silver. The offender was required by law simply to pay the husband for the adultery of his wife, and to furnish a new wife (*Leg. Æthel.*, 32).

Marriage

Christianity immediately strove to increase the sanctity of marriage. The law of Ethelred is striking: "And we direct very earnestly that every Christian man carefully avoid unlawful concubinage and rightly observe Christian law; and let it never be that a Christian man marry within the fourth degree, nor have more wives than one as long as she may live, whoever will rightly observe God's law and secure his soul from the burnings of hell" (*Lex. Æthel.*, v. II., vi., II.). The Pepin and Charlemagne capitularies

are equally strong on the indissolubility of the marriage tie, save for the cause of fornication. The Church strove likewise to root out the old venal character of marriage. The Council of Treves (1227) forbade the relations of the bride from taking money under any pretense for giving the woman in marriage. The ring is now well-nigh the only relic of the ancient *wed* or pledge that the man would fulfil his part of the money contract. France was the first to abolish tutelage.

A greater effect of Christianity on the Germanic tribes was in the mitigation and finally the suppression of personal feuds. In barbaric society individual injury was revenged on the person of the enemy, and the injured, being a member of a family or association, was protected by the association, and his wrongs regarded as wrongs done to the family. Hence arose feuds (*faida*). In the Teutonic tribes an elaborate system of fines, or amends, was arranged. Christianity agitated the subject. King Alfred, in the introduction of his laws, speaks of the ordaining of *bot*, or money fines, to repress feuds by the legislative assemblies of England as a special effort of the Christian faith. All Sundays and religious days became sacred from feuds. In the seventh and eighth centuries a confessor at shrove-tide would refuse absolution to a man at feud who would not make peace. From a Russian code of 988 A.D., we learn that "King Wladimir lived in the fear of God, and murders waxed greatly. Then spake the bishops to Wladimir: 'Murders wax greatly. Why dost thou not punish?' He answered: 'I feared injustice.' But they replied: 'Thou hast been set by God for the punishment of the wicked and for grace to the good. It becometh thee to punish the murderers, but only after much searching out.' Then Wladimir rejected *wergild* (fine), and punished the murderers."

From feuds arose private wars. A nobleman once declared war against the city of Frankfort because a lady residing there had promised a dance with his cousin, and had danced with another. The city was obliged to satisfy his wounded honor. The Margrave of Brandenburg boasted that he had burned 170 villages. A Church council held near Soissons in 909 A.D., declared "that the monasteries were burned or destroyed, the fields reduced to solitude, so that we can truly say that the sword has pierced to the very soul." Wherever feudalism went there was private war. Consequently the clergy preached "the Peace of God." In France, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, there seems to have been a sort of peace "revival," almost "a crusade of peace." Whoever broke the "Peace of God" lost his property, and was driven from among men. The peace lasted from Thursday evening to Monday morning, and included Christian feasts and other festivals. Many religious fraternities to reconcile enemies were formed in the Middle Ages. A meeting of clergy at Charons (989 A.D.) anathematized all who should plunder the poor and the clergy. The Council of Poitiers, 1004 A.D., worked for the same end. By the Council of Limoges (1031) all disputes were to be brought before the bishop and his chapter. The popes made public proclamations of peace. Almost all the councils reaffirmed this peace. In the thirteenth century Brotherhoods of the Agnus Dei worked for peace. In the same century Friar John of Vicenza traversed large portions of Italy, preaching the "Peace of God." In the fourteenth century a great religious movement for peace stirred the minds of different nations. Pilgrims with white bands around their necks (*I Bianchi*) marched through various lands preaching the duty of a Christian peace. In Germany the Church and the free cities combined, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries largely introduced courts of arbitration under the bishop in place of feuds.

"The Peace of God"

The capitularies of Charlemagne are replete with evidence showing the effect of Christianity in the way of social reform. One of them reads: "Let peace and good intelligence rule among bishops, abbots, counts, judges, and men of all conditions, for without peace, nothing pleases the Lord." "If ye love one another, all will know ye are Christ's disciples." "Widows and orphans and minors are to be protected as under the peculiar care of God." "The true charity, which loveth God and our neighbor," is to be cultivated. The people are exhorted to peace, because "they have one Father in heaven," and because the blest book has taught them that "blessed are the peacemakers." The powerful are cautioned against the oppression of the poor, and all are exhorted to be imitators of Him who would save the souls of men. All Christians are most solemnly warned to give their utmost diligence lest they be forever separated from the kingdom of God by their strifes and contentions and falsehood and wicked vices. The laity were ordered to learn the Apostles' Creed. The stranger and far-comer were especially protected "under the injunctions in the Bible, and because such may be journeying in the service of their common Master."

Similarly indicative of the influence of Christianity are old English laws. King Alfred (about 870 A.D.) introduces his code with the ten commandments and other laws taken from the Bible. Of his laws, the king says: "These are the dooms that the Almighty God Himself spake to Moses and bade him to hold, and when the Lord's only begotten Son—that is, Christ the Healer—on middle earth came, He said that He came not these dooms to break nor to gainsay, but with all good to do and with all mildheartedness and lowly-mindedness to teach them" (Hughes's translation). "That ye will that other men do not to you, do ye not that to other men. From this one doom, a man may think that he should doom every one rightly; he need keep no other doom-book." The Saxon and early Norman laws are strict as to Sunday work. If a bondsman work on Sunday by his lord's order, the lord must pay a fine of 30*s*.; if without this order, he must be flogged. If a freeman work without his lord's order, he must forfeit his freedom or pay 60*s*. A priest pays double. In King Ethelred's dooms the Christian impulse is very strong (978 A.D.). "This, then, first, that we all love and worship one God and zealously hold one Christianity; . . . that every man be regarded as entitled to right, and that peace and friendship be carefully observed within the land before God and before the world." King Canute's laws (1017 A.D.) are similar: "Let every Christian man do as is needful for him; let him keep his Christianity," etc.

English Laws

Christianity in the Middle Ages did much for education. The Council of Vaison (529 A.D.) says: "It hath seemed good to us that priests with parishes should receive into their houses, according to a sound custom in Italy, young readers to whom they give spiritual nourishment, teaching them to study, to attach themselves to holy books, and to know the law of God." The Synod of Orleans (799) says: "Let the priests in villages and towns hold schools, in order that all the children entrusted to them can receive the first notion of letters. Let them take no money for their lessons" (*Theod.*, cap. 20). In 859 another council declared: "Let one raise everywhere public schools, that the Church of God may everywhere gather the double fruit of religion" (*Conc. Ling.*, cap. 10). The Council of Trent commands that the children of the poor have at least one master to teach poor scholars grammar gratuitously" (*Conc. Trid. occ.*). Charlemagne had already said: "Let one open schools to teach children to read; let, in every monastery, in every bishopric, some one teach psalms, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and employ correct copies of holy books; for often men seeking to pray to God, pray badly on account of the unfaithfulness of copyists" (*Cap. Ecc.*, 61–66).

All these exhortations, and there were many more, had the effect of multiplying schools. The contribution of the monasteries to education is well known. An immense quantity of manuscripts was copied. Thomas à Kempis said of this copying: "Do not trouble yourself at the fatigue of your work, for God, who is the source of every good and just labor, will give the reward, according to your efforts, in eternity. When you shall be no more, those who will read the books copied by you with elegance will pray for you; and as he who gives a glass of cold water does not lose his reward, so he who gives forth the living water of wisdom will receive more surely his recompense in heaven." All classes studied in these monastic schools, so that rich and poor were brought together on the field of learning. Nor were the popes altogether wanting to the intellectual movement.

Equally was the Church effective in behalf of liberty. Mediæval serfdom sprang from the chaos of the times. Freed slaves, finding that they could not protect themselves, preferred to join some master as land slaves. The small farmer found himself better guarded from robbers by becoming the serf of some powerful nobleman. Wealthy patrons at Rome rewarded their faithful clients by bestowing on them parcels of land in the provinces, where they were attached as *coloni* to the soil. Again, the government settled bodies of prisoners or immigrants on large districts of public land, and made them serfs to the soil. These *coloni* were considered as free born, but attached to the estate. They could not marry, nor teach their children without the consent of their lord, tho they could become priests. They had a little cottage, a little land, pasturage, and fuel, and, according to Rogers, rent free. (See SERFS.) The estate could not be sold without them, nor they sold from the estate. They paid no taxes.

Serfdom

The laws of Constantine forbade the separation of near relatives among slaves of the soil. Slavery, however, still existed. Up to the twelfth century there was an absolute power of the master over the life of the slave. For these and for the serfs the Church did much; thirty-seven Church councils are reported to have passed acts favorable to slaves. In 305 A.D. any master ill treating his slave was condemned; in 517 the murderer of a slave was excommunicated; in 549 the right of asylum in a Christian church was offered to the runaway, and slaves freed by the Church were protected; in 585 the ornaments and property of the Church were permitted to be sold for ransoming slaves; in 566 Christians were forbidden to reduce freemen to slavery; in 922 no Christian was permitted to enslave a fellow Christian; in 656 any slave compelled to work on Sundays became free by the fact, or if he were held over the font for baptism. The decree of the Council of Chalons (650 A.D.), with forty-four bishops in session, ordered that no Christian slaves should be sold outside the kingdom of Clovis, with the words: "The highest piety and religion demand that Christians should be removed entirely from the bonds of servitude." One form of manumission was, "For fear of Almighty God and for the cure of my soul I liberate thee, and may the angel of our Lord Jesus Christ deem me worthy of a place among His saints." Another form was, "I, in the name of God, thinking of the love of God, or eternal retribution, . . . do free this slave from the bonds of servi-

tude." In the eleventh century the Emperor Conrad speaks of the sale of human beings as a thing nefarious and detestable to God and man (*Pertz.*, xi., 38). In the fourteenth century the Count of Valois, brother of Philip the Beautiful, freed the serfs of his *comté* with the words: "As the human creature who has been formed in the image of our Lord ought to be free by natural right, . . . let these men and women be free. . . ." In 1256 the city of Bologna freed all its serfs, paying an indemnity to their masters, closing the decree with these remarkable words: "The city of Bologna, which has always combated for liberty, remembering the past, and its eyes fixt on the future, in honor of our Savior Jesus Christ, hath ransomed all the serfs on its territory, and decreeth that it would not suffer there a man not free" (*Istoria di Bologna, Girarhacci*, quoted by Laurent Sugenheim and von Raümer, vol. iii., p. 168). In Germany, the "Sachsenspiegel," or Mirror, the code of the thirteenth century, is full of the traces of the influence of Christianity against slavery. The Lord is said to have "put rich and poor equally under His love." Slavery is declared to have its origin "from unjust captivity," and, quoting the Bible, the law affirms that man belongs to God alone, and "whoever holds him as slave, sins against the power of the Almighty."

Slavery

One of the first Christian kings of Norway, Knut the Holy, at the end of the eleventh century publicly proclaimed that slavery should be abolished. By 1214 it had almost ceased, and by the fourteenth century there are no traces of it. In Sweden, King Magnus Eriksen, 1335, made a similar proclamation. In England, as upon the Continent, slavery arose from many causes—birth, captivity, punishment, poverty. Thousands of Britons, in the first century after the Norman conquest, sold themselves into thraldom. Children were sold by their parents. Bristol was the great slave market, and there might be seen long trains of British youths and maidens—the latter often received for the sake of selling their offspring—all to be sold either to Ireland or to foreign countries. One authority says that from Ethelwolf to William I., for 230 years, a great part of the English peasantry became reduced to slavery. By the Doomsday Book (1068–71 A.D.), the number of male slaves in Sussex was 9,200, which would make the whole number about 50,000, while the freemen were only about 38,000. In the whole of England there seems to have been 25,000 slaves, 89,000 serfs, and 110,000 villeins. There is proof that slaves were branded and yoked as cattle.

Christianity strove against this evil. Bishop Wulfstan, of Worcester, about 1086, came yearly to Bristol and spent several months preaching against the slave trade. Edward the Confessor, 974 A.D., said of Christian brotherhood: "We have all one heavenly Father and one spiritual mother, which is called Ecclesia—that is, God's church—and therefore are we brothers." St. Aidan, of Northumbria, ransomed slaves. Bishop Wilfred, having received an estate with 250 Christian slaves, emancipated them. Laws were enacted in behalf of the slaves, but always on a Christian basis. Some of these we have seen. A female slave led into sin by her master, by that act became free. The Seven Years' Jubilee, taken from the Jewish system, did much to destroy slavery in England. Under William I. the law forbade the slave trade. A council in London (1102), called by Anselm, forbade absolutely the nefarious business of selling human beings like brute beasts. The chivalry of the Middle Ages owes much to Christianity. The initiation of the knight was essentially religious; his ideals were largely so. His first oath was often "to fortify and defend the Christian religion to the uttermost of my power." Similarly the crusades and much of the life of the first period of the military orders like the Knights Templars were largely influenced and formed by Christianity, and were undoubtedly for good. The effect of the monastic life upon equality is noticed under the article COMMUNISM. Christianity and the Church did far more for civil liberty than is usually recognized. It should not be forgotten that Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the main instrumentality in forcing from King John the priceless Magna Charta. For the part played by John Ball and Wycliffe, "poor priests," see JOHN BALL. The social influences of Savonarola in Italy, who can estimate? The democracy of the Church certainly influenced the political movement.

Slavery in England

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

The first social effect of the Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis upon the right of private judgment, salvation by personal faith, the worth of the individual soul, was the outbreak of a struggle for social freedom. In this struggle Germany took the lead. (See PEASANTS' REVOLT.) Many associations among the peasants were formed. One is spoken of on the Upper Rhine, which had a banner with a picture of Christ crucified, before whom knelt a serf with the legend, "Nothing but God's justice." The Swabian peasants, in the insurrection of 1525, said: "It hath been the custom till now to hold us for serfs, which is a pity, seeing that Christ hath bought us and redeemed us with His blood;" and, "It is found in the Holy Writ that we are free, and we . . . desire to be free. . . . We would have God as our Lord, and know our brother in our neighbor." The fourth article claims on religious grounds the use of wild game and wood from the forests. In conclusion, say the peasants, "If any of these articles are opposed to Holy Writ, and this can be proven to us, we will give them up. The peace of Christ be with us all." The peasants on the Neckar claimed under the emperor an absolute equality for all men. "All worldly lords are to be reformed, so that the poor cannot be burdened by them beyond the rules of Christian freedom; the same law is to be for the highest and lowest." "All cities and parishes are to be reformed in divine and natural rights, after the principles of Christian freedom." (See also ANABAPTISTS; CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM, etc.) Such was the first social result of the Reformation. But it did not endure. The leaders of Protestantism soon became too much engaged in the discussion of doctrines to lay great stress upon social rights. Protestantism became "other worldliness." It is not to be denied that the preaching of the right of private judgment and the value of the individual had far-spreading social and political influence. John Fiske says of Calvin: "The spiritual father of Coligny, of William the Silent, and of Cromwell, must occupy a foremost rank among the champions of modern democracy." Liberty owes indeed a great debt to Protestantism, however much Protestants hung and burned and tortured those who did not believe with them according to the spirit of the times. Plymouth Rock is a truer outcome of Protestantism than the persecution of the Salem witches. In the words of Cromwell, "They that trusted God for the liberty of conscience could venture life for the liberty of country." Protestantism against Romanism meant to Protestants, very largely, liberty against absolutism. Nevertheless, Protestantism soon turned against the common people. Luther was against the German peasants. Others than Milton found that "new presbyter was but old priest writ large." Protestantism had stood for political liberty, but not for social reform. What Christianity did for social reform up to the Reformation was accomplished largely through the Church. Since then it has been mainly through individuals, in spite of the Church. The Reformation produced in the Church of Rome, it is true, somewhat of a counter reformation, yet the effect upon her, as upon the Protestant mind, was mainly doctrinal, and the Church, both Protestant and Roman, largely forgot to apply its Christianity. The opening of the new world, and especially of the gold mines of the New World produced a revival of greed and of mammon worship, and led to the horrors of a modern slave traffic, that has endured 400 years. The first considerable cargo of slaves seems to have been bought in 1444, under Prince Henry of Portugal, by a Portuguese captain from the coast of Guinea. Charles V. granted in 517 a monopoly to Governor de Bresa to import 4,000 negroes during eight years into the Spanish colonies, but in 1542 the monopoly covered 23,000 slaves. In 1700 a Spanish treaty with a Portuguese company of Guinea stipulated to furnish 10,000 *tons* of negroes. The treaty of Utrecht (1713) gave Great Britain a monopoly in the slave trade for thirty years, from 1713–43, and during this period the British Government agreed to import 144,000 negroes of both sexes into Spanish America at 33⅓ piasters per head. The British slave trade began under Queen Elizabeth. Certain statutes of William declared that "the trade was highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom, and to the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging." Between 1752 and 1762, it is estimated that 71,115 slaves were imported into Jamaica alone. During two centuries the Spanish Government concluded more than ten treaties "in the name of the most Holy Trinity," which authorized the sale of more than 500,000 human beings. The first ship which sailed from England in 1562, under Sir John Hawkins, to buy slaves in Africa and sell them in the West Indies, bore the name of *Jesus*. In 1807 Lord Eldon said in Parliament: "It [the slave trade] has been sanctioned by Parliament, wherein sat jurisconsults the most wise, theologians the most enlightened, statesmen the most eminent." Bancroft estimates that for one century previous to 1776, 3,250,000 negroes were torn from Africa by Great Britain alone, of whom 250,000 perished in the Atlantic from the horrors of the "middle passage," where they were chained between decks so low that they could not stand up, the living often chained to the dead. Helps estimates that from 1519–1807, between five and six millions of negroes were carried as slaves from Africa to America by various European powers. The American colonies protested against it, Oglethorpe, the great founder of Georgia, declaring that they prohibited it in that colony "because it is against the Gospel, as well as against the fundamental law of England." Within two years, however, the inhabitants petitioned for slaves. Protestantism and Romanism have thus the terrible stain to bear of the approval of slavery. Yet it should not be forgotten that it was mainly Christian thought that finally broke up the slave traffic and slavery itself. The Society of Friends or Quakers, both in England and America, was the first modern body of Christians to denounce and oppose slavery. As early as 1675 the devoted missionary, John Eliot, in Massachusetts, spoke against slavery, and in 1701 a petition against slavery was presented to the representatives of Boston. Among the Friends who opposed it in the eighteenth century should be mentioned Benezet and John Woolman. The

In Germany

Slavery

The Antislavery Movement

great divines Wesley and Whitefield preached against it. Dr. Hopkins, a Congregational clergyman of Rhode Island, distinguished himself by his efforts against it, till in 1774 Rhode Island gave up the traffic, and in 1784 abolished slavery. The Society of Friends was, however, the only religious body which as a whole forbade the holding of slaves. The early abolition societies all took religious ground. "Nearly all," says Wilson, the historian of the slave power (vol. i., p. 230), "who engaged in the formation of antislavery societies were members of Christian churches." In Great Britain the opposition to slavery came equally from Christian men, notably Baxter, Bishop Warburton, Paley, Wesley, Bishop Porteus, Whitefield, and others. The first petition to Parliament against the slave trade (in 1776) was based on the religious ground "that the slave trade is contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." The slave trade was abolished in the British Empire, 1806–7. The United States had included their judgment on the slave trade in the Constitution, but adjourned the final abolition till 1807. In England antislavery sentiment rose till in 1833 England abolished slavery, paying £20,000,000 to the planters as indemnity. In the United States early Church conferences denounced slavery. The Presbyterian Synod in 1787 "recommended to all their people to use the most prudent measures, consistent with the interests and state of civil society in the countries where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America." In 1818 it pronounced slavery "utterly inconsistent with the law of God . . . and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of Christ." Congregationalists and Unitarians went even further. The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1780 plainly condemned the system of human bondage. In 1800 the annual conference was directed to prepare an address favoring gradual emancipation. But the words were finally removed, and this was added, "Let all our preachers, from time to time, as occasion serves, admonish and exhort all slaves to render due respect and obedience to the commands and interests of their respective masters."

But the conflict was as irrepressible in the Methodist Church as it afterward proved to be in the nation. At the General Conference of 1844, which was held in the city of New York, the contention took an extremely angry form. It centered upon the personal relations of one of the bishops of the Church (Andrew), who had come into the possession of slaves by a marriage which was contracted after he entered the episcopate. It was his wish and intention to resign, but he was overruled by the Southern delegates. They finally called a convention of delegates from the Southern conferences, which met at Louisville, Ky., in 1845. This body took formal action, separating itself from the Northern churches. Many discerning minds regarded this action as prophetic of the same results in the organic life of the nation.

The Irrepressible Conflict

But it was true nevertheless that from 1830 to 1850 the churches as a whole were subservient to the slave power. Dr. Albert Barnes said, "There is no power out of the Church that could sustain slavery an hour if it were not sustained in it." Judge Birney called "the American churches the bulwarks of American slavery." Yet there were individual churches and not a few clergymen that battled for abolition. The clergyman Lovejoy was killed for advocating abolition. Garrison and Phillips were strong in Christian sentiment. At one meeting in Illinois more than thirty clergymen attended and opposed the introduction of slavery into that state. During the struggle in 1823, which prevented Illinois from becoming a slave state, the clergymen were almost as one man against slavery. But whatever the position of the churches, it is not too much to say that Christianity put down slavery.

For the other social effects of modern Christianity, see CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; but Christianity, if not the Church, has had at least its part to play in the gradual emancipation of woman, in the condemnation of war, the favoring of arbitration, in the care of the wounded in war, the condemnation of dueling, in prison reform, in the creation of hospitals and charities of every kind, and in temperance reform.

II.—Christian Sociology

The first note of Christianity in relation to society is that it is world-wide and international. It knows "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ all and in all." It taught Peter to call no man common or unclean, "that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him" (Acts x. 34). It led Paul, once a Pharisee of the Pharisees, to write to the Ephesians, "Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph. ii. 19). It taught the Christian Church the unity of the faith—"One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all, and in you all" (Eph. iv. 5, 6). One Lord Jesus Christ, "of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named" (Eph. iii. 15). Hence Christians of every age, however they have explained it, have believed in "the holy Catholic Church," "the communion (literally the communism, κοινωνία) of the saints," the unity of believers, the kingdom of God. Thus Christianity, at least till the Protestant Reformation, in Catholic countries, and even under Protestant denominationalism, in a deeper-lying unity, has ever stood for the unity of man in Christ. Says Bishop Barry:

World-wide

"The Catholic [not Roman] Church is a universal society, which knows no distinction of age and physical circumstance, no distinction of peoples, nations, and languages. It is no castle in the air, no mere promise of a future heaven. It is a living reality now, obviously the one, ever-growing international society; already realizing by its Bible read and its Christian worship offered in some 200 languages, the sign of Pentecost, and always advancing toward its future heritage of the world of humanity. This great unity . . . underlies all special, local, temporary characteristics; its communion is a communion of saints; its one universal tie is the indwelling of the Spirit of God; . . . its means and pledges of unity are the sacraments of communion with Him" ("Lectures on Christianity and Socialism," p. 13). Canon Fremantle's "Bampton Lectures" (1883) bring out still more plainly the unity of the Church "as a moral and social power, present, universal, capable of transforming the whole life of mankind, and destined to accomplish this purpose." The Church he calls "the social state in which the spirit of Christ reigns, embracing the general life and society of men, and identifying itself with these as much as possible, as having for its object to imbue all human relations with the spirit of Christ's self-renouncing love, and thus to change the world into a kingdom of God."

This makes the field of Christianity the world, and identifies with the coming of God's kingdom *any* advance in unity and in love. Says Canon Fremantle: "All goodness is essentially one, and therefore essentially Christian." The coming of love in all human relations is thus the coming of God's kingdom. Canon Fremantle therefore calls the Jewish Church a training in national righteousness. The early Christian Church he considers the beginnings of the universal society. The imperial and medieval Church a united Christendom attempted. The medieval theory of Christendom he thus states: "Christendom forms one great whole, in which there are two chief functionaries, the Pope and the Emperor, each in a different way its head. Each power is instituted by God. The one is to rule over man bodily, the other over his spiritual interests. Both spring from the old Roman Empire, which, having become Christian, was at once empire and Church. The two powers must support each other, both mutually necessary. The emperor sanctions the pope's election, the pope crowns the emperor; the emperor protects the pope and the clergy and the spiritual courts, and these in return support the authority of the emperor over his subjects. This theory," says Canon Fremantle, "tho it did not wholly correspond to the facts, had much in it, considered as an ideal, which was sound." It explains much of the crusades, is the key to Dante's "De Monarchia," gives rise to both a Frederick Barbarossa and a Hildebrand. It gave to the world an Alfred the Great, a St. Louis, a Savonarola. The Reformation was largely a reaction toward individualism, but still it was full of efforts toward a Christianized society; and in England especially toward a Christian nationalism.

Its Field all Life

Christianity to-day is drawing together the lines of Chris-

tendom. Canon Fremantle sees its unity and universality in (1) public worship, not as a separate cult, but as seeking to raise the tone of the general life; (2) the family, the social unit; (3) knowledge, the education of all; (4) art, which must be national and popular, to gladden, not individuals, but mankind; (5) society, which must acknowledge its stewardship; (6) trade, which must learn cooperation; (7) the nation, the constitutional and organic form of the Christian spirit; (8) the universal Church or universal State, to be attained through arbitration, international law, international congresses, and federation. Into all these channels the spirit of Christianity is more and more being poured. This is Christianity leading to international socialism.

But, more definitely, what does Christianity teach as to social reform?

First, that humanity is to come into a unity of brotherly love, *not* by building up some new scheme of universal brotherhood, but by the recognition that mankind *is* to-day a unit in the common Fatherhood of God, and may through Christ enter into united life. It denies that society can be "made anew by arrangements"; it believes that it is to be regenerated "by finding the law and ground of its order and harmony the only secret of its existence in God" (Maurice). This is the first social message of Christianity—"Return to God." Carlyle saw the need when he wrote, "The beginning and the end of what is the matter with us in these days is that we have forgotten God." Mazzini saw it when he wrote to the working men of the world, "The source of your duties is in God," and contended that agitation conducted in the name of the rights of man had brought in up to the present day simply an increase of selfishness and individual competition. When we accept God, we have the basis and possibility of union. "There can be no brotherhood without a common father," wrote Maurice. "From that time began Jesus Christ to preach and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." To return to God is the first step in Christian sociology.

The Brotherhood of Man

Second, Christianity declares that to do this Christ is *the Way*. "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." This is the second sociologic position of Christianity, that Christ is the elder brother, the Way, the leader into brotherhood. This, as we have already seen, Christ came to be —the fulfiller of the law. He is the King made manifest, the King in man, the King on earth, the head of the body. The way to realize human brotherhood and unity is not alone to discuss Christ's divinity, but to accept His mastership, to become His follower, to join His kingdom. This is to be a Christian. Men realize this in personal salvation; but it is equally to be realized in social salvation. For Christians, He is "the Man," and He must be the solution of all human problems. That is the primal creed. Not only is He, as the "Man of Sorrows," the Brother and Comforter of all who are weary and heavy-laden; not only are the poor His peculiar charge and treasure, but more than that: He is Himself, in His risen and ascended royalty, the sum of all human endeavor, the interpretation of all human history, the goal of all human growth, the bond of all human brotherhood.

Christ the Way

Third, it is a *spiritual* way. "Ye must be born again" is true of society as well as of individuals: the third point in Christian sociology. A nation's life must be from the spiritual to the material, from the inner to the outer, till all be spiritual. Not by law material but by law spiritual does God's kingdom come. This does not mean that we are only to build up God's kingdom by spiritualizing individuals alone. It was not Christ's method (see article CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM). We must spiritualize all life—the body, the city, the State, the nation. This is the distinctive function of the Church. The national Church should be the *soul* of the nation, into which and through which God's *Spirit* may come to the nation.

A Spiritual Way

Fourth, if Christian sociology consists in society's obeying, through spiritual life, the social law of Christ, we must know that law. It is simple.

The Social Law

"Then one of them, which was a lawyer, asked Him a question, tempting Him, and saying,

"Master, which is the great commandment in the law?

"Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

"This is the first and great commandment.

"And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

"On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. xxii. 34–40).

Says Professor Ely: "This is a most remarkable, and at the same time a most daring summary of the whole duty of man. A human teacher would never have ventured to reduce all God's commandments to two simple statements; nor would such a teacher have presumed to exalt man's obligation to love and serve his fellows to an equal plane with his obligations to love his Creator. All false systems of religion exalt the love of God above the love due our fellow men, and tell us that we may serve God by injuring our fellows. How many millions of human beings have thought that they did God service by human sacrifice!

"The second commandment, which is like the first, means that in every act and thought and purpose, in our laws and in their administration, in all public as well as private affairs, we —if indeed we profess to be Christians—should seek to confer true benefits upon our fellow men. It means that the man who professes to love God and who attempts to deceive others in regard to the real value of railway stock, or, for that matter, any other property, that he may coax their money into his pockets, is a hypocrite and a liar. It means that the man who oppresses the hireling in his wages is no Christian, but a pagan, whatever may be his declarations to the contrary notwithstanding. What does God say of such an one? He says: 'I will be a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages.' What does His second commandment mean for those rich men who keep back the hire of their laborers? It means that they 'must' weep and howl 'for the miseries that shall come upon them.' And what does this message mean for monopolists who use their superior advantages of wealth or intellect or bodily strength or other resources, to crowd out and grind down their fellows according to the methods of modern commercial competition? The prophet Isaiah shall tell us: 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.'

"It is needless to enlarge upon this. It must be seen that the arrangements of this world are not in accord with the commandment given to love our neighbors as ourselves."

Fifth, the interpretation of this is the *Cross*. The Cross cannot be removed from Christian sociology. There can be no obeying Christ without sacrifice. *Via crucis, via lucis*. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." This is the fifth point in Christian sociology. It is the only way to fulfil love. *Love* is the *leaving* of self, the *living* in others. Love and life and sacrifice are one. It is thus indeed that we most truly gain. But if we love and deny ourselves *for the sake of gain*, we do not love. "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it." Christian sociology is finding one's true individuality in losing it in the life of all. Therefore, luxurious

The Cross

bishops and priests and ministers cannot teach Christian sociology, for their lives give the lie to their words. We must become poor, if we would make the many rich.

Sixth, we come to more detailed questions. They can only be answered by those who have long passed the merely sentimental assertion that Christ is all in all, and have set themselves to the solid task of discovering what that solemn truth really and precisely means, and have worked it down into the concrete facts, and have surveyed and estimated the full need of the circumstances and striven to make clear to themselves what is the first step, and what the second, and the third, if that great royalty of Christ is, in very deed, ever to be made good here on earth, amid men as they are, and after a history such as they have hitherto had.

(*a*) Christianity must demand in some form the opening of all the earth, including all natural advantages, to all God's children equally. *How* may be a question of political and economic method (see LAND), but in some form it must be accomplished. Equity, brotherhood, and the declaration of Christ demand it. That private *property* in land was forbidden, and every Jew entitled to the *use* of land by the Jewish theocracy, is indisputable; that Christ came to fulfil the law and the prophets can no more be denied. That we must follow their *method* is not certain, but that in some way Christianity must bring to the world what Judaism required of the Jew can be denied by no Christian.

(*b*) Christianity demands that love and not competition be the law of trade. The golden rule must be made the rule for gold. "Competition," said Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. This is a lie. The time is come to declare it is a lie by word and deed." This means that *in some form* Christianity implies SOCIALISM. Said Laveleye: "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a Socialist; and any Christian who opposes what is commonly known as Christian Socialism misunderstands Christ, or Socialism, or both." The inference is not, of course, that Christianity must be committed to State Socialism, but society to be Christian must in all ways conform to the law of cooperation.

(*c*) Christianity demands that every man able to work should work. Not otherwise can he follow the Carpenter of Nazareth. "If any man would not work, neither should he eat" is the injunction of well-nigh the oldest Christian epistle.

The Law of Labor

(*d*) It follows from this and from the whole spirit of Christianity that we are not to live upon the work of others by usury. (For the detail of this argument, see USURY.)

(*e*) Christianity demands the enthronement of the family, in the abiding unity in love of one man and one woman. "And I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery." These words of Christ, with all they imply, are fundamental to Christian sociology (see FAMILY).

(*f*) Lastly, Christian sociology demands that the Christian go into the details of all political, social, and industrial life of every kind, and bring them into subjection to Christ. Only so shall we be His disciples. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom, but he that doeth the will of my Father, which is in heaven."

Christ's spoken ordinances do not go into all these details. Christianity is not a system of ordinances. But it is a life, and into these details the Christian life must go. (For different views, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

REFERENCES: Among the best books are *Gesta Christi*, by C. L. Brace; *Arius the Libyan*, by N. C. Koun; *The World as the Subject of Redemption*, by Canon Fremantle; *Social Aspects of Christianity*, by R. T. Ely; *Social Morality*, by F. D. Maurice; *Christian Socialism*, by P. W. Sprague; *My Religion*, and *What to Do*, by Tolstoy; *Social Aspects of Christianity*, by Bishop Westcott; *Social and Present Day Questions*, by Canon Farrar; *The Christian Society*, by G. D. Herron; *Christian Sociology*, by J. H. W. Stuckenberg; *Lessons from the Cross*, and *Laws of Eternal Life*, by S. D. Headlam. (See also CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

CHURCH ARMY: This is a mission of the Church of England, originated in the year 1882, for the benefit of the working classes. It is governed by a committee within the Church, some of the bishops being members thereof. The membership approaches almost a thousand, consisting of workers of both sexes. It extends throughout the kingdom, having also branches in the United States and in other English-speaking lands. The mission is divided into two departments, one of which, the evangelical, chooses suitable persons and trains them, free of expense to themselves, to become teachers and speakers in Christian doctrine and mission nurses. The other department, the social branch, seeks to help the downfallen, the outcast, the homeless, by labor and by every other means possible. The Army possesses nearly 120 houses for the lodging of the working people in London, as well as in the provinces. There are test farms at Essex, Hempstead, Newdigate, and Surrey. They also assist in the matter of emigration. There are also homes for boys and for girls; for first offenders and for persons addicted to intoxication. There is also an Aid Society for convicts. The Society for the Houseless Poor, which was established in 1819, is now under the charge of the Army. Over 400,000 men, women, and boys were cared for by the mission in the year 1905, some 60 per cent having turned out well. *Chief Secretary*, Prebendary Carlile. *Address*: 55 Bryanston Street, London, W., England.

CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR, THE: This society, commonly known as "C. A. I. L.," was founded in 1887, in New York City, by communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, Bishop of central New York, was elected president. It was felt that the Church should take active measures to show her sympathy with the laboring classes in their struggle for justice, and C. A. I. L. grew out of a desire to carry this sympathy into effect. Its principles are as follows:

The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, believing that the clergy and laity of the Church should become personally interested in the social questions now being agitated, should inform themselves of the nature of the issues presented, and should be prepared to act as the necessities of the day may demand, sets forth the following principles and methods of work for its members:

(1) It is of the essence of the teachings of Jesus Christ that God is the Father of all men, and that all men are brothers.

(2) God is the sole possessor of the earth and its fulness; man is but the steward of God's bounties.

(3) Labor being the exercise of body, mind, and spirit in the broadening and elevating of human life, it is the duty of every man to labor diligently,

(4) Labor, as thus defined, should be the standard of social worth.

(5) When the divinely intended opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.

More than sixty bishops of the Church are honorary vice-presidents. Communicants of the Church are eligible for membership, and others willing to work with the society may become associate members. The society has an official Organ, *Hammer and Pen*, the only Church labor paper in the United States. The association has standing committees on promotion of peace, organized labor, investigation of strikes, sweat-shops, and tenement houses, looking to the reform of abuses. In connection with the ACTORS' CHURCH ALLIANCE it also takes an active interest in looking after the relations between the Church and the Stage. The association was one of the pioneer societies to introduce arbitration of industrial disputes in the United States; and it has been particularly active against the evils of the sweat-shop system, notably in New York City. President, Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D.; secretary and organizer, Miss Harriette A. Keyser, Church Mission House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM: The influence of Christianity on social reform has been discussed in its alphabetical place. It seems necessary, however, to consider the relations of the Church to social reform in an article by itself; first, because very many make a sharp distinction between Christianity and the Church, and, secondly, because all are agreed upon the immense power wielded by the Church, be it for evil or for good, in the advancement or retardation of social reform. The subject is considered under the following heads: (1) The apostolic Church; (2) The primitive Church after Apostolic days; (3) the medieval Church; (4) from the Reformation to the present time; (5) the modern Church; (6) what the Church could do.

I.—The Apostolic Church

The Church is here considered as commencing with the apostles and their followers in the upper chamber at Jerusalem. (For the beginnings of the Church in the Hebrew theocracy, and the relations of that theocracy to social reform, see JUDAISM; for the teachings of Christ in regard to society, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.) That the Church, as organized in Jerusalem, had vital relation to social life needs no reiteration. (See COMMUNISM.) The indisputable record is that the members had "all things in common," and that to each was given "according as any man had need." It may, however, be necessary to point out that this was not an accident or mere passing incident in the history of the apostolic Church, born of the enthusiasm of its first love, but rather the necessary and logical result of the very character and nature of the Church. The first Christians of Jerusalem were drawn from among the Jews or from among the proselytes to the Jewish faith, the "strangers within the gates." They were therefore familiar with the social teachings and requirements of the Jewish law and the Jewish scriptures. Any one who knows what these were—their care for the afflicted, the opprest, the fatherless and the widow, their minute directions as to the organization of social life, their provisions for securing land *in perpetuo* to every individual for *use*, while in ownership it was held as belonging to God, their prohibition of usury and oppression in every form, and, *above all*, the recognition of all this as binding because it was *the law of God*, to be taught, upheld, and enforced by the institutes and officers of the national religion—any one, we say, who at all realizes this cannot wonder that the first act of the first Christian Church was to apply its pentecostal love to the conduct and the ordering of property and of the social life. Jesus Christ had enforced this spirit. He had taught both by word and deed that He had come as a King, with authority over all life, social as well as spiritual. He had fed the hungry, healed the sick, raised the dead. He had entered Jerusalem as a King. He had in every word taught of the kingdom of heaven as the great summation of His life and as near at hand, on earth as truly as in heaven. (See CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

The Church of the Upper Chamber

Yet it must be also noted that this so-called communism of the Church of Jerusalem was not one of law and of requirement. Love was the fulfilling of the law. The incident of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 1–11) shows that there was no *requirement* to renounce private property in land or houses. Until the disciples had given property to the Church, their property remained their own. It was only out of their *love* that "as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid them down at the apostles' feet, and distribution was made unto every man, according as he had need."

Nor are we to think of it as peculiar to the Church at Jerusalem. While it is true that we do not know so much of the communism of any other Church, and while but little has come down to us in any way of the life of other Christian churches of the first century, the indications nevertheless are strongly against the communism of the Jerusalem Church being exceptional. All that we know points to its *not* being exceptional. In the Book of the Acts and in the Epistles there are abundant references to the life of love as carried on in these other churches. We have Dorcas, or Tabitha, at Joppa (Acts ix. 36) "full of good works." Paul writes to the Corinthians (2 Cor. ix. 7) about giving to the poor. He praises the Christians of Macedonia (2 Cor. viii. 2) for giving almost beyond their power. He orders the churches both at Galatia and Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 2) to lay by a store for charity "on the first day of the week," as each person was prospered. St. James declares that "pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." We read of the churches at Troas (Acts xx. 6) and at Corinth holding *agapæ* or love-feasts, where they came together to break bread. Jude 12 indicates that this was a common custom in all the churches. 1 Tim. v. 10 indicates the duty of the widow (or deaconess) to wash the saints' feet, entertain strangers, bring up children, relieve the afflicted. Hospitality is continually urged. The slave is to be treated as "a brother beloved" (Philemon 16). If it be said that the fact that St. Paul took up a collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem is indicative of a peculiar condition in that Church, and

Primitive Christianity

that their communism and giving up of private property had brought them into special poverty, it may be said, on the other hand, that the Church at Jerusalem was under notorious and excessive persecution, as during the first century the churches throughout the rest of the Roman Empire were not. It appears (cf. Heinrici, "The Christian Church of Corinth" and the "Religious Communities of the Greeks" in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1876, iv.; Uhlhorn's "Christian Charity in the Ancient Church," and the whole of C. Osborn Ward's "The Ancient Lowly"), that as soon as the Church emerges into recognized form, its legal position in the Roman Empire was as a *collegium*, very much resembling the *collegia tenuiorum*, or sodalities of the poor, organized to collect contributions for the poor or for special ends, such as burial, etc. For a full account of these, see GILDS; but we must here note the similarity between these and the early churches in their social life.

Tertullian uses the same words, *steps* and *arca*, for the contribution and contribution chest of the Church as were technically employed in the *collegia* for their collections. These *collegia* had their presiding officers, or *magistri*, their meeting places, more or less humble, according to their wealth. They had regular meeting times and dues for various purposes, mainly of benefit, but sometimes for carousals. They had banquets or meals together. Some of them had considerable wealth, lands, houses, etc., being donated to them by wealthy members or patrons. On appointed days there were *sportula*, or distributions of bread, wine, or money among the members. Members were called brothers and sisters, and their presiding officers fathers and mothers (for there were women among them as truly as men). It is evident how close these were in resemblance to the social organization of the Church at Jerusalem, with its contributions, its officers, its gifts of houses and land, its common meals, its organized distribution "in the daily ministration" to the widows and those in need. Now if these *collegia*, so exactly in this respect like the Church in Jerusalem, existed through all the empire, as seems proven, and that legally all the churches were regarded as *collegia*, and used the very technical terms of the *collegia*, does it not indicate almost beyond a doubt that the picture given in the acts of the Church at Jerusalem is a picture of every Church in the apostolic days? The Church, even in apostolic days, was by no means immaculate; it was *being* saved, not wholly sanctified; but its very essence and its inmost spirit was a life of brotherhood and of practical love upon this earth.

II.—The Primitive Church after Apostolic Days

We come here into fuller light, and may treat the subject in detail, dividing it into parts, considering, first, the spirit of *equality* and of *brotherhood* that prevailed in the primitive Church.

Spirit of Equality

The Roman Empire was full of poverty and distress. Slavery was universal. Uhlhorn estimates that at Rome under Augustus there were 580,000 proletarians needing support to 90,000 senators, knights, soldiers, and traders not needing support, and this does not include the slaves, who constituted the mass of the population. (See CITIES.) At Athens at one time, according to some historians, there were 400,000 slaves to 31,000 citizens; according to others 200,000 to 100,000. In Italy, according to Blair, there were under Claudius nearly 30,000,000 slaves to 7,000,000 freemen; and tho these figures may be too high, the slave population was, according to all, in an immense majority. This, of course, meant widespread suffering beneath a corrupt aristocracy of enormous wealth.

The working class lived, and little more. Mommsen reckons the Roman bushel of wheat at 1 denarius, and this was the usual day's wage. Meat was proportionally dear. Diocletian fixt the price of beef and mutton at about thirty cents the kilogram, and a fowl at the same price. A modest dwelling in the upper stories of one of the large lodging-houses at Rome came to about $80 a year. On the other hand, the wealth of the few was enormous. The augur, Cnæus Lentulus, and Narcissus, Nero's freedman, were said to own $22,000,000. *Latifundia* were growing. Cæcilius, a freedman of Augustus, left in his will, Pliny tells us, 4,116 slaves. It is true that this does not indicate either such wealth on the part of the rich, or such poverty on the part of the laborer as we have to-day; but the worst of the slave condition under the Roman Empire was the lack of civil or moral standing: the slave could be sold, killed, violated, thrown to the fish at pleasure with impunity. Such was the society in which the Christian Church took root. In CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM we have traced the influence of Christianity upon the laws and organized society, and have shown how it gradually overthrew slavery. Here we are simply concerned with what the *Church* did directly as a church. The Church spread at first, it is evident, mainly among the slaves and the opprest. Hence it was powerless directly to affect the legislation of proud emperors and senators, but it did welcome the slave to its fold as an equal and it did practise brotherhood among men. It taught that, being descended from one Father, all men were equal. "We are all born alike, both emperors and beggars," said an early Christian writer (*Brevarium in Psalt.*, in opp. Hieron., vol. ii., p. 233). "Thou sayest that thy father is consul and thy mother holy and good," says Chrysostom; "What does it matter to me? Show me thy own life, for it is only by that I can be able to judge of thy nobility" (Or. *in terræ motum et Lazarum*, § 6, vol. i., p. 782). Man is "the great work of God" (Ambrose, *Sermo* 10, in Ps. cxviii.). "The world is a vast republic, a great family of God's children," writes Tertullian (*Apol.* xxxviii.). The *whole* of Christianity the early Church found in charity rather than in hope or faith (*Zeno Veron*, Book I., tract 2, p. 111). Chrysostom put it above fasts or solitary penances. Love, gentleness, almsgiving, are greater, according to him, than celibacy (*Hom.* I., in Matt., § 7). "Love on earth must be without thought of earthly profit or heavenly recompense" (Orig., *Contra Cels.*, I., 67, vol. i., p. 382). Gregory Nazianzen says: "Rich and poor, strong and weak, servant and freeman, have one only Head, from whom everything comes, Christ Jesus. What the members of the body are for each other, each among us is for his brothers, and all for each" (Greg. Naz., *Or.* 16, vol. i., p. 243). Of this unity the *agapæ*, or love-feasts, were symbols. "Here they brought the poor and the needy" (*Constit. Apost.*, II., 28, p. 243). The Church Augustine calls "a spiritual republic in the midst of a pagan society" (*De opere Monach*, chap. xv., vol. vi., p. 363).

Spirit of Brotherhood

At first the Christian Church did not favor monasticism. Their communism was not like that of the Essenes. "Christians," says one, "are not distinguished from other nations either by language, dress, or habits. They do not shut themselves up in particular towns, but live where they were born, in the midst of Greeks or barbarians. They are different from pagans in conduct, and their life is altogether distinct" (*Ep. ad. Diogn.*, chap. iii., p. 237). They honored the magistrates and prayed for them, and for the emperor, who was their earthly head, as Jesus Christ was head in the kingdom of God (Polyc. *Ep.*, chap. xii., p. 191; Just., M., I. c.; Athenag., *Leg.*, chap. xxxvii., p. 313). The Christians obeyed all laws save those which compromised their faith, such as giving divine honors to the emperors, bowing before idols, swearing by their genii. Here they were inflexible. The aged Polycarp, summoned by the proconsul to swear by the genius of Cæsar, refused to do so, but was willing to obey in all else. Ambrose reckons it among the duties of an ecclesiastic to take an interest in the opprest and suffering. "Your office will shine gloriously," he writes, "if the oppression of widows and orphans attempted by the powerful should be hindered by the servants of the Church; if you show that the commandment of the Lord is more to you than the favor of the rich" (*De Offic.*, II., 22). Athanasius excommunicated the viceroy of Lydia, notorious for his cruelty and excesses, and Basil declared that the Church agreed with him (*Bas. Ep.*, 16). Synesius of Ptolemais excluded from the Church the Prefect Andronicus for the same reason (*Synesii Epp.*, 57, 58, 72). When the inhabitants of Antioch were trembling before the wrath of the emperor, because they had overthrown his statues, Bishop Flavian went to Constantinople to intercede, while Chrysostom preached his famous "statue sermons," and when prosecutions began, a monk, seizing the bridles of the horses drawing the carriage in which the judges were riding, cried: "Tell the emperor you are not only an emperor, but a man, and those you reign over are your fellowmen. Human nature was made in the image of God; do not then so mercilessly and cruelly destroy the image of God." The story of Ambrose himself expelling Theodosius the Great from both Church and sacrament till he did public penance, for having allowed his soldiers a massacre at Thessalonica, is well known. The Church became the sanctuary of the opprest. When a debtor, sued for 17 solidi (about $150), fled to the Church, Augustine paid the debt. He who violated the right of sanctuary was excommunicated.

Relation to the State

Next to the spirit of the equality and brotherhood and protection to the opprest, we notice what the primitive Church did for the *family* and for *woman*. Under Rome woman was either the slave, the toy, or the property of man. The Church recognized her equality.

"I do not know anything more unjust," said Augustine of the Roman laws which kept women in an inferior position (*De Civit. Dei.*, iii., chap. xxi., vol. vii., p. 63); and all the Fathers

teach the equality of man and woman (Clem. Alex., *Pædag.*, I., 4, vol. i., p. 103; Greg. Naz., *Or.* 31, vol. i., p. 502; Greg. Nys., *Or.* 1, in *Verba Fac. Hom.*, vol. i., p. 151).

The Church and Woman

Marriage was regarded in its spiritual aspect as for eternity an association of souls rather than of bodies (Athenag., *Leg.*, chap. xxxiii., p. 311). It was a type of the union of Christ with His Church (Chrysost., *Hom.*, 12 in col., § 5, vol. xi., p. 419). Some of the Fathers, such as Ambrose and Augustine, began to exalt celibacy and virginity above marriage, but in the beginning it was not so; and was never so with all the Fathers. With Chrysostom a true man and wife joined in sacred union show a holier life than the inhabitants of many a monastery (*Hom., I., in Rom.* xvi. 3, vol. iii., p. 175). In marriage, the woman, according to the Fathers, was wedded to the husband as the Church to its Head. Chrysostom says: "Woman can neither carry arms nor vote in the assemblies nor manage the commune, but she can weave thread, give better advice than her husband about domestic matters, rule and keep order in her household, superintend the servants, and bring up the children. Each sex has its special vocation. God has not given all to one. He has wisely divided it" (Chrysost., *Quales Ducendæ sint Uxores*, vol. iii., p. 127). "Nothing," he says further, "can better mold man than a pious and wise woman" (Chrysost. l. c.; *Sermo*, 4, *in Gen.*, § 1, vol. iv., p. 659). Mixed marriages between pagans and Christians were frowned upon. Second marriages were discouraged. Tertullian said that "he who marries again commits a decent kind of adultery" (Athenag., *Leg.*, 33, p. 311). Montanists absolutely forbade second marriages, but after the time of Augustine it was a heresy to condemn second marriages. Adultery was the only admitted cause of divorce, and then separation was usually recommended. Purity was required of both sexes equally. "The laws of the Cæsars are different from the laws of Christ," says Jerome. "With us, on the contrary, what is not permitted for women is also forbidden for men" (*Ep.* 77, Ann. 399, vol. i., p. 459). Nevertheless, condemning strictly their vice, the Church welcomed the Magdalenes, and many of them became noble martyrs. Pelagia, a celebrated courtezan of Antioch, was converted and retired to a convent, where she spent the rest of her life in humble piety. Afra died for her Savior in Augsburg, together with three servants who, having followed her in vice, followed also in conversion. Similarly high was the position of the Church in regard to *children*. At a time when abortion and exposure were frequent, the Fathers declared that to cause a child to perish by abortion is to destroy the work of God. God is the father of all life, however incomplete it be. Those guilty of it were excluded from the Church for ten years (*Const. Apost.*, vii., 3, p. 366). Exposure was still more condemned. The Church welcomed the children. "If old sinners," says Cyprian, "are received in the Christian community, with how much greater reason shall the new-born child be received, who has not yet committed sin?" (*Ep.* 59, p. 99). This was true even of natural children. They were still under God's paternal care, and to be welcomed by the Church (Methodius, *Conviv.* x. *Virginum, Or.* 2, in *Combelis*). According to Chrysostom, what has upset the whole world is that man has not cared more for his own children (*Hom. de Viduis*, vol. iii., p. 317). Chrysostom and Jerome especially urge upon mothers to rightly influence the children. Thus we have in the early Church Monica, the mother of Augustine; Nonna, the mother of Gregory of Nazianzus; Anthusa, the mother of Chrysostom. The first schools that may be called primary were kept in the fourth century by Christian priests (Palladius, *Vita Chrys.*; in *Opp.*, vol. xiii., p. 77). Basil during his rule made their keeping an especial duty (*Regula Fusius. Tract., interrog.*, 15 *et* 23, vol. ii., p. 355).

The next thing to be considered is the relation of the primitive Church to *the laboring classes*. These, according to all classic antiquity, were despised. Artizans, according to Aristotle, were not worthy of the name of citizens (*O.*, chap. ii., 1). Almost all manual and most mental work was done by slaves. By Christians work was honored. They neither felt themselves to be miserable nor disgraced because they had to work with their hands (*Ep. ad. Zenam et Serenum*, chap. xvii., in *Opp. Just. Mart.*, p. 416). They remembered Christ the carpenter and Paul the tent-maker. The "Apostolic Constitutions" forbid a man to mix with the idle crowd, and advise him to engage in useful work, having his soul turned toward God (Book I., chap. iv.). The necessity of teaching youthful arts to children was dwelt upon (*Constit. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. xi., p. 301). They taught that if a man did not work, "neither should he eat."

The Church and the Working Classes

The relation of the Church to *slavery* has been much discust. The primitive Church, while not immediately seeking to overthrow slavery, undermined it. Before the Reformation slavery had *wholly* disappeared from Christian lands, and *long before that* it had *almost* disappeared. The Church, started among the poor, and, despised by the powerful, had not the power to abolish the institution in any legal way. But while the Church long allowed slavery, it did much to alleviate it, and welcomed the slave as an equal; only in later years did the Church ever practise slavery.

"No one is a slave by nature," say Clement of Alexandria and Basil (Clem. Alex., *Pædag.*, III., chap. xii., vol. i., p. 207; Basil, *De Spir.*, s., I., chap. xxi., vol. iii., p. 42). Chrysostom says that God, who created the two first beings free and equal, never created slaves to serve them (*Hom. 22 in Eph.*, § 2, vol. xi., p. 167). Some of the Fathers held that slavery was punishment, but they held so of all work, and yet that work was honorable. "I call noble and lord," says Chrysostom, "the slave who is covered with chains, if it accords with his life; I call him low and ignoble who in the midst of dignities retains an enslaved soul" (Or. in *Terræ Motum et Laz.*, § 7, vol. i., p. 782). In the Church slavery was only an accidental external condition which did not affect the moral worth. Again and again the Church taught that Christianity was *service*. Christians called themselves, like St. Paul, servants or bond-servants (δουλοι) of Christ. Ignatius wrote of the slaves: "Let them continue to serve without murmuring, and God will give them a better than earthly liberty" (*Ad. Polyc.*, chap. iv., p. 41). Slaves were recommended to bear servitude in the passing world of exile, where none is free, and beyond which the Christian expects deliverance and glory (August., *De Agone Christiana*, chap. vii., vol. vi., p. 181). In 451, the Council of Chalcedon forbade the convents to receive slaves without the consent of their masters, "in order that the name of God be not dishonored" (Canon IV.). Many slaves bore noble testimony to their master Christ, such as Potamiæna, Eutyches, Victorinus, Maro, Nereus, Vitalis, and others. But while bidding the slave be patient, the Church spoke plainly to the master. Said Chrysostom: "Do not imagine that an injury to a slave will be regarded as indifferent, because it is only to a slave. The laws of the world see a difference between the two races; but the laws of the commonwealth of God ignore it" (Chrysost. *Hom. 22, in Eph.*, § 2, vol. xi., p. 167).

We observe the difference between the recognition of slavery by the primitive Church and its recognition too frequently by the Church in modern times. The primitive Church recognized it as a *human* institution, to which they were to submit. The modern Church too often tried to prove slavery a *divine* institution. Masters were told by the primitive Church to love their slaves as sons and as equals (*Constit. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. xii., p. 302). The Church refused to receive the gifts of the master who ill treated his slaves (*Constit. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. vi., p. 197). In the early Church there were households where master and servants formed one family.

When Thecla was cited to appear before the tribunal fifty of her slaves, urged by gratitude, appeared in her favor (*Acta ss.*, January, vol i., p. 601). Paula, a descendant of Paulus, Æmilius, Leo, and Fabiola are spoken of as the servants rather than the mistresses of their women. But the Fathers went farther than to counsel gentleness. They urged masters to free their slaves. Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom are prominent in such exhortations, and many masters did the same. The earliest instance that has come down to us is that of Hermes, Prefect of Rome under Trajan, who embraced Christianity with his wife, children, and 1,250 slaves, whom he freed on the day of their baptism, Easter Day, with ample assistance to enable them to gain a livelihood. He himself afterward suffered martyrdom with Bishop Alexander, who had been the means of his conversion. Another prefect of Rome, Chromatius, under Diocletian, freed his 1,400 slaves, saying that those who had God for their father ought not to be the servants of man. Melania, with the consent of her husband, Pinius, freed 8,000 slaves; Ovonius, a French martyr, 5,000.

The Church especially did her utmost to end the horrors of the *gladiatorial* combats and the

degradation of the *theatrical* exhibitions. The Church refused baptism to gladiators unless they gave up their profession. Lactantius said: "Instead of buying and feeding wild beasts, ransom prisoners and feed the poor; instead of bringing together men to kill each other, go and bury the innocent dead" (*Div. Instit.*, Book VI., chap. xii., vol. i., p. 470). From the theaters, at this time grossly immoral, Christians were warned to absent themselves. Those who, in spite of warnings, still attended, were declared unworthy of Christian communion.

Gladiatorial Combats

Christians were urged to find their exhibitions in nature. "What theater," says one writer, "constructed by the hand of man can equal these wonders of creation" (*Tract. de Spect.*, in *Opp. Cypr.*, p. 312)! Actors who became Christians and had no other means of earning a livelihood, such as Euchratius, were provided for by the Church through the efforts of Cyprian.

We come now to consider the relation of the primitive Church to the *poor*, and its property relations in general. This may be said to be a more or less faithful carrying out of the voluntary communal life of Jerusalem. There seems to be no evidence that there was anywhere established by the primitive Church a mechanical communism. Voluntary communism seems to have been the ideal to which they always tended, tho sometimes very vaguely and remotely. The emphasis was on love. "It is not the census," said Ambrose, "but the qualities of the soul, that show the rich man" (*Ep.*, chap. lxiii., § 89, vol. ii., p. 1044). Barnabas, in warmly commending charity, argues that "we ought not to consider anything as belonging to ourselves alone, but to share everything with our neighbor; for if there is communion in spiritual and everlasting things, with how much greater right ought it to exist in these material things" (chap. xix., p. 52). Ambrose of Milan wrote, "Nature created everything for common use. If, then, there are men who are excluded from the enjoyment of the products of the earth, it is contrary to nature. The unequal division of this wealth is the result of egoism and violence. Nature is the mother of common right, usurpation is the mother of private right" (*De Off. Ministr.*, Book I., chap. xxviii., § 132, vol. ii., p. 35).

The early Church opposed riches as hindering salvation, but Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and others teach that riches are not to be condemned in themselves. "Neither is every poor man a saint, . . . nor is every rich man condemned," wrote one (Asterius, *De Divite et Lazaro*, p. 13). "The hand of the Christian," said the same writer, Asterius, "ought only to be held out to give alms, never to seize what does not belong to him" (*Hom. de Œconomo, Iniquio*, p. 23). The giving of charity the primitive Church exalted. "It is better to do the works of charity than to ornament churches, or to enrich them with precious vases" (Hieron., *Ep.* 130, vol. i., p. 991). The priests were to lead in this, especially the bishops. The "Apostolic Constitutions" lay down their duties in these words: "To orphans take the place of a father; to widows give the protection that they would have from their husbands; help young people who desire to marry with your counsels; find work for the artizans; have pity on the infirm; receive strangers beneath your roof; give food and drink to those who are hungry and thirsty and clothes to the naked; visit the sick and help the prisoners" (Book IV., 2, p. 295). Charity was to cause sacrifice. We read of the early Christians fasting that they might give to the poor (*Constit. Apost.*, V. xx., p. 331). Deaconesses were appointed to aid poor women. Under Bishop Cornelius, toward the close of the third century, the Church of Rome supported more than 1,500 poor people. The Church of Antioch, in the time of Chrysostom, maintained more than 3,000. The Church of Rome, under Bishop Sotir, in the second half of the second century, and 100 years later, under Bishop Stephen, sent money collected in distant provinces, sometimes to help famished populations, sometimes to lighten the burdens of the persecuted. Prelates sold the vases and ornaments of their churches to aid the poor. This was done by Cyril, by Acacius, Bishop of Amida, who sold 420 vases and sent back to freedom 7,000 imprisoned Persians, and by Deogratias, of Carthage. Augustine and Ambrose did it to ransom captives. Paulinus, of Nola and Hilary of Arles sold their large estates for the poor. Martin of Tours sacrificed his sacerdotal robes. The Bishop of Escupère, of Toulouse, went hungry and used only basket and glass for the bread and wine of the Eucharist, in order to help the poor. When the martyr Lawrence was asked by the pagan governor for the treasures of the Church, he showed him the poor. Peter, the tax-gatherer, in the time of Justinian, on being converted expiated his harshness by selling himself to a slave merchant for the benefit of the poor. Clement of Rome writes to the Church in Corinth: "We have among us many who have given themselves to servitude in order that others might be free." It is told of Bishop Eleusis of Cyzicus, that he took the pagan temples and made them into hospitals for the old and widowed. The first orphan houses are of this period, and were cared for by priests. Special collections were made for prisoners. The poor denied themselves a day's food to give to these. The funds of the Church were used to ransom brothers sentenced to public works or the arena. The Church was the asylum. Even Alaric, on taking Rome, is reported to have spared those who took refuge in the churches. The innocent went to the bishops for redress. In the midst of universal anarchy, the bishops raised their voices in behalf of outraged humanity. It was one of their special duties to save defenseless men from the hands of powerful oppressors, and to intercede with the emperors and magistrates in their behalf; to undertake long journeys and brave all wrath, provided the cause of those in whom they were interested was just. Most frequently we find bishops giving assistance to country people, who suffered from the rapacity of the fiscal agents, the avarice of the usurers, the oppression of great proprietors. For the sick, the primitive Church did much, even for the lepers. Basil advises that lepers be not deserted, but be loved the more for the miseries of their desolation. During the plague of Carthage, about 250 A.D., and during that of Alexandria, the Christians showed great bravery and love. The earliest hospitals are due to the Church, the first being established in the beginning of the fourth century. From the latter half of this century they multiplied greatly. The most important of these was founded by Basil in Cæsarea. It rose, says Gregory Nazianzen, like a new town, providing lodgings for travelers, rooms for invalids, workshops for the poor, provision for lepers. It bore the name of Basilias. Chrysostom founded several hospitals. By the time of Theodosius most of the large towns had hospitals. The hermit Thalassius founded one for the blind.

Ransoming Captives

The early Church was especially remarkable for its sacrifices in behalf of its *enemies*. Tertullian could truly say that "if all men loved their friends, the Christians alone knew how to love their enemies" (*Ad. Scap.*, i., p. 69). The Fathers, too, with their profound respect for human life, unanimously condemned capital punishment. The Council of Elvira (A.D. 305) excludes the magistrates whose duties as decemvirs caused them to judge cases involving capital punishment from joining in worship during the year. The emphasis the early Church put upon *hospitality* is well known, as is also its universal opposition to *war*.

It is well to notice the organization of the Church for practical charities. At first there was little or none.

"We give to all and communicate to every one who is in need," says Justin (*Apolog.*, i., 14). The shepherd of Hermas says: "Give simply to all, without asking doubtfully to whom thou givest, but give to all" (*Pastor Hermæ. Mand.*, II.). Clement of Alexandria warns against trying to judge who is deserving and who undeserving (*Quis divis salvus.*, chap. xiii.). Concerning the giving up of property, Hermas says to Christians: "You are dwelling here in a foreign city. Would any one dwelling in a foreign city provide himself with fields and expensive accommodations?" (*Similet*, I.) The Church was in the world, but not of it. "We are no Brahmans nor Indian gymnosophists; no wild men of the woods and separatists from life. We are mindful of the gratitude which we owe to the Lord our God, and do not despise the enjoyment of His works," wrote Tertullian (*Apolog.*, 42). But the Fathers everywhere counseled simplicity of life. "On the road to heaven," says Clement, "the best provision is frugality, moderation is the shoe, and beneficence the staff." (*Pædagog.*, III., 7). Clement pities the insatiable who collect their dainties from all parts of the world, with whom "the basting ladles and the kitchen form the central point of existence" (*Pædagog.*, I., 1). In an old catalog of the apostles,

Charities

Peter, Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee are fishermen; Philip an ass driver; Bartholomew, a vegetable gardener; James, the son of Alphæus, a mason. Later, when the Church became corrupt, men like Chrysostom vehemently attacked the luxury of the day. Said Chrysostom of the luxuriously dressed woman: "Of how many poor, O woman, dost thou bear upon thine arms the spoils!" Yet, even when the Church was at her simplest, there were some organizations for charity. Deacons, deaconesses, and widows, who were considered officers in the Church, had special charge of the charities, but always under the direct guidance of the bishops. Alms were collected and distributed largely at the *agapæ*, which were first suppers in common for all Church members, later suppers for the poor, and finally occasions of drunkenness and excesses. Montanism tried to react from these excesses and any compromise with the world by strict discipline and by limiting church-membership to the select few, but this was to make the Church separatist and sectarian and sacrifice her power as a Church for the world. It taught the Church to distinguish between the "religious" and the "secular," sending the "religious" into monasticism and asceticism, and the "secular" into worldliness.

As a result of this alliance with the State, the Church, still more developing her worldliness, gradually came to palliate, allow, and endorse, and even own slaves (so that even so pure a spirit as Gregory the Great makes no apology for having a fugitive slave brought back "by any means" from Otranto, tho he was also torn from wife and children, to serve as a baker in Rome). Thus the Church gradually became full of all such worldliness as called forth the burning protests of Chrysostom. On the other hand, we have the development of MONASTICISM, for the social results of which see the article on that subject. Still through all the earlier centuries the Church was not only the friend but the leader of social reform. If she did not abolish slavery or advocate all the social reforms that are suggested to-day, it was because they were not proposed. She was at least on the side of the most radical reform there was, or, rather, the mother and the life of all reform. On the whole, well could Tertullian point to the life and love of the Church, which to the jealous hatred of its enemies was a reproach. "See how they love one another," mocked these enemies; "as if they were ready to die, the one for the other." "Yes," says Tertullian, "we love one another; we are brothers, for we have a common Father, and the same Spirit has led us from darkness to light. We are also your brothers, because, altho you are our persecutors, you are men like us. We support one another; we have everything in common except our wives; each one freely brings his offering to relieve the poor, the sick, orphans, widows, travelers, and prisoners. We are not incapable of the business of life, for do we not live with you, sharing your habits and necessities? We do not retire into forests; we do not flee from life; we use everything with thanksgiving; we sail with you; we mix with you in the forum, in camp, in commerce; we refrain only from your spectacles, sacrifices, disorders, and crimes" (*Apologeticus*, about 198 A.D.).

III.—The Medieval Church

In this section we shall not enter so much into details, because these are given in other articles: that on the CANON LAW, which belongs almost exclusively to the medieval Church, and the general article on CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM, Christian influence, in the Middle Ages at least, being admittedly almost identical with *Church* influence. Yet a few general characterizations may here be made, and one or two points elucidated.

We notice, first, that the medieval Church was the great leveler; the clerical order was the one profession in which it was possible for a man of the humblest birth to attain to the highest position. This was less by virtue of enactment than in consequence of the facts (*a*) that the Church remained free from the distinctions of classes that grew up in the civil state, and (*b*) that churchmen, as the rule of celibacy became universal in Latin Christendom, could be raised to any rank without founding a family of nobles. Many a peasant heard of the learned Grostête, son of a serf, the most distinguished scholar of thirteenth-century Oxford, the Oxford which existed long before a college was founded—the friend of the reforming friars, the enemy of the Roman court, the advocate of England for the English; and was eager, out of his scanty means, to buy the license that his son might go to the schools and take orders. The possibility of rising was, it is true, not confined to churchmen; but that which was the exception among the laity was common among the clergy. Nor was it till centuries later that it became the accepted doctrine that an ordained person was *ipso facto* a free man; and if in the fifth century it could be conceived that a man might be a clergyman and yet a slave, this idea early gave way before another, which presumed that if a slave were ordained with the knowledge of his lord, and without any objection raised by him, he was a free man, tho not formally manumitted. For the effect of the medieval Church upon slavery, see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM. It must not be forgotten that before the time of the Reformation slavery, and, in some countries like England, even serfdom, had disappeared from Christendom. The medieval Church had put it down.

We notice next as characteristic of the medieval Church its monasteries, nunneries, and Church brotherhoods of various kinds, not only as centers of Christian equality, but as asylums for the oppressed and as centers of brotherhood life and work. Says Thorold Rogers upon this point:

Monasteries

"The relief of destitution was the fundamental religious duty of medieval Christianity, I might have said of Christianity itself. In ancient polities it might be the duty of the State to relieve distress; it was always its prudence, if it cared for security. To get abundant supplies of food for the poorer citizens in one way or the other was the constant anxiety of democratic Athens and of imperial Rome. But from the very first Christianity transferred this duty from the State to the individual, and to the voluntary corporation. The early Church undoubtedly preached patience, but it much more emphatically inculcated the duty of almsgiving. The contribution of the tithe was enforced in order that a third part, at least, of the proceeds should go to the relief of the deserving poor. In the fifteenth century nothing moves the righteous wrath of Gascoigne more than the teaching of Pecock to the effect that ecclesiastical revenues enjoyed by churchmen can be disposed of according to the discretion of the recipient as freely as the proceeds of private property. After heresy, simony, and sorcery, the heaviest charge which could be leveled against a churchman was that of avarice, and a covetous priest who hoarded his revenues was lucky if the charge of avarice was not coupled with those graver vices to which I have referred. We may be certain, too, that the duty which was so generally imposed on them by public opinion—the force of which is not yet extinct—was inculcated by them on others. In times of plenty, too, food was often given with wages. A wealthy monastery or college would find a place at its servants' table for the artizans which it employed without much grudging, and the poor at the gate would not be sent away empty-handed. Where mendicancy was no disgrace, almsgiving was like to be considered the most necessary and the most ordinary of the virtues.

"It has been often said and often denied that the monasteries supplied the want which the poor law, two generations after the dissolution of these bodies, enforced. That the monasteries were renowned for their almsgiving is certain. The duty of aiding the needy was universal. Themselves the creatures of charity, they could not deny to others that on which they subsisted. But some orders were under special

duties. The Hospitalers were bound to relieve casual destitution. Hence when Waynflete procured the surrender of the house of the Oxford Hospitalers, he bound his college to the duties which the surrendered house had performed, duties which, it is almost superfluous to say, were speedily evaded. So again the preaching and begging friars were the nurses of the sick, especially those who labored under infectious diseases. There were houses where doles of bread and beer were given to all wayfarers, houses where the sick were tended, clothed, and fed, particularly the lepers. There were nunneries, where the nuns were nurses and midwives; and even now the ruins of these houses contain living record of the ancient practises of their inmates in the rare medicinal herbs which are still found within their precincts. In the universal destruction of these establishments, the hardest instruments of Henry's purposes interceded for the retention of some among the most meritorious, useful, and unblemished of them. It is possible that these institutions created the mendicancy which they relieved, but it cannot be doubted that they assisted much which needed their help ('Work and Wages,' p. 416).

"What an enormous part in the polity of the Middle Ages was played by these monasteries is well known. The estates of the monasteries are said over and over again to have comprised a third of the knights' fees in England. Most of these religious houses were founded before the close of the thirteenth century, many of them in the early ages of the Saxon polity. Only a few were founded in later times. Besides these monastic estates, the bishops and the chapters held large possessions.

"Many of the English towns grew up round monasteries. The piety of the converted Saxons led them to spend lavishly in the foundation of these institutions, and the principal part of the documents which have been preserved from a period antecedent to the Conquest refer to these early monasteries. Thus the town of Oxford grew up under the shadow of the great monasteries of St. Frideswide and Osney. Such was the origin of Abingdon, of Reading, of St. Albans, of Coventry, of Durham."

That these centers of religious life were centers also of humble brotherly work is well known. Says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy":

"The lands held by a religious house, at least those in its immediate vicinity, were, as a rule, cultivated by the brotherhood itself, and the personal interest thus devoted to the work produced better results than the enforced labor of bondmen. The evidence of the Domesday survey goes to show that the Church lands were in a higher state of cultivation than other property. The monks also employed themselves in clearing forests, draining marshes, and making roads and bridges (cf. Lingard, i., 267 *seq.*; Cunningham, 'Growth of English Industry and Commerce in the Early and Middle Ages,' pp. 64, *seq.* 1890); and the Cistercian order, through the activity which it displayed in sheep farming, promoted in a singular degree the production of the staple commodity of England. Through the immense extent of their property, variously estimated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from a quarter to a half of the total landed property of England (Wycliffe, *de Eccl.*, xv., p. 338; cf. Pearson, 'History of England,' ii., 497, 1867), the churches and religious houses came to take an important share in the industrial development of the country; and it is acknowledged that the clergy were mild landlords (see Stubbs, 'Constitutional History,' iii., 562). The attacks of the Lollards upon the landed property of the Church were inspired rather by *a priori* objections to the system itself than by any actual abuses to which it led; and the consideration which Bishop Pecock, writing in the middle of the fifteenth century, alleged on the opposite side are probably in the main just. 'The treuthe is,' he says, 'that the tenementis and alle the possessiouns with her purtenauncis, which the clergie (religiose or not religiose) holden and hauen, is better meintened and susteyned and reparid and kept fro falling into nouzt and into wildirness, than if tho same tenementis and possessiouns with her purtenauncis weren in the hondis of grete lordis, or of knyztis, or of squyeris. . . . The tenauntis, occupying tho tenementis and possessiouns with purtenauncis vndir the clergie, ben esilier tretid, lasse disesid, and not greeued bi extorcioun, as thei schoulden be, if thei helden the same tenementis and possessiouns of temporal lordis or of knyztis and squyers.' Among other points in favor of those who held of the Church, Pecock notices that their tenure was less liable to be disturbed than that of those who held under lay lords ('Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy,' vol. ii., p. 370 *seq.*, ed. Babington, 1860). It has been noticed by critics least friendly to the medieval Church that it was such causes—the known advantage to the tenant—that did much to reconcile public opinion to the enormous estates held by the Church (Pearson, 'History of England,' vol. ii., p. 502; Rogers, vol. i., p. 160). That at the close of the Middle Ages the state of things was somewhat altered, and the abuses which had arisen with respect to the management of Church property called forth well-founded complaints (cf. 'Dyaloge betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman,' 1530, ed. Arber, 1871, p. 134 *seq.*; 'Ballads from Manuscripts,' ed. Furnivall, 1869, vol. i.), need not be denied."

But it was not only manual work that was performed by the monks and clergy. Says Rogers:

The Clergy of the Middle Ages

"The clergy, in the widest sense of the term, contained nearly the whole of what we should call the professional classes. The architects, the physicians, the lawyers, the scribes, the teachers, of the Middle Ages, were almost always clergymen, and when employed in these callings were rewarded for their services with benefices. We know but few of the men who designed the great cathedrals, churches, and castles of the Middle Ages—those buildings which are the wonder of our age for their vastness, their exquisite proportions, and their equally exquisite detail. But when we do know, as it were by accident, who the builder was, he is almost always a clergyman. It seems as tho skill in architecture and intimate acquaintance with all which was necessary not only for the design of the structure, but for good workmanship and endurance, were so common an accomplishment, that no one was at the pains to proclaim his own reputation or to record the reputation of another. It is known that we owe the design of Rochester Castle and the Tower to one ecclesiastic. It is recorded that William of Wykeham was Edward III.'s architect at Windsor, as well as his own at Winchester and Oxford, and of various handsome churches which were built during his long episcopate. It is probable that Waynflete designed the beautiful buildings at Magdalen College; and it is alleged that Wolsey, in his youth, planned the matchless tower, which has charmed every spectator for nearly four centuries. But no one knows who designed and carried out a thousand of those poems in stone which were the glory of the Middle Ages, and have been made the subjects of servile and stupid imitations in our own.

"The monks were the men of letters in the Middle Ages, the historians, the jurists, the philosophers, the physicians, the students of nature. It is owing to their labors that we know anything of our annals, of the events by which the political history of England is interpreted. They were often frivolous, frequently credulous, but they collected the facts to the best of their ability. It is true that the material which they put into shape is far less in quantity than those voluminous archives are which are preserved in our national collection. But these, tho of great collateral value, would have but little constructive importance in the absence of the chronicles which the monks compiled. This is abundantly illustrated by the history of the fifteenth century and part of the sixteenth. . . .

"I am convinced that schools were attached to every monastery, and that the extraordinary number of foundation schools established just after the Reformation of 1547 was not a new zeal for a new learning, but the fresh and very inadequate supply of that which had been so suddenly and disastrously extinguished. ('Work and Wages,' p. 162.)

"And it must be remembered that they were not monks of the lower ranks who did manual and literary work, but ecclesiastics of the highest rank. We find such men as Hilary of Arles, one of the leading prelates in the French Church, working in the field. Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he visited a monastery in harvest did not hesitate to labor in the fields. St. Dunstan is reported to have been an excellent blacksmith."

For what the medieval Church did to put down feuds, to bring in "the peace of God," etc., see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM. We notice here the influence of the Church upon the State. The political influence of the medieval Church was enormously great. Undoubtedly much of it was due to ambition for temporal power, especially with the Roman see and wherever her spirit went; but equally undoubtedly, apart from all question of ambition, the medieval Church often used her enormous power, and especially did many of her leading prelates use their commanding influence, to protect the rights of the common people against the aggression both of the barons and of the king. We can cite only a few examples, but they are strewn on every page of medieval history. In England, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the leader and the prime mover in wresting from King Richard the Magna Charta, which has now become the birthright of every Englishman and American. In France, the life of Bernard of Clairvaux is filled with records of masterly and effectual resistance against the

wrongs and violence of the barons. In Italy, the political influence of Savonarola, the Dominican monk, can hardly be overestimated, and these are shining illustrations of what was done in a humbler way and on a lesser scale by thousands of brave medieval churchmen. The influence of Wycliffe's poor priests, and above all of John BALL, must not be forgotten. Says Thorold Rogers:

The Poor Priests

> The poor priests alone could traverse the country by right, and, without suspicion, advise their followers. They were precisely the persons who could organize resistance among the serfs, could win and keep their confidence, and could be trusted with their subscriptions, their plans, and their communications. Wycliffe's poor priests had honeycombed the minds of the upland folk with what may be called religious socialism. By Wycliffe's labors the Bible men had been introduced to the new world of the Old Testament, to the history of the human race, to the primeval garden and the young world, where the first parents of all mankind lived by simple toil, and were the ancestors of the proud noble and knight, as well as of the down-trodden serf and despised burgher. They read of the brave times when there was no king in Israel, when every man did that which was right in his own eyes, and sat under his own vine and his own fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid. They read how God, through His prophet, had warned Israel of the evils which would come to them when a king should rule over them, and how speedily this was verified in the conduct of the young Rehoboam, with his depraved and foolish counselors, of how woe had been predicted to the people over whom a child should rule. The God of Israel had bade His people be husbandmen, and not mounted knights and men-at-arms. But, most of all, the preacher would dwell on his own prototype, on the man of God, the wise prophet who denounced kings and princes and high priests, and, by God's commission, made them like a potter's vessel in the day of His wrath, or on those bold judges who were zealous even to slaying. For with this book, so old, yet so new, the peasant preacher—we are told that many learned to read when they were old that they might tell the Bible story—could stir up the souls of these clowns with the true narrative of another people, and would be sure that his way to their hearts and their confidence would be, as it always has been with the leaders of a religious revival, by entirely sympathizing with their wrongs, their sufferings, and their hopes. And when they told them that the lords had determined to drag them back to their old serfdom, the preacher could discourse to them of the natural equality of man, of the fact that all, kings, lords, and priests, live by the fruits of the earth and the labor of the husbandman, and that it would be better for them to die with arms in their hands than to be thrust back, without an effort on their part, into the shameful slavery from which they had been delivered. And as their eyes kindled, and they grasped their staves, he could tell them to keep their ears open for the news of their deliverance, that on the password being given, they were at once to hie to the appointed place, where a great work could be done for God's people by His appointed servant ("Work and Wages," p. 254). It is true that the correctness of this view has been questioned, but that it is largely true is perhaps fixt. Green says that in the preaching of John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," England "first listened to the knell of feudalism and the declaration of the rights of man." For an account of somewhat similar movements on the Continent, see BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE; COMMUNISM; MIDDLE AGES, etc. But already in noticing these movements that were reformatory of the Church, as well as of society, we are in the dark days when Rome, led by her earthly ambition and desire for temporal power, had forgotten the life of the spirit; and, first, the papacy itself had grown utterly and scandalously corrupt, and was completely dominated by worldly policy, and then gradually the poison spread from the head to feet and members, till the whole medieval Church, save for reforming movements like those led by Wycliffe, Huss, and Savonarola, became dead in trespasses and sins—the higher clergy profligate mammon servers, the lower clergy profligate servers of the senses; the monasteries (tho not always even then) too commonly centers of vice, the nunneries homes of license for the monks. But on this we need not dwell, tho it must be remembered in obtaining a true picture of the effect of the medieval Church upon social reform; yet there is little danger in Protestant lands of its being forgotten. We are more apt to forget that the poison of corruption came from the worldliness of Rome, and that for long centuries, even after Rome was herself corrupt, the Catholic Church (in England especially, never wholly subject to Rome) was the great purifying, liberating, civilizing, Christianizing factor of medieval life. For the close relation between many of the medieval trade gilds and the Church, see GILDS. Almost all gilds had their patron saint and their church, where they went for solemn worship, and whose clergy took an active interest in their life, religion and business being continually interblended in medieval life.

IV.—From the Reformation to the Present Time

With the Reformation, or at least soon after, when the principles of the Reformation had become well established in reformed countries, we have a great change in the history of the Church and social reform. That Protestantism, by reaching the *individual*, has along certain lines done much for social reform, no thoughtful man can deny. But the Protestant Churches as a whole accomplished but little. Rome, too, since the Reformation has, until recently, done even less. The Reformation, in its appeal to personal faith, to the right of private judgment, to the letter of the Scriptures, had largely the effect, *both on Roman and Protestant churches*, of exalting belief, creeds, dogma, and discussion above life. It divided Protestantism into so many sects, each discussing and battling to sustain its own peculiar belief and separate church machinery, as to cause the reform of the social life to be until recently almost forgotten. This, too, has been intensified by two other elements in Protestant faith. First, its exaltation of what it calls "the spiritual life," largely meaning by this a life that finds its chief interest in the life hereafter, leading to what has been well called "*other worldliness*"; and secondly, the tendency to *individualism*. This combination of tendencies in Protestant thought has at times almost wholly divorced Church life from the life of this world; and it is therefore no wonder that in the history of the Church and social reform we have after the Reformation nearly a blank. There are, however, exceptions to be noted. First, the early Protestants—for example, the Anabaptists of Germany—referring directly to the New Testament, learned there of its communism, and not a few attempts were made to reproduce it. It has led to a long series of Protestant attempts at communism (see COMMUNISM), some of them very successful—for example, the SHAKERS. But, in the first place, these attempts were made by sects, and therefore were so limited by narrow and peculiar doctrinal requirements as to very materially reduce their influence; while secondly, they were based on the belief that Christians must go out from the world and be *separate*, rather than on the Catholic doctrine that the whole world is God's, and the duty of Christians is to remain *in* the world, tho not of it, and to bring it wholly into subjection to its King. The second exception to the divorce between the Protestant churches and the social life was in the attempt of many of the first Protestant leaders, such as Calvin, Cromwell, and the Pilgrim Fathers in America, to set up a theocracy on earth, with their particular church organization as the interpreter of the Divine will. These efforts have passed into history, and are now as much marked by their complete failure and their renunciation by all Protestant sects as they were once marked by intense faith in their efficacy. The attempts belong to the first years of Protestantism, when its principles were held in the glow of enthusiasm, fanned by persecution and martyrdom. Protestantism, as soon as it reached its logical outcome, conceived this world for the most part to be "a dreary wilderness," from which the individual is saved by the efficacy of his personal faith in the atoning blood of Christ; Christianity to be the salvation of the individual soul, and the Church to

Social Uprisings of the Reformation

The Puritan Theocracy

be but the coming together of the individuals who are being saved. While later Protestant thought in Unitarianism and even in orthodox circles has given up much of this soteriology, still the divorce of the Church from practical social matters has until recently remained. The individualism of Protestantism is admitted by friend and declared by foe. As applied to economics, it has its good and its bad effect. Undoubtedly it has produced a period through which both the world and the Church had to pass. Economics and religious individualism are largely identical. Says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy":

Guizot[EN] Seebohm, K. Marx, and É. de Laveleye declare alike that the "history of capital and the supremacy of private interest," i. e., commerce in its modern aspect, commenced contemporaneously with the period of the Reformation, accompanied, as that movement was, by many discoveries and inventions, and the recovered sense of personal freedom and responsibility. In "Protestantism and Catholicism in their Bearing upon the Liberty and Prosperity of Nations," by Emile de Laveleye (1875), the progress of economic enterprise is attributed to the superior education and enlightenment fostered by Protestantism. De Tocqueville ascribes to the Puritan discipline of the first settlers the same result in the commercial expansion of the United States. From Luther to Protestant divines of the present day the moral force of the dignity of labor and the duty of cheerful exertion in the subduing the earth by economic effort have been held up to admiration, and have given an impulse to the economic life of Protestant countries. The "Wealth of Nations," which appeared in 1775–76, marks a revolution of thought as truly as in the world of industry. "The machine is somewhat in the nature of Protestantism," says Dean Uhlhorn in his brochure on "Katholicismus und Protestantismus gegenüber der socialen Frage" (1887). Private property is encouraged by Protestantism. Luther, in his "Sermon on Usury" (1579), speaks of three grades "of dealing well and worthily with temporal goods." The highest is to allow ourselves to be despoiled of it without offering opposition; the lowest is to take neither profit nor interest, tho he sees objections to this ideal being realized. While Erasmus complained of the "rage of ownership," Protestantism endeavored to make a compromise, maintaining the ideal in theory and encouraging what Fr. A. Lange calls a "moderate egoism" or "ethical materialism," in practise (see "Geschichte des Materialismus," i., 254, 294. Cf. J. E. Thorold Rogers on "The Economic Interpretation of History," 1888, p. 83). Liberation of industry follows logically from that of liberty of thought, developing the five points of industrial independence—freedom of labor, free trade in land, free movement of capital, freedom of industrial enterprise, and a free market regulated by demand and supply; it further implies the removal of all governmental and trade restrictions—in a word, *laissez-faire*. Individualism in religion and industry go together.

Protestantism Individualistic

It is not therefore strange that slavery, suppress in Europe by the medieval Church, reappeared in the slave trade after the Reformation, practised by both Protestant and Roman peoples. It is not strange that all the evils which are laid at the door of individualism and competition should be largely condoned, sometimes defended, and at least allowed and not seldom practised by individualistic and competing churches. Individual Protestants like Wilberforce and Howard and Chalmers and Shaftesbury and Garrison (for at least in Garrison's early reform days he was a believer in the Church), and Gough and a long list of noble Protestants may have done much for social reform, and no one can challenge the effect upon the daily moral life of Protestantism among the Scotch Covenanters, the English and American Puritans, or the more ordinary life of many a parish in Scotland or town in New England (such as Northampton, Mass., under Edwards, when nearly the entire population were in church every Sabbath, and 600 out of a population of 1,100 were members of the Church); yet the point is only too well sustained that the Protestant churches as organizations have had little to do with social reforms.

V.—The Modern Church

With the modern Church we reach a new era. The Church of to-day can by no means be fairly accused of doing nothing for humanity. Those who accuse it, as many do in unsparing terms, of being separated from the masses and not battling for social reform, mean that it does not battle for certain ideas of reform. For charity and in certain lines of reform the Church, in all its history, never accomplished more than to-day. If charity (in the modern sense) be the fulfilling of the law, no one acquainted with the facts can condemn the Church. And this should not be forgotten even by those who do not believe that such charity is the fulfilling of the law. Those who would put justice before charity must themselves be just enough to give the Church credit for what she is doing. The real state of the case seems to be not that the Church is inactive, for she is immensely active, but that she is not active along the lines most needed in the opinion of most progressive thinkers. We shall therefore point out here the lines upon which the modern Church is active, and in the next section point out the position she might take.

Activity of the Church

We cannot here enter into details concerning separate churches and church organizations. For these, see Baptist, Church of England, Congregationalist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Unitarian, and Universalist Churches in their relation to social reform. We consider here only those activities which hold more or less true of all churches.

The first of these is the marked activity of the churches in sustaining our great charitable institutions. Especially in our larger cities, like New York, our great hospitals, for example, are almost solely due to the churches. Many of our best educational institutions, too, are the direct offspring of our churches. (See Charity Organization Societies; Hospitals; Education, etc.) The immense activity of the Church in these respects can hardly be realized, save by a detailed study, and if one adds to this the enormous benefactions given, the sums contributed, and the charities and institutions founded by individual members of the Church, and largely as the result of the constant, quiet teaching and inculcation of Christian pulpits, the influence of the Church for the social uplift of humanity can scarcely be exaggerated.

Secondly, in spite of severe criticism from those who believe that our churches, or at least church-members, are guilty in supporting political parties wedded to the saloon interest, it cannot be denied that in other ways at least our churches are exerting a vast influence for *temperance* (see Temperance; Prohibition; Women's Christian Temperance Union; Church Temperance Society, etc.)

Thirdly, the churches are exerting a growing social influence through the development of numerous so-called "institutional churches," where charities and classes and clubs and benefit societies of the most various kinds are developed and maintained, and largely on the lines of social reform. These will be noticed in more detail in the articles on the several churches. We here refer only to such churches and institutions as the East Side House of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City; the work at St. George's, in the same city; at Berkeley Temple, Boston; the People's Palace, Jersey City; the Temple College, connected with Grace Church, Philadelphia; the Church of the Paulist Fathers, in New York City; in London, the Oxford House, Mansfield House, Newman House, and numberless others in all the important cities and towns of Europe and America. For Germany and France, see article Christian Socialism.

Fourthly, many general movements for social reform, like the social work of the Salvation Army, the immensely important educational work of the Chautauqua movement, of the University Extension, the battle for Social Purity, the Social Settlement Idea—these and a hundred others are, first, the indirect result of Church teaching and, secondly, very largely supported by Church people, and not seldom directly in connection with the Church.

Fifthly, the main influence of the modern Church on social reform we have yet to notice in its deep, vital influence through the development of individual character. That the *whole* present influence of the Church upon character is good many may doubt; that the total effect of its influence is good a few radicals may question; but that the Church helps to develop purity, kindness, filial and marital love, general honesty, patriotism, temperance, the sacredness of life, the supremacy of duty, and that these are immensely important social forces, no man can deny. It is frequently said that the main work of the Church is not to teach social reform, but to prepare and move individuals to develop social reform. Into this private fundamental work, however, we cannot largely enter; yet must it never be forgotten by those who would ask what the Church is doing.

Often those who condemn the Church know her only as she was twenty or more years ago, and know not that a wholly new life and spirit have entered into her to-day. And yet no fair reviewer of the question can deny that along certain lines the Church is far from being or doing what she should. Almost all social thinkers are now agreed that the social evils of the day arise in large part from social wrongs, in monopolies of land, of money, of machinery, of railroads, and of capital of other kinds. They are also all agreed that whatever be their especial economic views, in some way society has a large part to play in righting these wrongs, and that such reforms are therefore at present needed as much as the personal charities and activities of the Church. Now it is in this large field that the Church does so little. Many earnest churchmen claim that this is a field which the Church should not enter. But this is exactly the difficulty urged by social reformers. They claim that the Church has no adequate conception of what she could and should do. If Jesus Christ be the King of all life (see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM), surely the Church, as working for Him, should demand that all life obey Christ, and surely the political, social, and industrial spheres are a part of human life. It is more than hinted that while the churches do much for charity (often, however, in their wealth giving of that which costs them little), they fear to take up these fundamental social questions because they have become identified with and dependent upon wealthy donors interested in sustaining these private and class monopolies. City clergymen, with their (often) large salaries and luxurious homes, are especially scorned, hated, and denounced by working men, who claim that these men are not true followers of the Nazarene Carpenter. "We denounce and leave the Church," say these labor leaders, "not because it is Christian, but precisely because it is *not* Christian." In these lines it is easy to see how, in spite of their growing activities, the churches are still denounced as false to their pretended creed and duty. Nevertheless even on this line there is a great change. The article on CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM and the respective articles on the various Christian Churches contain evidence of this. Clergymen of all denominations are coming to see that Christ really meant His kingdom to come on earth, and all kingdoms of this earth, including the kingdoms of politics, trade, industry, etc., to become a portion of His kingdom. It is significant that a new policy is proposed for foreign and home missions, whereby the Church should organize its converts into Christian, industrial, and social communities, as indeed Moravian missionaries have long done. Certainly a new life is in the Church, altho when one realizes the social need and the power that is in the Christ the Church professes to serve, the little done seems lost in the undone vast. (See also CHURCH AND THE WORKING MEN.)

Failure of the Church

VI.—What the Church Could Do

In an address upon "The Needs of the City," before the Evangelical Alliance, convened in Boston, Dec. 4, 1889, Professor Ely, in words still true, spoke of the need in the Church:

(1) Of a profound revival of religion, not in any narrow or technical sense, but in the broadest, largest, fullest sense, a great religious awakening which shall shake things going down into the depths of men's lives and modifying their character. The city needs religion, and without religion the salvation of the city is impossible.

A Proposed Program

(2) The first need restated from a different point of view, a renaissance of nationalism or municipalism. Said Professor Ely:

"Societies have failed and will fail. They cannot, acting simply as societies, do the work. Their resources are inadequate, the territory they can cover is too small, and their power is insufficient. The Evangelical Alliance simply as such can never do the work. The Evangelical Alliance, like other societies, must put itself behind municipal government and recognize the reform and elevation of municipal government as one of the chief features of its work. It must strive to establish among us true cities of God. There is plenty of room for the individual and for individual activity. Not all the work can be done by government, altho without government very little can be accomplished. But in addition to strict private work, there is room for any amount of individual work in stimulating official work and in cooperation with official work.

"We must recognize this, and the sooner we recognize it the better. . . . The most successful work, says Barnett, after his long striving, is done by the Education Act, the Poor Law, and other socialistic legislation. That that is the most successful work is also illustrated by the life and career of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who carried through Parliament legislation which has benefited millions of Englishmen. If simply by touching a person you could confer a distinct benefit on the person touched, it would take you twenty years to benefit as many people as have been benefited by legislation chiefly due to this great philanthropist."

The Church could work for:

(3) Education of all kinds.
(4) Good amusements, gymnasiums, parks, etc.
(5) Public baths, washhouses, etc.
(6) Improvement of artizans' dwellings.
(7) Organized medical relief.
(8) Temperance.

National churches might do still more. It was proposed at the World's Congress on the Church and the Labor Movement that among the first things for the Church to do was in conventions and conferences, and finally national councils, to create true ideals of social and industrial life, teaching men of our day what conscience demands in the daily life, even as the canon law of the Middle Ages exprest then the sense of the Church on such questions of the daily life as taking of interest, etc. The Church, to do this, needs not to lay down laws, but it should lift up practical ideals.

Again, the Church in pulpit, church paper, conference, and convention, should protest against great social wrongs and oppressive monopolies and tyrannies, and agitate for such far-reaching reforms as the lessening of the hours of labor, the progressive taxation of great incomes, the nationalization of land and of monopolized capital, the employment of the unemployed. Says a leading Christian Socialist in England, Rev. S. D. Headlam: "Lastly, I come to what is the main plank in the platform of the Christian Socialist, the chief political reform at which he aims, being bound by his creed to go to the very heart of the matter; to be content with no tinkering. It is summed up in the resolution which was moved by the English Land Restoration League in Trafalgar Square; after which the authorities, being conservative authorities, wisely settled that no more should be said there for the present. It ran as follows: 'That the main cause of poverty, both in the agricultural districts and in the great centers of population, is the fact that the land, which ought to be the common property of all, is now monopolized by a few; and that therefore those who want to cut away at the root of poverty must work to restore to the people the whole of the value which they give to the land, to get for the people complete control over the land, and to that end see to it that those who use land pay

for the use of it to its rightful owners, the people.'" Perhaps, first, above all else the Church should see to it that her own life is rightly fashioned; that she organize her needy converts in home and foreign fields into true self-supporting Christian communities; that she see to it that her own churches be built and her church papers and prayer-books be printed by united labor working during just hours at righteous wages. A Church that did this, led by clergy, living from the Christ life in humility and self-sacrifice and lifting up her voice for the opprest against every oppressor, would be indeed a Church following her Master in social reform."

REFERENCES: For the relation of the early Church to social reform, see *Gesta Christi*, by C. L. Brace; *The Social Result of Early Christianity*, by Karl Schmidt; *Arius the Libyan*, by N. C. Koun; Church histories, etc. For the medieval Church, see, in addition to the above-mentioned works, *The World the Subject of Redemption*, by Canon Fremantle. For the modern Church, see *Social Aspects of Christianity*, by R. T. Ely; *Socialism from Genesis to Revelation*, by F. W. Sprague; *English Social Movements*, by R. A. Wood; *Practicable Socialism*, by Rev. and Mrs. S. A. Barnet; *The Christian Society*, by G. D. Herron; *Applied Christianity*, by Washington Gladden; *Faith and Social Service*, by George Hodges; *Religious Movements for Social Betterment*, by Josiah Strong. See also CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES, etc.

CHURCH AND THE REFORM WORKERS, THE: The writer in 1905 conducted an investigation into the church affiliation of the men and women engaged in social reform work in the United States. Returns were received from over 1,000 persons. Four hundred and one were workers in associated charities, 339 in settlements, 272 were connected with various national social reform organizations. All portions of the country were represented. Four hundred and seventeen were men, 495 were women, the excess of women being in the associated charities and settlements.

Out of 878 social reform workers reporting upon the point, 753 were returned as communicants in some church. Even if the 134 who did not report on this point be all counted as non-communicants, it still makes 753 out of 1,012, or 74 per cent.

The method was by sending blanks to the secretaries of associated charities, to the head workers in settlements, and the presidents or secretaries of national reform organizations. Blanks were sent to all whose addresses could be secured. Each person to whom a blank was sent was requested to fill it out for individuals known personally to him or her as social reform workers. They were asked not to report the names of the individuals, so as to avoid seeming to pry into personalities. It was thought, too, that in this way more returns could be obtained. As a guaranty, however, of good faith, each one sending in a report was asked to sign his or her name to the statement that the returns did represent the facts as to workers in social reform personally known to the sender of the facts. To obviate reduplication, each was asked to report for individuals so intimately connected with the society or organization in question as not to be likely to be reported by any one else. One thousand and twelve such returns were made.

The Church membership of workers in the associated charities rises to 92 per cent; with the settlements it is 88 per cent; among other reform organizations it falls to 71 per cent.

What does this finding mean? It may be said at once that it does not mean that there is therefore no basis for criticism of the Church. Blanks were not sent to any institutional church, nor to any distinctively church organizations. It was taken for granted that workers in such societies would be affiliated with the Church. If anything, the presence of such a large proportion of church people in societies distinctly extra-ecclesia would indicate that the Church herself was not doing such work, at least not sufficiently to furnish an adequate outlet for earnestness and effort.

Complaint is raised in many quarters of the decreasing number of candidates for the sacred ministry; may it not be that in the large number of church men and women found in these social efforts there is one cause for this scarcity?

It is also clearly evidenced by the returns that religion and Christianity and the creed are not dying. It is a time of change, but the changes are modal and not of faith. Still, to-day, the majority of the men and women who are striving to make the world better—at least in the U. S.—are members of the Christian Church and believers in the Christian faith. Rather do we see to-day Christianity blossoming into a new life and the creed putting forth new credentials in the eyes of a practical world.

This becomes even more manifest as we note the denominational preferences of the social reform workers. The churches that do social reform work are, naturally, the churches social reformers choose.

If we take the proportion of communicants in each religious communion to the total number of communicants in the United States, and compare this with the number of communicants the same communions furnish to social reform, we shall find that the Roman Catholic Church should produce 33 per cent of the reform communicants, and does produce 5 per cent; the Methodist Church (of all kinds) should produce 20 per cent, and does produce 14 per cent; the Baptist Church should produce 17 per cent, and does produce 6 per cent; the Presbyterian Church (North and South) should produce 5 per cent, and does produce 16 per cent; the Congregational Church should produce 2 per cent, and does produce 16 per cent; the Protestant Episcopal Church should produce also 2 per cent, and does produce 21 per cent; Unitarians and Universalists together should produce 0.4 per cent, and do produce 6 per cent. Other churches should produce some 18 per cent, and do produce 10 per cent. Other returns were as to church attendance. The average social reform worker, according to these returns, attends church 3.7 times per month, tho 37 nominal church members and 120 non-church members do not attend church at all.

Another set of returns shows the dominant early religious influences of the reform workers. Of the 980 reporting on this point, only 22 report no dominant early religious influence; 108 report the influence simply as Protestant, without naming any denomination; 872 report a denominational early influence. Comparing this with their present religious affiliations, we get some indication of the denominational changes that are taking place among this class of workers. The Baptist and Presbyterian churches have neither gained nor lost. The Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist, Unitarian, and Universalist, and the "scattered" churches seem to have lost. The Roman Catholic Church, with originally 7 per cent, has now 5 per cent of those reporting the points; the Methodist Church, with originally 15 per cent, has now 14 per cent. The Unitarian and Universalist churches, with originally 7 per cent, have now 6 per cent; while the "scattered" churches, with originally 16 per cent, have now 10 per cent. The Protestant Episcopal Church and the Congregational Church have gained. The latter originally had 15 per

cent, and now has 16 per cent; the Protestant Episcopal Church, having originally also 15 per cent, now has 21 per cent of those reporting.

So go the denominational changes, indicating, with what has gone before, that to-day it is not, on the whole, the churches most characterized by revivalistic methods, not the churches working on old personal lines, be these Roman Catholic or liberal, that are reaching the earnest social workers. Personal religion means to-day the devotion of the person to the common effort.

W. D. P. Bliss.

CHURCH AND THE WORKINGMAN, THE: Labor troubles come as the result of an advancing civilization. Social unrest is sometimes an indication of social progress. There are no labor troubles in "Darkest Africa." Curiously enough, Christianity will have a good deal to do with introducing them.

The ancient philosophers declared that "a purchased laborer is better than a hired one," "a workshop is incompatible with nobility." And in accordance with these principles they erected great prison-like structures in which they hid away the laborer, compelling half the world to live in slavery. Then came Jesus Christ. Standards changed. Jesus discovered the individual. He showed the world how highly God values a human soul. Men have caught His spirit, with the result that in every Christian land the standing of the laborer has been elevated.

It was in Christianity that the labor movement had its rise. Its success is due to the fact that Christianity blazed the way. It was because Christianity and the labor movement had so much in common, that, as C. Osborne Ward points out in "Ancient Lowly," it was among the members of the labor gilds of the apostolic days that the Gospel had its freest course. In those days practically every workingman belonged to the gild composed of the men and women of his craft. It is not unlikely that some of the apostles themselves were identified with these organizations. This may have been especially true of Paul, who still worked at his trade as a tent-maker, usually seeking out those who were of the same craft, when visiting a strange city. As he was dependent upon his trade for a living, and as he constantly traveled from place to place, it seems reasonable to suppose that Paul identified himself with an organization which would give him greater opportunities for gaining his support. If, in connection with this benefit, there might come an opportunity for doing a larger service among a great class of toilers, it may be that Paul again "became all things to all men, that by all means he might win some," following out the principle of his approach to men. This we know without dispute—it was among the gilds of the larger cities which Paul visited that he established the churches whose names are given in the inspired record. And these very gilds of working people became centers for the proclamation of the Gospel.

Changing Conditions

Since those days, the relation of the workingman toward the Church has undergone a great change. Labor organizations and mass-meetings of working men have, from time to time, passed resolutions denouncing the Church and the ministry because of their apparent indifference to the interests of working people. Vast numbers of working men have undoubtedly been alienated from the Church, and it has often been true that the Church was to blame for this alienation. If it is insisted that it is the fault of the workingman that he does not go to church, it should be remembered that the Church was established for faulty people. Therefore the greater the fault of the workingman, the greater becomes the responsibility of the Church in this connection.

The Church is slowly awaking to the fact that the labor movement is the most significant movement of modern times. It should be understood that when one speaks of the labor movement one does not refer exclusively to the labor-union. There are forces organized and unorganized which are comprized in this term. It includes the 25,000,000 Socialists of the world, nearly 7,000,000 of whom have cast their ballots for Socialist candidates; it includes the 8,000,000 trade-unionists from every land, 3,000,000 of whom are in the United States and Canada; it embraces the uprising among the Russian peasantry, 20,000 of whom (in 1906) suffered martyrs' deaths because of their belief in the ideal which somebody has given them; it includes the movement among the British working men, who practically control the English Parliament; it includes the movements among the masses in Germany, in Italy, in France, in Belgium, in Australia—to say nothing about the social unrest that exists in the U. S. In view of all this, it does not require a very wise man to say that this is the era of the common man, and when the hour strikes that shall proclaim the victory of the common people, this is the question which will confront us as a church: Will they be inspired by a high religious ideal given them by the Church, or will they go on to better and nobler things, indifferent to the Church, because of the consciousness that they have won all in spite of the Church? For win they will; no human power can prevent it, and no divine power will.

This, then, is the great labor movement that confronts the Church to-day. There is so much religion in this movement that some day it will be a question as to whether the Church will capture the labor movement or whether the labor movement will capture the Church. We hear a great deal about the Church saving the masses, but some day the masses are going to help save the Church.

Three very interesting facts give the Church a decided advantage in the matter of capturing the labor movement.

First. Workingmen almost universally honor Jesus Christ as their friend and leader, and most of them believe in His divinity.

Second. The great mass of working people are naturally religious, altho that religion may not always be exprest in the most orthodox manner.

Third. The labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious problem. It will never be settled on any other basis. In the end there will be not one answer to the social question, but many; but they will all agree in this: all of them will be religious.

If the Church is to permanently attract working men, the workingman must find in the approach of the Church an absolute sincerity. It must make the people the end of its endeavors. They must find in the Church a greater democ-

racy. It behooves the Church to study the new movement among the masses and to direct it with unselfishness and with a devotion to the right, which shall win the millions who are incarnated in the "common people." The Church must preach a clearer social message. Working men are not particularly concerned about social theories, but sometimes their social conditions are so real and so vital a part of their lives, that it is almost impossible to reach them through an evangelistic campaign. Furthermore, the workingman must find in the Church more of the prophetic spirit.

Practically every church has exprest its interest in this problem, but some of the leading denominations have spoken with no uncertain sound. At the session of the Federation of Churches held in New York City in 1905, representatives of practically every Protestant denomination in the U. S., who spoke for nearly 20,000,000 church members, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, In the divine order of things there can be no discord between labor and the accumulated results of labor known as capital:

Resolved, That private capital in every instance ought to be administered as a sacred trust for the common weal—this not merely in the distribution of surplus wealth, but also in all the active productive uses of capital, the law of God requiring not only beneficence instead of corrupting extravagance, but also instead of greedy production productive activities conducted on lines most considerate of the ultimate well-being of the whole community and the immediate welfare of the immediate workers.

Among other resolutions adopted by the Congregational Church at its national meeting with reference to labor, was the following:

Recognizing that the need and the right to work are fundamental in human society and that much remains to be done to establish just relationships in the industrial order, we urge our churches to take a deeper interest in the labor question, and to get a more intelligent understanding of the aims of organized labor.

The National Council of the Congregational Church also has a representative Industrial Committee which is to study such questions as child labor, organized labor, immigration, industrial organizations, and socialism. State associations also have similar committees under whose auspices frequent conferences have been held in various parts of the U. S.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, at its national conference, had this to say:

In the face of a prejudice and a hostility for which there are serious reasons, we are convinced that the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people. Its purpose is to maintain such a standard of wages, hours, and conditions as shall afford every man an opportunity to grow in mind and in heart. Without organization the standard cannot be maintained in the midst of our present commercial conditions.

This denomination also has a Labor Committee composed of prominent clergymen and laymen. For many years there has been in this church an organization known as the Church Association for Improving the Condition of Labor, commonly known as the C. A. I. L. While not in organic relationship with the Church, it has among its officers many of its bishops, and the work of the organization has received the hearty indorsement of the General Convention. Among the committees are those on Tenement-House Reform, Labor Organization, Sweating System, and the Church and Stage. The official organ of the association is *Hammer and Pen*, published in New York City.

The Presbyterian Church has established a Department of Church and Labor, which is in official relationship with that church. Its General Assembly of 1905 adopted this resolution:

Appreciating the increasing importance of the industrial problem and realizing that the labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious question, and that it will never be settled upon any other basis, we recommend that the Presbyterian Home Mission committees appoint subcommittees for the purpose of making a systematic study of the entire problem in their respective localities. These committees shall cooperate with the Department of Church and Labor, thus establishing, in connection with the organized Presbyterianism of every city in America, a board of experts, who may be able to inform the churches with respect to the aims of organized labor, and to inform the working men concerning the mission of the Church.

The department serves as a clearing-house for the study of up-to-date methods of city mission work. It is attempting to reduce to a science work among working men. In this matter it has the cooperation of committees in practically every city of importance in the U. S. An article dealing with some phase of the labor question from the Christian view-point is regularly sent to the 300 labor papers in the U. S. and Canada, through which the department speaks weekly to 10,000,000 working people. Noonday shop meeting campaigns are conducted under its auspices in the industrial centers, the ministers of the city doing the preaching. Each year on Labor Sunday—the Sunday before Labor Day—every minister in the church is requested to preach on some phase of the labor question. So that both the Church and labor may see each other with clearer vision, the plan of the exchange of fraternal delegates between local ministers' associations and central labor-unions has been advocated by this department. Several of the leading denominations have entered most heartily into this work. The fraternal delegate goes unpledged to secrecy. He does not have the privilege of voting, but he has the right of the floor on all occasions. In some instances the labor-unions have created the office of chaplain for the ministers, and the regular meetings are opened with prayer.

Fraternal Delegates

Working together, the Ministers' Association and the Central Labor Union may bring about many municipal reforms. Indeed, united, there are few things in this direction which they may not accomplish in the cause of good citizenship, independent of partizan politics. Especially in those matters which involve moral issues—such as the saloon, gambling, the social evil, Sunday work, child labor, sanitary conditions in tenement-houses and factories, and everything else that influences the moral life of the community—may these organizations cooperate. If the opportunities for service which the ministerial fraternal delegate to the Central Labor Union has presented to him are rightly appreciated and properly employed, there are few positions that offer greater possibilities in bringing men of all classes the message which will bring about a truer spirit of Christian brotherhood. In operation in about 100 cities, the plan is spreading from city to city, until it is hoped that it will become effective in the 600 cities of our country that support central labor unions and ministers' associations. As a practical result of this plan, there is a more cordial relationship between working men and the Church; first, because the minister has a broader conception of what the labor movement stands for; and, sec-

ond, because the labor leader has come to know something of the mission of the Church. The plan has the hearty indorsement of the American Federation of Labor. At its Pittsburg meeting, held in 1905, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor recommends that all affiliated state and central bodies exchange fraternal delegates with the various state and city ministerial associations, wherever practicable, thus insuring a better understanding on the part of the Church and clergy of the aims and objects of the labor-union movement of America.

To further indicate its attitude toward the Church, another resolution was adopted which very strongly commended the Church for its renewed interest in the study of the problems which concern the toilers.

Altogether the outlook with relation to the Church and labor is most encouraging. The question of the workingman and the Church is no longer a problem. It is an opportunity. It is simply another challenge to the Church.

CHARLES STELZLE.

There is, however, another side, not contrary to the foregoing, but to be taken in connection with it.

In 1906 Dr. Josiah Strong wrote in *Social Progress*, of which he is editor:

The most striking fact revealed by the study of these eight denominational year-books is the large and increasing number of barren churches; that is, those which do not report a single addition on confession of faith. The number of barren Congregational churches last year was 2,390, against 2,306 the year before, and 1,632 in 1895. The number of barren Presbyterian churches was 2,270, against 2,024 the previous year, and 1,699 in 1895. The minutes of the Methodist Episcopal conferences do not give statistics for separate churches, but for *charges*, and there are often several churches in one charge. The number of Methodist charges which reported no additions on confession last year was 2,276, against 2,046 the year before, and 1,134 ten years earlier. Both the absolute number and the percentage of barren churches is increasing, having risen in the Congregational denomination from 30.5 per cent in 1895 to 41.0 per cent in 1905.

The increase of barren churches in recent years is the more significant in view of the evangelistic efforts of the last year or two. . . .

From 1800 to 1850 there was a flowing tide of individualistic religion, which swept over an increasing proportion of the population; but from the middle of the century on, the tide ran more slowly, and by 1900 it was practically stationary. We must not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the tide has now turned, and the statistics of the past year show that *it has already begun to ebb*. The estimated annual increase of our population is 2.18 per cent, while the increase of the entire church membership of the United States during 1905 was only 1.69 per cent—the lowest rate on record.

That this falling off in church life is particularly true among the working classes is seen in many facts, among others in what Dr. Strong reports in his *New Era*:

United States

He says that in Brooklyn (the city of churches) the rector of an important Episcopal church said: "On the list of my church members there is not a single workingman." A Reformed Church clergyman: "That is also my case." A minister of a large Congregational church said: "We have one artizan on our list." A leading Presbyterian clergyman added: "Of working men, strictly so called, I have not a single one in my congregation." The total number of the members of these churches was about 2,200, and of these professed believers gathered into church fellowship only one was a workingman.

Says a pamphlet (American):

Much has been said about "reaching the masses" . . . but I am compelled to say the Church *does not want to reach the masses*. The Church wants the classes. . . . The poor are passed by because they are poor, and the rich and well-to-do are sought because they are rich and well-to-do.

Says Richard Heath in "The Captive City of God" (London, 1905):

It is not Mariolatry or Bibliolatry we have to fear—what has desolated the Church and is desolating the Church is the worship of Property.

It was stated, in 1891, at the Congregation International Council, that almost all of the hundred richest men in the U. S. were members or adherents of Protestant churches, and out of the 200 men who possest $20,000,000, or more, 95 per cent were members of Evangelical churches. In the Protestant Episcopal Church, the dioceses of New York, Long Island, Massachusetts, western Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Pittsburg, out of a possible twenty-five lay delegates to the General Convention choose at present thirteen millionaires. The fact that the Church is the church of the wealthy, keeps it from being the church of the people.

This last winter at a Young Men's Christian Association theater service on Sunday afternoon in Brooklyn, the city of churches, an audience of 500 men was asked to show by raising the hand how many had been to church that morning, Twenty-five responded, of which twenty-three were Roman Catholics.

In Great Britain it is perhaps worse. Says Charles Booth (quoted in Haw's "Christianity and the Working Classes":

The general conclusion is that the great masses of the people remain apart from all forms of religious communion.

Mr. Percy Alden, M.P. (long warden of Mansfield Settlement), is quoted as saying:

Great Britain

An intimate acquaintance with many thousands of working men has taught me that, even where there is no hostility whatever to religion, there is a sort of subconscious and unrecognized feeling of antagonism to the Church as an institution or corporate body and to the parson as a paid teacher of religion.

Says the Rev. Arthur Jephson, vicar of St. John's, Walworth:

Why should working people go to church? What have they got to learn there? The Church is largely to blame for the alienation of the working classes. The Church is almost always the friend of the landlord and employer. The Church has allied itself with land and capital, and generally with the master against his workmen. Its clergymen have dined with the rich and preached at the poor, instead of doing the exact opposite.

An editorial in the *Labor Leader* says:

In these later days the Church has fallen into almost obscurity as a power in the moral and civic life of the nation. Its form remains, its habiliments are still gorgeous, but it walks behind not in front of the State, and its gestures and speech are almost unheeded in the great march of the nation."

A Fabian writer shows by an analysis of the votes in the House of Lords that the bishops and archbishops of England have voted "No" on almost every progressive and advance bill.

For the following statistics (as well as for some of our quotations as to the position on the Continent) we are indebted to Richard Heath's "The Captive City of God" (London, 1905).

The religious census taken by the *Daily News* in London, 1902–3, compared with the census taken in 1851 by Sir Horace Man, shows that the population has doubled, but that the total church attendance has fallen from 37.38 per cent in 1851 to 22.44 per cent in 1902. The attendance on the Anglican churches fell from 17.73 per cent to 7.44 per cent. The census also shows that few things are less hopeful as far as the working classes are concerned than the modern mission in

London. In the boroughs of Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Poplar, Stepney, Hackney, Finsbury, Bermondsey, and Southwark, with a population of 1,352,903 persons, the attendance on Sunday services of the Free Church Missions, including those of the Evangelical Mission churches, the City Mission, and the Salvation Army, was (without deducting those who attended twice) somewhat more than 40,000, or about 3.3 per cent of the population, and of these, 22,000, or more than 53 per cent, were children. For Scotland the elaborate statistics published in 1893, by Dr. Robert Howie, show that while the population of Scotland increased 39.3 per cent in forty years, the attendance at its Presbyterian churches had decreased 22.4 per cent.

Scotland

In Germany conditions are the same. Dr. Stöcker, of Berlin, is quoted by Richard Heath as saying:

Nowhere has so great a part of the population broken with the Church. Protestantism is sick, sick unto death. Individual expressions of Christian life are on the increase, but the organized Church is steadily losing influence and respect. . . . In the north and northeast the friends of Christianity are among the aristocracy and among the peasants, while the middle classes, the educated industrial commercial people, as well as the artizans and little tradesmen, are, with few exceptions, opposed to the Church; the working men of the towns, belonging, as they often do, to the Social Democratic Party, being necessarily hostile.

Germany

Pastor Erich Forster, of Frankfort-on-Main, editor of *Chronik der Christlichen Welt*, says:

It is undeniable that the alienation from the Evangelical Church and its worship goes on increasing. In Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the north of Brandenburg, that is, in the most purely Protestant part of Germany, the Church is dead. Worst of all is the condition in the great cities.

Says Paul Göhre in his "Three Months in a German Workshop":

Among the working classes only one quality of religion remains, and that is respect and reverence for Jesus Christ. . . . There is no escaping the conclusion that the materialistic influence of social democracy has nowhere so fundamentally destroyed the received ideas and impressions of the workingman as in the sphere of religion. The old forms and images in which the beliefs of Christendom have hitherto been handed down are, for the bulk of our wage-earners under the capitalistic system of production, forever broken. And with the form, the spirit, which alone is the essence and the work of the form, is for many also gone. A world without God is growing up under our eyes; a world whose horizon is continually growing wider, and whose icy chill and desolation is creeping over many souls who still waver and struggle and despair who in their inmost depths reject the barren teachings of a materialistic philosophy.

Forsaken by their Church, without help, without enlightenment, without support or guidance, surrounded by an atmosphere of socialistic thought from which there is no escape, they are all dying a lingering and often a torturing spiritual death.

Other Countries

Of France, Pastor Elie Gournell says:

Why are people aleniated from the Church? Because its action is neither just enough nor promotive of solidarity. In the sixteenth century we were the vanguard of science, moral action, and faith; to-day we lag behind in the rear-guard.

In Switzerland, Prof. Gaston Frommel says:

The churches are not true churches, only audiences.

Of Holland, Dr. A. Kuyper is represented by Richard Heath (from whose book several of our quotations are taken) as saying in substance:

Orthodoxy in Holland is faced by a destructive criticism subversive of the very sources of Christian faith, by a remodeling of moral ideas, and above all by a social movement, which means nothing less than a total overthrow of the social edifice.

Of the Roman Catholic Church we have few reliable statistics, but of its weakening hold upon the masses in Europe there can be no question. Witness the startling political reverses for the Church in France, Italy, Spain, and Austria. Its very efforts at a so-called Christian Socialism (see Roman Catholic Church; also Christian Socialism) are but efforts to stay the work of the Social Democratic Party, which has taken millions of men from the Church. In Germany the Roman Catholic vote (1907) was 1,375,000. The Social Democratic vote 3,000,000. If in the U. S. the Church of Rome seems sometimes to be gaining, it is only due to the immense Roman Catholic immigration. But the increase of the Church of Rome is less than the Roman Catholic immigration, so that here, too, the Church of Rome is steadily losing ground.

Roman Catholicism

Editor.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND: The relation of the Church of England to social reform is best seen under Christian Social Union; Guild of St. Matthew; Christian Socialism (section England); Church Socialist Society, also Church Army and Church of England Temperance Society. For statements of the failure of the Church of England to reach the masses, see Church and Workingmen (§ 2). To what extent, however, radical thought has entered the Church of England, especially in London, may be seen in the fact that at a meeting of the London Conference in 1906, a resolution indorsing the general principles of socialism was carried by a vote of 58 to 13.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY: Organized 1862, and reformed on the basis of the dual pledge 1873. One of its sections, including the junior department, is composed of those who take a total abstinence pledge. The other section includes non-abstainers, who take a pledge of moderation and cooperate with the abstainers in work for temperance. There is also a woman's union connected with the society. *Address*: 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster, London, S. W., England.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE, THE: English organization, founded June 13, 1906. *Principles*: (1) The Church has a mission to the whole of human life, social and individual, material and spiritual; (2) the Church can best fulfil its social mission by acting in its corporate capacity; (3) to this end the members of the league accept the principles of socialism. *Object*: To secure the corporate action of the Church on these principles. *Methods*: (1) To cultivate by the regular use of prayer and sacraments the life of brotherhood; (2) members undertake to help each other in fulfilling the object of the league by speaking and lecturing and in other ways; (3) members shall cooperate as far as possible to secure the consideration of social questions at their various ruridecanal and diocesan conferences, and the election of Socialists on these and other representative bodies; (4) members shall work for the disestablishment of the patron, and the substitution of the Church in each parish in conjunction with the Church in the diocese in the patron's place; (5) to secure the due representation of the wage-earning classes upon all the official representative bodies of the Church.

A leaflet of the league says:

The league requires its members to be convinced Socialists, in the historical and economic meaning of the word. It is thus a society within the Church, composed exclusively of Socialists.

It accepts the principles that the Church has a mission to the whole of human life, social and individual, material and spiritual; that the Church can best fulfil this mission by acting in its corporate capacity. . . . Whilst the Church has some claim to be the Church of the people, it is notorious that the wage-earners of this country have little or no place in the councils of the Church. The constitution of any diocesan conference or of the Houses of Laymen is the revelation of the Church's preference for rank, position, and wealth. This is as wrong as it is disastrous to the life and influence of the Church. The league will aim at securing the more adequate representation of the wage-earners on these various Church bodies.

Honorary Secretary, Rev. J. H. Hastings, Halton, Lancaster, England.

CHURCH TEMPERANCE SOCIETY (THE): An American society founded in 1881 on the following basis: "Recognizing *temperance* as the law of the Gospel, and *total abstinence* as a rule of conduct essential in some cases and highly desirable in many others, and fully and freely according to every man the right to decide, in the exercise of his Christian liberty, whether or not he will adopt said rule, this society lays down as the *basis* on which it rests and from which its work shall be conducted, a *union and corporation on equal terms* for the promotion of Temperance, between those who use temperately, and those who abstain entirely, from intoxicating drinks as beverages."

Objects: (1) The promotion of temperance; (2) the reformation of the intemperate; (3) the removal of the causes of intemperance.

Lines of Action: (1) Prevention, embodied in the semimilitary orders of Young Crusaders of from eight to sixteen years of age; Knights of Temperance from sixteen to twenty-one years; and Veteran Knights over twenty-one years of age. (2) Counteraction, through the establishment of saloons without liquor. The society has established the *Squirrel Inn* at 131 Bowery, New York, with free reading-room, a library of 1,000 volumes, monthly lectures, and coffee at one cent per cup. It has six lunch wagons, open day and night, from which 355,712 ten-cent meals were sold in 1906. During the summer months the society maintains free ice-water fountains at a cost of about $2,000. It has also a firemen's van, which attends all large fires in the city, supplying the firemen with sandwiches and coffee. (3) Restrictive legislation. Twenty-five years ago the saloon license in New York City was $120, and the trade was controlled by the board of twelve aldermen, of whom nine were interested in the liquor business. The high license is now $1,200, and the number of saloons has been reduced to 6,930. (4) Rescue. The society's offices are always open for the consideration of personal cases of intemperance; and for counseling those who have fallen its victims and needing a home where they will be medically treated and cared for.

The governing board consists of forty members. Chairman, Rt. Rev. Bishop Courtney, D.D.; treasurer, Mr. Irving Grinnell; general secretary, Mr. Robert Graham. Office, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

CIGAR-MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, THE: An American union with highly developed methods of governmental administration and an elaborate system of sick, death, and out-of-work benefits. Moreover, its structure and functions, which exemplify those of the English unions, modified to suit American conditions, have frequently served as models for newer national organizations. The piano and organ workers, for example, have borrowed almost bodily a constitution from the cigar-makers. In 1902 the plumbers adopted their financial system; and various characteristic features have been copied by other American unions.

The cigar-makers were not among the first trades in this country to form local societies. Until recent years it required very little capital for a journeyman cigar-maker to open a shop of his own. The members of the craft, therefore, occupied an independent position, and were able to command good wages without forming unions. A few attempts to organize the trade were, however, made at a comparatively early date. Thus, in 1835, at the time of the agitation among the mechanics of Philadelphia to inaugurate a ten-hour working day, a committee of cigar-makers in that city held a meeting, and adopted resolutions to the effect that the cigar-makers of the city "organize in order to regulate the prices of work, so as to earn a sufficiency on the principle of ten hours." The females engaged in cigar-making were also urged to strike with the journeymen of the trade, and "thereby make it a mutual interest with both parties to sustain each other in their rights." A local society of the trade is said to have been formed at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1843. On May 5, 1851, a cigar-makers' union was organized in Baltimore, Md., then one of the leading centers of the cigar trade. Between 1852 and 1853 about sixty cigar-makers employed in the shop of a manufacturer named Mark Sharkey, in New York City, organized a union. But the English and German members of the society did not harmonize. Suspicion and ill-feeling were engendered, and in about six months the union ceased to exist. Another attempt was made, in 1859, to form a local in New York City. But like its predecessor it went to pieces in a few months on account of internal dissensions.

The Internal Revenue Law, adopted at the time of the Civil War, and particularly the law of 1868, which required every journeyman who desired to manufacture cigars or who worked in his own home to furnish bonds to the amount of $600 on real estate, hastened greatly the unionization of the trade. Most journeymen were unable to pay this bond. They thus permanently became wage-earners, and formed unions to bargain more effectively with their employers. The introduction of the mold, about 1870, the team system of manufacture, and other labor-saving devices have successively lowered the skill required of the cigar-maker, and have made increasingly necessary the organization of the trade.

Revenue Law

A national federation of all local unions was formed in 1864, for the purpose of preventing competition for work between journeymen cigar-makers in different cities, and to regulate nationally the conditions of apprenticeship. Almost immediately, also, provision was made for the support by the national union of locals on strike. A few years later, with the admission of certain Canadian societies, the name Cigar-makers' International Union was adopted. The international organization has maintained a continuous existence until the present day. During the depression of 1873–77 many of the subordinate unions went to pieces; and from 5,800 in 1869 the membership sunk to about 1,000 in 1877. After the depression, however, the union reorganized on a much sounder basis; and most of the features

which characterize the society to-day were adopted at that time. Moreover, the membership has since then maintained a steady growth, and has reached about 45,000 at the present time. Of recent years the cigar-makers have been engaged in a severe contest with the tobacco trust, which has consistently opposed the union from the beginning, and has undoubtedly weakened the power of the locals in many places.

The Cigar-makers' International Union was one of the first American organizations to adopt the various beneficiary features of the English unions. In 1867 an abortive attempt was made to introduce the system of advancing loans to members who wished to travel in search of work. The administration of the loan system was, however, so dishonest that, in 1873, this feature was replaced by the so-called "endowment plan" or death benefit; but under the stress of industrial depression the endowment plan was abandoned. In 1879 the loan system was permanently reestablished, and in 1880 the sick and death benefits were introduced, the Cigar-makers' International Union being the first American organization to pay a sick benefit. This union is also one of the few American confederations that have adopted the out-of-work benefit, which was inaugurated in 1890.

The cost per member for the out-of-work benefit has varied according to the state of the trade, having reached its highest point during the four years of industrial depression from 1894–97. The cost per member for the sick and death benefits has steadily increased. This has been partly due to the fact that the amount of benefit paid in each case has gradually been made larger; partly it is the result of the higher sick and death rate, due, in turn, to the steady increase in the average age of the members—a condition found in all organizations with a slowly growing or stationary membership.

The members who pay fifteen cents as dues receive strike benefits and not more than $50 death benefit. The twenty-cent retiring card holders receive sick and death benefits.

On the side of government and administration, the cigar-makers have, almost from the beginning, employed the system of popular initiative and referendum, and, since 1896, have not held a general representative convention. Amendments to the constitution are proposed by the local unions, and adopted or rejected by a majority vote of the members. The officers of the union have also been elected by popular vote since 1893. The cigar-makers have adopted the English financial system of nationalization and equalization of funds. All funds are made the property of the International Union. They are kept, however, not at central headquarters, but in the treasury of each local union. The local societies are allowed a certain percentage of the total amount in the treasury. The remainder must be expended for activities guaranteed by the International Union. When the amount in any local treasury becomes exhausted, the president of the International Union equalizes the funds, so that there shall be in every local treasury a certain amount for each member.

The union label, the well-known device now used to mark goods made by union labor, had its origin among the cigar-makers. It was utilized by the San Francisco local in its fight against Chinese coolie labor. A little later, a similar label was employed by the local at St. Louis. A label for all subordinate societies was adopted by the International Union in 1880. The fact that working men prefer cigars which bear the union label, is an important source of the union's strength in bargaining with employers.

T. Wesley Glocker.

References: *The Structure of the Cigar-makers' Union*, by T. W. Glocker (contained in the *Studies in American Trade-Unionism*, ed. by Prof. Jacob H. Hollander and Dr George E. Barnett); *The Benefit System of the Cigar-makers' Union*, by Helen L. Sumner (contained in *Trade-Unionism and Labor Problems*, ed. by Prof. John R. Commons); *The Labor Movement, the Problem of To-day*, ed. by George E. McNeill, appendix, pp. 585–595; *Report of the Industrial Commission*, vol. xvii., pp. 280–290.

CINCINNATI: While heralded abroad as "the worst governed city," it is the distinction of Cincinnati to have quite early in its career taken two steps that placed it far in advance of any other city in the world, and which to-day give it a unique position in the family of American municipalities. Behind many others in the extent of its municipal activities, and not even now the theater or the forum for the discussion of municipal ownership and operation, it has in a manner all its own gone perhaps to bolder extremes in this direction than any other American city.

Cincinnati is the only city in America that owns a steam railroad, a road that runs over territory in three states from Cincinnati in Ohio to Chattanooga in Tennessee. Cincinnati is also the only American city that owns and operates a university, altho other cities have colleges and seminaries. Cincinnati, too, was the first American city to establish on a country site a municipal hospital exclusively for consumptives, and it owns and operates this hospital to-day. However, having taken these vast steps, the city would seem to have spent its energy and met its desires in this direction, for its municipal activities, compared with those of other cities, seem to be exhausted as far as innovations are concerned. The fact that Cincinnati built a steam railroad and established a municipal university and a hospital, and yet has since practically halted in the extension of its municipal activities, presents perhaps as strange a contrast of temperaments in a people as history affords. Cincinnati is conservative in the accepted sense and as a normal condition; yet the fact remains that when aroused it has shown a daring and radical spirit not to be found elsewhere. On one notable occasion, when lashed into fury by what they considered repeated miscarriages of justice and a general condition of public debauchery, the people became a "many-headed mob," which placed the torch to its temple of the blind goddess; and in the morning its court-house was a smoldering ruin.

Public Ownership

The story of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad is filled with interest, and not without flashes of romance. Cincinnati, the home of Mrs. Stowe when she wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin," had long been a hotbed of abolition sentiment; and at the conclusion of the Civil War the feeling of the South was bitter against the city. Louisville, Ky., had the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to the south, and was diligent in nursing the trade to that section. It was seen that if Cincinnati was to maintain its commercial and manufacturing position it must regain and develop its Southern relations. As early as 1865 James Dalton, a Cincinnati man, had introduced legislation in the General Assembly for a railroad to

the south, but the people were not then ripe for the venture. However, the matter was taken up by E. A. Ferguson, a Cincinnati lawyer, and in May, 1869, the legislation was passed. This law provided that whenever the city council should declare the necessity for a railroad, and the people on a referendum should approve, the Superior Court should appoint five trustees, and a bond issue of $10,000,000, secured by mortgage and a tax for interest and sinking-fund, should be authorized. This was all done, and the debate as to what should be the southern terminus of the road was eventually decided in favor of Chattanooga. A charter from Tennessee was obtained without much trouble in 1870, but there was considerable delay and difficulty in getting a charter from Kentucky. This too, however, was secured in 1870, and then an act was passed by Congress to allow of a bridge across the Ohio River. New loans of $6,000,000 and $2,000,000 respectively were authorized as the work progressed and the cost found to increase. These several acts were accompanied by the most strenuous debates, and frequently the people were worked up to a great state of excitement. As usual there were charges and countercharges regarding the intelligence and purity of actions and objects of persons. The scheme for a city to build a railroad, and that, too, through three sovereign states, was so novel and unheard-of that naturally it met with the opposition of "constitutional" lawyers, and lawsuits were abundant. But Ferguson and his associates persisted, and in 1880 the road was completed, an event celebrated with a great banquet, bonfires, and ringing of bells. The road was leased, and in 1896 an effort to sell it was defeated on a referendum to the people, altho the most powerful interests were for its sale. In 1901 the people decided on a renewal of the lease, the terms being an annual rental of about $1,116,000, for sixty years. There are also other provisions of a rather technical nature in the lease. If the experience of Cincinnati with the Southern Railroad has not been an unbroken chain of benefits—if there have been disappointments—yet the fact is now undisputed that the worth and wisdom of the venture have been more than demonstrated. It furnishes an object-lesson of what has to be endured as well as of what is to be enjoyed, of the forces that have to be opposed and of the friends to be gained.

As with the Southern Railroad, there are none now who would sell the Cincinnati University, a great institution housed in a series of magnificent buildings, and in which are 1,500 students in the various schools and departments. It has a revenue of about $115,000 from taxation, and about $32,000 from endowments, rents, and fees.

So well satisfied is the city with its hospital for consumptives, that not only is there no whisper of getting rid of it, but plans are now being carried out for its enlargement and improvement. This hospital was started in July, 1897.

These three things accomplished, Cincinnati did little in the way of marked advancement, altho millions have been well spent on the streets, and a new water-works is now practically completed. It was not until about four years ago that the people manifested any marked desire for a larger municipal activity. They could not forever fail to catch the contagion for betterments, and the "new spirit" first manifested itself for improvements in the schools.

Public Schools

As a consequence, the public schools have undergone and are undergoing a transformation in their physical equipment, along with academic improvements that make them the peer of any in the country. The fight was long and bitter. Every influence that could be utilized to prevent this improvement was summoned. The industrious and saving Germans were especially beguiled for a while by "scare talk" about a high tax-rate, and those who pointed to other cities were accused of "knocking the town" and of lacking local patriotism. But the fight was won, and having been won the people wonder that it should ever have been necessary to make it.

The result of the school battle, for such it truly was, has encouraged the people to demand some more evidence of what is sneeringly called "altruism" in the municipal government itself. This demand has in Cincinnati, perhaps more largely than in other cities, taken its most effective form by the alertness of numerous "Improvement Associations," "Welfare Societies," "Taxpayers' Associations," and such bodies as the Business Men's Club and the Associated Organizations, and the central organizations of the Labor Unions. Robert Peel fought the repeal of the Corn Laws for years; but it was Peel, the minister, that had them repealed. So too, in Cincinnati, many of the steps in advance have been made by the politicians who were inert when the people were quiet, but who, under the lash of no uncertain public demand, went forward. There are those who, while unwilling to admit that the so-called reform movement that placed the present city administration in power under the emblem of the Democratic Party did a wise thing, yet say that it was perhaps just as well that the people asserted their power and showed what they could do if they had a mind. If it should be the fate of the political-reform movement to fail totally in gaining the confidence of the people, it appears certain that there will be no lessening of the people's vigilance. What form this will take is of course a matter of conjecture, but the signs now seem to point to the initiative and referendum, with its correlated principles of the imperative mandate and the power of recall. Agitation for direct legislation has recently taken an organized and intelligent course, and its friends feel confident that it will in a few years be written into the law of the state.

Cincinnati organizations that are influential in municipal affairs are:

City Club, United Bank Building.
Vine Street Congregational Church, Vine Street, near Eighth Street.
Associated Organizations, 1250 Harrison Avenue.
Business Men's Club, Vine and Fourth Streets.
University Settlement, Liberty and Plum Streets.
Citizens' Municipal Party, 9 Blymyer Building.
Associated Charities, 304 Broadway.
Commons Club, 621 Walnut Street.
Central Labor Council, 1313 Vine Street.
Chamber of Commerce, Vine and Fourth Streets.
Taxpayers' Association, 2518 Moormann Avenue.
Socialist Party, 304 West Ninth Street.
Hamilton County Referendum League, 34 East Sixth Street.

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.

CITIES: In this article are considered the development of cities, their administration, and matters pertaining to civic reforms. For other civic topics, see OVERCROWDING; CORRUPTION; EDUCATION; EXPENDITURES; LIGHTING; HOUSING; LUXURY; MAYOR; MUNICIPALISM; POLICE; PROSTITUTION; SLUMS; STREET-RAILWAYS; SWEATSHOPS; TENEMENTS; WATER-WORKS.

A city may be defined in general as a large or important town; more accurately, it is an incorporated municipality, usually governed by a mayor, aldermen, and common council. The number of inhabitants required to constitute a city in the United States is usually 10,000, but in some western states it is as low as 3,000. In Great Britain a city is usually a corporate town which is or has been the seat of a bishop.

I.—The History of the City

The origin of cities loses itself in the unknown past. Discoverers, as at Troy, have often found the ruins of one city buried many feet below the ruins of another, these in turn many feet below the present soil. It is doubtful, however, if these early cities from the standpoint of social science had any true civic life. They seem to have been gigantic conglomerations of walled-in populations, ruled by some despot or family of lords or priests, who sometimes, indeed, gave to the city a rude splendor and developed monumental art, yet without allowing the citizens any corporate life of their own. The inhabitants were the slaves of some king or the devotees of some god. It is in Greece that we come to the first actual city in the sense of the corporate unity of citizens. Greek social polity turned upon the conception of the city begun undoubtedly as a colony from some patriarchal clan, but early developing organized democratic life. (See ATHENS.) Many of the cities, however, were long *oligarchies*, and often, even after democratic life had been gained, some family or families would gain the power and establish an oligarchy. Sometimes an individual would gain the power and establish a tyranny, which was, however, personal, rarely inherited. The city was usually supreme, and not a part of any State. It dominated the country around, made treaties, waged war, etc. It was sacred in the eyes of the citizen, his church as well as his home. The city entered into, ruled, and conducted all kinds of activities. It built temples, markets, theaters, gymnasia. It conducted worship, games, instruction. It sent out colonies and ruled commerce. It worked mines, fields, and factories. It supported its free citizens rather than was supported by them. (See ATHENS.) Citizenship was limited, but the assemblage of the citizens was supreme. Often, however, officers were nominally elected who were virtually irresponsible. Next to the citizens came a class of "aliens," subject natives or foreigners, having special rights on payment of special taxes. At the bottom of the whole structure were the slaves. Even a democracy of free men was simply a democracy of slave-owners. Thus at Athens there were at one time at least 140,000 slaves, 10,000 resident aliens, and 21,000 male citizens. (See SLAVERY.) Two gigantic evils resulted: First, danger of servile revolts, which not infrequently broke out with terrible results (see GILDS), and were put down only by relentless cruelty; secondly, class antagonisms were roused between other classes of citizens. (See ROME.) Civil war became the order of the day. The State was either paralyzed by internal conflict or demoralized by corruption. Slavery ate out the life of ancient cities. In the Roman civilization the city gradually lost its sovereignty and became a part of the empire, furnishing the transition to the medieval city.

The Classic City

In the early Middle Ages the city lost power before the military chieftain and the robber castle. FEUDALISM magnified the country over the city. Where feudalism was weak, as in South France or in Italy, or where natural conditions were favorable, as along the Adriatic coast, the Rhine, and the northern coast of Europe, free cities were developed soonest. In the north the struggle of the cities for independence was fiercer, and their development slower, but stronger. They grew by work, by art, by commerce, not by war. All through the eleventh and twelfth centuries they developed rapidly. The Italian republics, the cities of the Hanseatic League, the Flemish and English cities, tho often dominated by a fierce and quarrelsome nobility, tended, on the whole, to develop the rule of the trader rather than that of the noble or chieftain. They became first the creator and then the creature of the gilds. Gradually, as the national life developed itself, the city became but a part of the nation, ready to gain commercial rights and privileges and representation in Parliament, for contributions to the royal treasury. Where the royal power was greatest the cities lost their power first, as in France and England and Spain; later, in Germany and Italy. Free thought, however, developed in the cities, and the Reformation and the Renaissance were largely matters of the city. The medieval city was a democracy more truly than the classic city, but not at all so pervasive. It ruled commerce and trade; it sharply watched the market and attempted to fix prices and to decide industrial disputes, but it did not conduct activities, as did the Greek city. The medieval city was ruled by the individual citizens more than it ruled them. Yet the city played a much larger part in industrial and social life than ordinarily to-day. Mr. Albert Shaw ("Municipal Government in Great Britain," p. 21) gives the following sketch of a medieval town:

Middle Ages

"The rise of town life, which dignified mercantile pursuits and handicrafts, had opposed the system of leagued and equal freemen, of burgesses of incorporated citizenship, to the feudal military system of lordship and vassalage. And this was a great preparatory step toward modern institutions and conditions. We know that there was a certain dignity and form about municipal life that appears well in the retrospect. We have surviving, here and there, a fine old medieval town hall, or gild hall, with its banqueting chamber and its council room. There was much stateliness in the office of mayor; and the old maces of mayoral authority survive to this day. Then there was impressiveness in the liveries that the freemen of the gilds disported on formal occasions. As for municipal conveniences, those were times when life was simple, and 'modern improvements' not so much as dreamed about. The streets were narrow, with the houses built close upon them. The paving was of the rudest character. There was simple surface drainage, and no garbage removal or cleansing system. Water was supplied from a few town fountains or public wells. Street-lighting had not been invented, and early hours were prescribed. Most towns had a skirting of common lands, where the cows were pastured, and where, in many cases, fuel was procured. The houses were, in large part, built of wood; and in spite of vigilant 'watch and ward' and compulsory hearth precautions, destructive fires were not infrequent. The death-rate, of course, was high. There was infection in the wells, and no means of checking the spread and fatality of the frequent 'plagues' that swept the towns. But the science of public sanitation being undiscovered, these things were accepted piously as inscrutable visitations of God."

II.—The Modern City

The modern city is somewhat of a return to the Roman city. It is the creature of the State. The industrial and political revolutions of the last century shattered the ancient rights and privileges of the medieval boroughs and gilds. The city was left with little sovereign power. Nevertheless the growth of the factory system, and, above all, the development of railroads and centers of commerce, have crowded people more and more into cities. Cities have grown in size, but not in corporate power. Hence they have become unwieldy, shapeless, confused, with often little true civic life. The modern divorce, too, between Church and State has at least temporarily hurt the city in a portion of its life. It has given the city responsibilities which it has not always been willing to accept. The poor and needy have been left to seek from confused private charities what formerly they received from the Church as part of the organized city life. The tendency of the well-to-do to leave the city and live in the suburbs; the crowding of the poor in quarters where rent is low, and the grouping of the wealthy in sections where rent is high; the development of parks and other improvements in the latter quarters and their absence among the poor—all these factors have added to the difficulty. The problems of modern city life have thus grown out of the sudden development of cities, without a corresponding development of organic municipal life.

The modern city in England, France, and the United States, markedly, and to a less extent in Germany, is the creature of the State. It can only do what it is chartered to do by the State. It has in some cases almost lost self-government. It fixes its own rates, but often has its taxes collected for it by national officials; it is in many cases responsible for its own peace and order, but has no control over an armed force, and has to ask for help if it requires it. On the other hand, it exercises many local functions which in the Middle Ages were left to the Church or to compulsory or voluntary private effort.

Poor relief, education, sanitation, police, the supplying of light and water, are usually in the

hands of the city, while the conduct of justice, of national defense, of postal communication, and commercial regulation are in the hands of the State.

In the United States

Considering first American cities, we find a general similarity coupled with considerable variety in the details of their charters and constitutions. They are all the creations of the State. The first city in the United States to receive a charter was New York (1686), and the next Philadelphia (1701). In New England the township system prevailed, and Boston was not incorporated till 1820. Each city received a special charter; and, following English models, the charter was given to the mayor, council, and officials, rather than to the citizens. The council was the governing body. Powers were very limited, being confined to few spheres of activity. The city was the instrument of the State; and in colonial days the mayor was appointed by the governor, even down to 1822, in which year mayors were elected in Boston and St. Louis, other cities gradually following suit. Even police powers were limited by inadequate taxation to finance the city. The result was that little attention was paid to city government or its administration. The supply of water and other public necessities was in private hands.

Early States

Nevertheless, cities grew rapidly. The ownership of city franchises became of immense value. They were to be obtained from state legislatures or city councils. The state legislatures were composed of city and country representatives. A representative of some rural district, who perhaps had little business interests at home, could in the legislature cast a vote worth millions of dollars to some corporation. The almost inevitable result was the purchase of votes by the corporations, and their active participation in rural politics to secure representatives favorable to their interests. It has frequently happened that the chairman and the majority of the cities' committees in state legislatures have been rural delegates. Then again, city councils, tho nominally with limited powers and occupying positions not held in esteem (since originally city governments were little thought of), have really been in a position to sell or give away franchises, or to enact provisions of enormous commercial value. This was another incentive to corruption. Both in state legislatures and city councils honest members could make little money, whereas dishonest members could rapidly accumulate a fortune. It was therefore a paying proposition for corrupt rings and dishonest cliques to organize the city politically, and elect their creatures to office. Hence Tammany and the rings which have disgraced every American city. By the same rule, it did not pay honest men to be elected, since, if elected, they had no certain tenure of office, and usually found themselves in a hopeless minority, which could only be a helpless witness to corrupt methods. As a result, generally speaking, the worst citizens have been members of and active in city government; while the best citizens, until recently, have kept out of city politics. By the same system corrupt corporations and dishonest directors who would buy franchises and legislative enactments were favored, while honest corporations and directors were made almost an impossibility. The perfectly natural and all but inevitable result of this has been a corruption of city government unequaled in any other civilized country. Said Mr. James Bryce ("American Commonwealth," vol. i., p. 608):

Corruption

> "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States. The deficiencies of the national Government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the state governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which mark the administrations of most of the great cities. For these evils are not confined to one or two cities. The commonest mistake of Europeans who talk about America is to assume that the political vices of New York are found everywhere. The next most common is to suppose that they are found nowhere else. In New York they have revealed themselves on the largest scale. They are 'gross as a mountain, open, palpable.' But there is not a city with a population exceeding 200,000 where the poison germs have not sprung into a vigorous life; and in some of the smaller ones, down to 70,000, it needs no microscope to note the results of their growth."

Andrew D. White on Corruption

Said Mr. Andrew D. White (*The Forum*, December, 1890):

> Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt. The city halls of these larger towns are the acknowledged centers of the vilest corruption. They are absolutely demoralizing, not merely to those who live under their sway, but to the country at large. Such cities, like the decaying spots on ripe fruit, tend to corrupt the whole body politic. As a rule, the men who sit in the councils of our larger cities dispensing comfort or discomfort, justice or injustice, beauty or deformity, health or disease, to this and to future generations, are men who in no other country would think of aspiring to such positions. Some of them, indeed, would think themselves lucky in keeping outside the prisons. . . . Few have gained their positions by fitness or by public service; many have gained them by scoundrelism; some by crime. . . . It has been my lot also to have much to do with two interior American cities of less size—one of about 100,000 inhabitants, the other of about 12,000. In the former of these I saw a franchise, for which $1,000,000 could easily have been obtained, given away by the common council. I saw a body of the most honored men in the state go before that council to plead for ordinary justice and decency. I saw the chief judge of the highest court of the state, one of his associate judges, a circuit judge of the United States, an honored member of Congress, two bishops, the president and professors of a university, and a great body of respected citizens urge this common council not to allow a railway corporation to block up the entrance to the ward in which the petitioners lived, and to occupy the main streets of the city. They asked that, if it were allowed to do so, it might be required, in the interest of human life, either to raise its tracks above the streets or to protect the citizens by watchmen and gateways, and to pay a fair sum for the privilege of cutting through the heart of a populous city. All was utterly in vain. I saw that common council, by an almost unanimous vote, pass a bill giving away to this great corporation all this franchise for nothing, so far as the public knew, and without even a requirement to protect the crossings of the most important streets; and I soon afterward stood by the mutilated body of one of the noblest of women, beheaded at one of these unprotected street crossings while on an errand of mercy. So, too, in the smaller of these two interior cities, while the sewerage and the streets were in such bad condition as to demand the immediate attention of the common council, I saw the consideration of these interests neglected for months, and the main attention of the council given to a struggle over the appointment of a cemetery-keeper at a salary of $10 a week."

This, however, by no means exhausts all the causes of municipal corruption. Another cause of misgovernment is the uncertainty of responsibility, especially in its executive branches. Various departments, which should work in closest harmony, owe their appointment to as many different authorities; and often not only do not cooperate, but actually pursue cross purposes. Said Mr. Francis Bellamy:

> "At one time Philadelphia was found to be possest by four boards with power to tear up the streets at will, but none

whose duty it was to see that they were properly relaid. Or here is an example of a composite officialdom which may happen any day: a 'citizens' ticket' mayor, a Republican street commissioner, both elected by the people; other appointments filled by men acceptable to a Democratic board of aldermen; a police commission named by the governor, together with the state legislature interfering on occasion. With such a mixture it is not easy to fix responsibility for maladministration. Non-partizan commissions of four members, two from each party, is another favorite and specious arrangement by which the people are prevented from calling either party to account. This non-partizan contrivance is also an open door for the most unblushing division of spoils in the department between the 'workers' of both parties . . . The people of Boston, for instance, do not know [the charter has been now changed.—Ed.] where to lay the blame for many municipal disorders. Mayor and street commissioner, school board, and the two chambers are elected by the people. Treasurer, auditor, superintendent of the streets, and 104 other officials are appointed by the mayor and aldermen together. There are forty distinct executive departments which depend on mayor and aldermen. The police department is controlled by the governor and his council. The state also appoints a fire marshal to investigate fires, while the city-appointed firemen put them out. The various departments are headed by commissions of three or five men, and by another ingenious contrivance these men are appointed by the mayor singly, only one each year; so that the mayor can never control any commission of three until his second year, nor any commission of five until his third year, if he lasts so long. But these are not all the obstacles the people meet in finding out who is accountable. If seven of the twelve aldermen are not in sympathy with the mayor, they can, by dictations or bargains, put such a restriction on his appointments that he finds himself without control of the executive departments of which he is the nominal head. It is, indeed, as an English journal said, 'the craftiest combination of schemes to defeat the will of democracy ever devised in the world.'"

The efforts at reform began with an increased trust of the people. Popular election of mayors was begun in Boston and St. Louis in 1822, and in Detroit and New York in 1834. The council too was modeled after the state legislature and frequently made bicameral, the mayor having a veto power. But these changes produced little result, because they did not in the slightest degree touch the fundamental evils.

Various Theories

The next idea was, because of the corruption of city councils, to minimize their powers, and to create boards appointed by the governor, the legislature, or the mayor—rarely chosen by election. This system probably began with the New York charter of 1849. By 1860 almost all important municipal functions in the chief cities were in the power of such boards, which had little accountability to the people or to the council. They were sometimes self-perpetuating, and their members could be removed only for cause. The result was disorganization and a very divided responsibility. About 1880 the theory came into vogue that to ensure responsibility increased powers should be given to the mayor. He should have large powers of appointment and removal, so that he could be held responsible. This idea was incorporated in the charter of Brooklyn in 1882, and rapidly embodied in the charters of many other cities (New York in 1895). This change was accompanied by the creation of many single commissionerships in place of boards. But the system has not produced large results, and has by no means been copied in all cities. To-day there can hardly be said to be any American municipal system. City charters created by different legislatures vary in every possible way. The tendency has developed to enact laws, not for specific cities, but for grades of cities according to size. But this has had little effect on the larger cities. In California, Missouri, Washington, Minnesota, and Colorado cities have been given the right to frame their own charters; but this right is practically nominal, since the state constitutions largely determine what powers can be adopted.

The American city has only authority in powers enumerated by the Constitution or by legislative enactment. Nor has it any taxing power beyond what the legislature gives it.

In most city charters this financial limitation has also been largely increased by provisions strictly fixing the city's debt limit. These limitations were placed in the effort to restrain the vast and useless expenditures of corrupt and inefficient councils; but they now work to prevent activities for improvements absolutely needed, even when these improvements may in the long run be made very remunerative to the city. It is this provision of most American city charters which often blocks the development of municipal ownership and operation that prevails in Europe. The city having no power to develop such activities, it is left for private corporations to do so; and this naturally tends to stimulate the latter in endeavors to control and debauch legislatures, councils, and city and state politics. Parties need the support of corporations, and their machines therefore become dependent upon these. With little proper civic life, city politics become ensnared with national politics. The effort to prevent this has led to the holding of city elections on separate days from state elections. About 1880 it began to be held that if city politics could be divorced from national politics, great good would result. This was largely emphasized by the New York Commission of 1876, appointed to investigate municipal government. Since then it has been accomplished to a considerable extent, but has been productive of little good. The state still has virtually all the legislative and governmental powers, while the city has only administrative powers; and monster corporations still control legislatures and councils. Preying upon and using ignorant and corrupt masses of voters, these corporations, through rings and cliques, rule our cities.

Reforms

The New York City charter of 1897 marked the beginning of a tendency to increase the power and responsibility of the city council; and the revised charter of 1901 actually removed many of the checks placed upon the council's actions. Mr. Dorman B. Eaton argued that a council could be non-partizan, a mayor never. Other reforms have been agitated. Quite recently Iowa, California, Nebraska, and South Dakota have granted to local legislative authorities the right to refer questions to the people of the localities. (See DIRECT LEGISLATION.) In order to take the nominating power from the machine leaders, Minnesota (1900–1902) adopted a system of direct nominations, and other states are following suit. The latest idea is the so-called Galveston idea. See GALVESTON.

Above all a spirit of reform has entered into civic life. Men of character and position (such as Mr. Seth Low, Mr. Roosevelt, and others), have entered into city politics, and have taken office. National conferences for good city government became important in 1894. A NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE was founded, and also a LEAGUE OF AMERICAN MUNICIPALITIES. Local citizens' unions and municipal leagues have been formed in all the principal cities. (See under the head of the several cities.) Reformers have appeared, who are willing to unearth and expose corruption at any cost. The results have not as yet justified

the hopes of these reformers. Undoubtedly something has been accomplished; but too often the uprisings of indignant citizens have been but temporary, and at the next election the reformers have been defeated by the experienced work of corrupt machines. Many are coming to believe that there can be no permanent reform until the system has been changed whereby gigantic corporations owning or desiring franchises of enormous value are given such inducements to corrupt legislatures and councils. Public-ownership parties are therefore being formed in many cities; and in Chicago and New York these parties have already polled formidable votes. (See Chicago; New York; Public Ownership.)

Great Britain

The city in Great Britain, because of the early development of a central government, as compared, for example, with Germany and Italy, never attained in medieval times the same independence as some of the German and Italian cities; but, on the other hand, it has never been so completely subordinated to the State as many continental cities, because the administrative system of the English Government has never been largely centralized. The administration of justice and the preservation of peace were administered by the city, tho regarded as functions of the state government. The cities, however, had little or no political life of their own, and were constantly used, first by the crown, then by the nobility and gentry, and later by national political parties to control Parliament. The cities, or boroughs as they were usually called, were incorporated through a grant of the crown to each locality of an especial charter. These charters were given, not to the people living in the district, but only to the municipal officers, or perhaps including a very narrow border of freemen. The corporation usually consisted of mayor, aldermen, and councilors. The charters were distinctly oligarchic, and the sphere of action was very limited. Not the council, but special parliamentary trusts or commissions conducted such functions as the paving, lighting, and even the watching of streets. The administrative degradation of the city was complete.

Beginnings of Reform

Modern municipal reform in Great Britain begins with the Scotch Municipal Government Act of 1833, and in England with the Municipal Reform Bill of 1835. These bills were consequent upon the great Reform Bill of 1832 reconstructing the parliamentary boroughs. They admitted to burgess rights all property owners and all occupiers of rented property valued at £10 per annum. These remained substantially in force till the Act of 1882 consolidated all acts bearing on the subject into one municipal code. By the Local Government Act of 1888, cities having over 50,000 inhabitants became distinct counties for administrative purposes. Under these bills and some special bills enlarging their functions England's towns exist to-day. It has been said that the whole substance of British municipal government is condensed in the following clause:

"The municipal corporation of a borough shall be capable of acting by the council of the borough, and the council shall exercise all powers vested in the corporation by this act or otherwise. All that the burgesses have to do is to elect the councilors, and they do the rest."

No attempt is made by law to secure amenability of the council to the popular will, except through public opinion. The position of the councilor is made one of power and of honor, and the result has been that the council is usually composed of the best citizens, instead, as is too often the case in America, of the worst. The council divides itself into committees, and each of these has control of some civic department. The people control the council, the council the committees, the committees the departments. Members of the council serve without pay; and are therefore not prompted to seek election by motives of pecuniary gain. For this reason, if for no other, they are usually men of position and of character. For councilors on the various committees and for heads of departments it secures the best citizens, thus obtaining an honest and efficient administration. Also the officers of the departments are appointed by the council, and with no legal requirements as to length of time of office or of qualifications. Thus the councils can choose the best, and good men can be retained. Hence continuity of effective administration. The entire administrative force is out of politics, national and local. The most important office is that of clerk of the corporation, often a life position.

Any burgess is eligible to the council. In addition, property and rate-paying qualifications admit to eligibility suburbans who live beyond, but within 15 miles from, the limits, yet have their business interests in the town. The councilors are elected for three years, and one third of them retire annually. The aldermen (or those councilors who rank next to the mayor, and who are also police judges), and mayor are an integral part of the council, the law stating specifically that "the council shall consist of the mayor, aldermen, and councilors." Aldermen are elected by the council, and hold their office six years. They are one third as many as the councilors. Half the aldermen retire every three years. The mayor is elected by the council from among the aldermen or councilors or persons qualified to be such.

The English franchise is very complicated and very different in different portions of the United Kingdom. The franchise is often different for parliamentary, town-council, school-board, and parochial-board elections. It turns on the household rather than the individual. Mr. Shaw says ("Municipal Government in Great Britain"):

The Suffrage

"The English municipal electorate excludes in practise nearly all the unmarried men, all floating laborers and lodging-house sleepers, and nearly all the serving class. Furthermore, in judging of the political effects of the extension of the franchise to the humblest householders, it must be borne in mind that the exploitation of the votes of the ignorant, vicious, and indifferent in English cities by demagogs or party agents is so extremely difficult that it does not count for anything at all in election results. The extraordinarily severe laws against bribery, direct and indirect, apply to municipal elections, and it is next to impossible to get a British voter to the polls who does not contemplate the contest with some glimmering of interest and intelligence. In Scotch towns the slums do not vote, because they evade the rate collector and are not registered. In English towns, altho registered by canvassers, they do not care about voting, and are a neglected field so far as political missionary work goes. The organized working men vote, of course; and they seem to vote with more intelligent and distinct purpose than any other class in the community. Of the women rate-payers nothing is to be said except that their voting is variable, sometimes being high in proportion to their numbers, and sometimes low, depending upon their interest in particular candidates or special issues. Their disposition to espouse party causes seems very marked, but it is not to be relied upon as unthinking or as oblivious of the qualities of candidates. Obviously, the franchise needs simplification, altho for municipal purposes it is difficult to see what desirable end would be gained by changing the principle from that of a household franchise to a personal one."

Such is a general view of British civic administration. The recent growth of the cities has, however, developed new needs, and new problems; but these, on account of their importance, are

best treated under special heads. (See Local Government; Municipalism; Municipal Trading; School Question in Great Britain.)

Germany

Municipal structure in Germany varies somewhat in different states and in different cities, yet has everywhere certain similar characteristics. In Prussia it is based on the Stein and Hardenburg reforms of the early part of the century. The Prussian franchise, both in the municipalities and in the kingdom, is based upon a division of the population according to the taxes paid. The wealthiest class, which pays one third of the taxes, has one third of the suffrage. The middle class, which pays a second third of the taxes, has another third of the power; while the remaining third is left to the whole remainder of the population. In the constitution of the empire, however, and in many German cities, outside of Prussia, the franchise is based on manhood suffrage as demanded by the revolutionists of 1848. In all cases, however, the city council (*Gemeindwalt*) has the municipal power. Its members are usually elected for six years, one third going out of office every two years. The executive power is exercised by the burgomaster or mayor and a body of department chiefs, called magistrates. These are elected by the council, and have practically a life tenure. They are selected for expert knowledge and ability. A city will sometimes advertise for an experienced mayor. The magistrates are either highly salaried men or men of position who serve without salary. They form a council called the *Magistratsrath*. With this constitution in all German cities, the council, through the burgomaster and magistrates, conducts the city government as a father would a household. The city can do anything that it is not forbidden to do—the reverse of the American theory. It is supposed to do all that is necessary to the best interests of the community. The cities as a rule furnish their own water supply, gas, and electric lighting. They strictly rule the running of the horse-cars, etc. They build and maintain baths, lavatories, abattoirs, markets, savings-banks, pawn-shops, etc. They care minutely and effectively for sewerage, street-paving, cleaning, and lighting. German cities provide systematically, too, for the relief of the poor. The cities are subdivided into districts, with a visitor for each. Workpeople must be insured by the municipalities or the state; compulsory education is provided at low rates; manual training and gymnastic drill is a part of the education. German cities are thus households, carefully watched, regulated, kept clean and healthful. Taxation is generally not high, no small portion of the municipal revenue coming from municipal activities or franchises, carefully sold at rates very favorable to the city corporation. (See also Berlin.)

Organization

The following from Dr. Wilms Erster, Mayor of Posen, gives a favorable idea of German civic administration:

> In Germany to-day everything is planned by the municipalities with a view to general harmony. Factory, business, and housing districts are conformed to special needs. The height of the houses in proportion to the width of the street, and the utilization of building sites are restricted to admit light and air. Ordinances govern the height of rooms, the number of windows per room, substantial construction, etc. The pavement of the streets is suited to the character of the surrounding neighborhood. Careful attention is given to the future erection of public buildings, play-grounds, and recreation centers. Artistic effect is always sought. Municipal building here takes the initiative and influences private enterprise. When property is bought for building purposes, the plans showing the front of the building to be erected must be submitted to the authorities for approval. The disfigurement of street fronts by bill-boards is regulated.
>
> Sewage pipes receive street drainage as well as house sewage. Some cities separate the drainage from the sewage system. Pipes conduct the sewage outside of the city limits and utilize or dispose of it in various ways. Berlin and Breslau carry it through fields, where it is used for fertilizing and manuring. In other cities the pipes empty into rivers after their contents have been clarified. This process is costly and difficult, forcing the towns to acquire large areas to fertilize them with this waste.
>
> The larger cities have, almost without exception, hygienic institutes where all questions relating to the public health of the city are studied. The interest of the authorities in the promotion of public health has led to a considerable decrease in mortality during the last decade. In the seventies the death rate was 35 to 40 per 1,000; to-day the average has decreased to 20 per 1,000. In cases of contagious diseases prompt notice to the Board of Health is compulsory. All premises are disinfected by the Board of Health, and the poorer classes are not charged for fumigation. In some cities, as for instance, Posen, disinfection is free for all classes.
>
> The inspection of foods, such as milk, butter, and meat, is in charge of the Board of Health.
>
> Public swimming and shower baths are provided.
>
> Consumptives are cared for in homes for consumptives, and persons suffering with incipient consumption are sent to forest colonies. Those unable to pay for treatment are placed in these institutions at the expense of the city or State. Asylums are provided for the feeble-minded. Any one who, on account of illness or incapacity, cannot support himself, receives relief from the Poor Department, in case the sickness, old-age, invalidity and accident insurance does not provide for his maintenance or the support received is insufficient.
>
> The departments of education of the various communities and cities provide public, elementary, and high schools. Special schools and institutes give courses in the building-trade and machine-shop training. Cities engaged in special industries, such as textile, ceramic, woodwork, etc., have special schools. There are further arts and craft schools for women. When the public-school education of the child is completed, the continuation school must be attended, etc. In the upper grades the girls are taught cooking.
>
> For the laboring classes, people's restaurants and coffee-houses are opened, which, at the same time, serve as substitutes for the saloons.
>
> For instruction and information in legal matters, many cities maintain bureaus and consulting stations.
>
> Even the very smallest city runs its own slaughter-house. Every slaughter-house has a special department for the microscopic examination of pork.
>
> Nearly all cities own their own water-works. Gas-plants are in most cases owned by the city. These add largely to the city's income. The water-supply is not regarded by the city as a business enterprise, inasmuch as a higher rate would interfere with its free consumption. The cost to German cities for maintaining water-works is greater than in American cities; therefore the rates charged are somewhat higher, and the average consumption consequently less. Electric-lighting plants are only partly municipalized. The tendency in this respect is, however, in favor of municipalization. Cities are urged to erect plants where as yet no electric-lighting plants exist; even to erect such plants in competition with private enterprises. Competitive plants may be successfully started where private plants are operated, by withdrawing from the corporation the privilege of using the streets for conducting electricity, either above or below ground.
>
> Street railways are only partially municipalized. In many cities these are operated by private corporations. These corporations then receive franchises from the cities to lay tracks, and in return for this privilege they, in the first place, maintain part of the street in proper condition, and, secondly, pay the city annually either a certain stipulated sum or a fixt percentage of the earnings. Many cities reserve the right to determine the fares to be charged. Almost every city has its own municipal theater, and most of the large cities have their own concert halls, conductor, and orchestra. Everywhere, in large cities and small towns, the authorities have expert economists working out the social, industrial, and economic problems confronting the cities in every phase of human progress.

France

The French municipality is intimately connected with the old communes or townships, which in the early history of France won a high degree of local autonomy, and played no small part in the national history. (See France and Social Reform.) These ancient communes,

however, had gradually lost all autonomy, and become but administrative parts of the absolutism of the Louis. The Revolution instantly liberated them, but under Napoleon, as First Consul (1800), they again became but units of his highly centralized system—a system, however, with some attempt at justice and freedom. Changing with the changes of France, the communes at present, under the third republic, have considerable local power, yet are by no means free from the control of the central government. The Act of 1884, which is virtually the act under which they exist to-day, increases the local powers of the communes materially, yet leaving very much to be desired by the radicals and Socialists, who in France, more than in most countries, center their ideals around the autonomy of the old communes. According to the present system, some of these communes are municipalities, some of them rural townships. According to the present law, they are governed by a mayor, with his executive assistants, and a council. The council elects the mayor, and the council is elected by manhood suffrage in the communes. The councilors hold office for four years, and all retire together. The council holds four regular sessions a year, lasting from fifteen days to six weeks, tho the mayor may call extra sessions. The council appoints consultative committees, but the mayor has all executive power with his assistants. He has the appointing power, subject to the approval of the prefect of the department, the representative of the central government. The council has large authority in the levying of taxes, voting of public works, etc., but usually subject to the approval of the department authorities.

Paris has in many ways less local autonomy than any other city in France. In the Revolution she gained her old communal freedom, and has at every revolution, but it was taken away by the various imperial governments, and has only been partially granted by the republic. Paris is still largely governed by the prefect of the department of the Seine, and his colleague, the prefect of the police. The city is divided into twenty arrondissements, and in each there is a central building called the *mairie*, the bureau of an officer called the *maire*. There is, however, a municipal council with considerable power, and the tendency is to develop municipal self-control.

Statistics

One of the prominent facts in the nineteenth century was the drift of population in all countries into the cities. The following tables are compiled, except for their latest figures, from Weber's "Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century":

Growth of Cities (Population in Thousands)

City	1800	1850	1890	1900
London	958	2,362	4,211	4,536
New York	62	660	2,740	4,014
Paris	546	1,053	2,448	2,714
Berlin	173	378	1,578	2,033
Tokio	...	...	...	1,818
Vienna	232	431	1,341	1,674
Chicago	...	30	1,099	1,698
Philadelphia	81	408	1,047	1,293
St. Petersburg	270	490	1,003	1,373
Constantinople	300ô	400ô	873	1,125
Moscow	300ô	360ô	822	1,092
Bombay	150ô	560ô	821	1,125
Rio de Janeiro	125ô	170ô	800ô	872
Calcutta	800ô	400ô	741	776
Hamburg[1]	120ô	205	711	750
Manchester[2]	90	388	703	543
Buenos Ayres	70ô	120ô	677	1,000
Glasgow	77	329	658	735
Liverpool	82	376	518	684

[1] Including Altona. [2] Including Salford.

Some Comparative Statistics[1]

City	Population	Area acres	Density per acre.	Death-rate	Annual expenditure	Per capita cost	Debt
London	4,654,437	75,575	61	16.6	$82,000,000	17.62	$378,278,250
New York	4,014,000	197,760	20	18.2	156,000,000	38.94	459,000,000
Paris	2,714,000	19,259	142	17.2	65,000,000	24.09	400,000,000
Berlin	2,033,000	15,676	130	16.9	45,000,000	22.1	87,000,000
Vienna	1,674,000	43,980	38	18.3	32,932,614	19.07	.....
Chicago	2,050,000	121,920	17	16.2	64,104,166	31.27	20,200,000
Philadelphia	1,500,596	82,880	18	21.2	46,874,326	31.25	61,137,000
St. Petersburg	1,487,000	71,679 (with suburbs)	20	23.7	9,250,000	6.22	.....
Hamburg	872,000	94,693	9	17.9	25,280,000	29.0	.....
Manchester	631,185	19,893	31	21.3	.....	.....	.....
Glasgow	798,778	12,796	63	21.2	.....	.....	.....
Liverpool	710,337	17,792	40	22.6	.....	.....	11,126,950

[1] The items are not all for the same year, tho all for recent years and the financial items, like Annual Expenditure and Debt, are not all estimated on the same basis, yet do in a general way present a real comparison.

The foregoing table of comparative statistics has, however, very little value, unless rightly interpreted, and may very easily completely mislead. The relative population and acreage of cities mislead unless one knows to what extent populous suburbs are included in the city area. New York vastly increased her population in 1898 by including Brooklyn and other boroughs, and becoming "Greater New York." Density per acre may be still more misleading, because of variations in different sections of a city. New York appears in this table with a low density per acre, but this is only because large areas as yet little occupied are included in the city limits. As a matter of fact certain sections of Manhattan Island, where is found a large portion of New York's population, has a greater density than any city in the world. Death-rates may also mislead, tho to a less extent. An average general death-rate may conceal a very high death-rate among the poorer classes, balanced by an unusually low death-rate among the more prosperous classes. Similarly with comparative financial statements. Annual expenditures and municipal debts have very different real values, depending upon what they represent. A city making large expenditures

and carrying a large debt may be in a very much better financial condition than a city with a small expenditure and debt, because the former represents revenue-bringing investments, while the latter do not. Some city governments are expensive at any price; others cheap at any ordinary cost. This distinction generally speaking is against American cities as compared with European, because American cities have few revenue-bringing properties, while European cities often have many.

POPULATION IN CITIES OF 100,000 OR OVER

COUNTRY	1800 [1] Total population in such cities	Per cent of population of country	1850 [1] Total	Per cent	1900 [1] Total	Per cent
United States	.....	0	1,393,338	6.0	14,208,347	18.6
Canada	.....	0	0	0	397,870	7.4
Great Britain and Ireland	1,032,745	9.7 [2]	4,791,886	22.5 [2]	13,193,487	30.5
France	767,386	2.8	1,656,900	4.6	4,876,869	12.2
Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria	186,380	1.8 [3]	617,000	3.1 [3]	9,108,814 [6]	16.1 [6]
Holland and Belgium	217,622	11.5 [4]	518,587	7.3 [4]	2,337,714	19.4
Spain	167,607	1.4	683,921	4.4	1,606,699	8.7
Portugal	350,000	9.5	275,286	7.2	447,417	8.9
Italy	800,000	4.4	1,425,000	6.0	3,318,939	10.0
Austria	282,000	2.6	484,942	2.8	2,452,351	9.3
Hungary	.....	0	156,506	1.3	505,763	2.6
Greece	.....	0	0	0	111,485	4.5
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark	100,975	0 [5]	123,123	0 [5]	878,069	8.8
Russia	595,000	1.4	1,123,698	1.6	5,723,918	5.3
	4,448,000		13,249,987		58,567,788	

[1] Approximate date. [2] England and Wales. [3] Prussia. [4] Holland. [5] Sweden. [6] Germany.

POPULATION IN CITIES OF 20,000 OR OVER

COUNTRY	1800 [1] Total population, etc.	Per cent	1850 [1] Total	Per cent	1900 [1] Total	Per cent
United States	201,416	3.8	2,271,680	9.8	20,795,716	25.2
Canada	0	0	175,287	7.4	689,448	11.9
Great Britain and Ireland	2,283,868	16.9 [2]	7,640,912	35.0 [2]	21,000,000	48.3
France	1,840,386	6.7	3,811,500	10.6	8,668,036	22.2
Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria	845,500	6.0 [3]	2,784,000	7.8 [3]	14,300,000 [6]	25.4
Holland and Belgium	721,342	24.5 [4]	1,382,703	21.7 [4]	3,587,525	28.9
Spain	1,112,877	9.7	1,489,688	9.6	3,600,000	19.3
Portugal	380,000	10.3	415,286	10.7	470,606	8.7
Italy	1,000,000	0	2,500,000	0	5,000,000	15.1
Austria	449,000	3.5	720,548	4.2	4,044,000	14.1
Hungary	228,000	2.3	526,602	4.5	1,709,698	8.5
Greece	31,125	0	0	0	212,762	8.8
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark	173,627	3.0 [5]	297,795	3.4 [5]	1,233,326	12.2
Russia	1,088,000	2.4	2,530,954	3.5	10,792,247	8.4
	10,355,141		26,546,955		96,103,364	

[1] Approximate date. [2] England and Wales. [3] Prussia. [4] Holland. [5] Sweden. [6] Germany.

STATISTICS OF CITIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

From the Municipal Year Book, 1906

CITY	Population	Acres	Ratable value	Rates	Debt
				s. d.	
London	4,536,541 [1]	75,520 [1]	£40,657,819	7 1½ [2]	£75,655,660 [3]
Birmingham	522,204	12,639	2,885,345	....	.....
Bradford	285,589	22,843	1,538,870	8.4	.....
Bristol	358,515	17,004	1,769,584	....	6,551,161
Cardiff	164,333	8,408	1,096,696	....	3,302,210
Hull	258,127	9,202	1,160,820	7 10½	2,623,061
Leeds	456,787	21,572	2,075,905	....	10,726,384
Leicester	211,579	8,586	1,083,457	7.4	4,749,742
Liverpool	710,337	17,792	4,114,876	7 8⅞	2,225,390
Manchester	631,185	19,893	4,083,119	8 0½	.....
Newcastle	264,511	8,453	1,614,097	5.8	2,971,662
Norwich	111,733	7,582	436,126	9.10	803,559
Nottingham	251,677	10,935	1,196,074	7.6	5,471,462
Plymouth	116,000	2,533	1,061,696	7 7½	1,995,521
Portsmouth	201,975	5,861	933,790	6.4	.....
Salford	231,514	5,202	1,023,499	7.10	3,559,298
Sheffield	440,414	23,622	1,689,994	....	8,550,458
Southampton	114,897	5,817	561,771	8.7	1,131,122
Sunderland	146,077	3,739	700,935	6.11	1,307,218

[1] Administrative county of London. [2] Average rate in the London county parishes, 1904–5.
[3] Total stock and loan debt of London county council from which most of the local authorities secure loans, 1905.

STATISTICS OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Compiled (except as stated) from Bulletin 50 (1906) of the U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor

CITY OR MUNICIPALITY	Date of latest incorporation	POPULATION Estimated as of June 1— 1904	1907[8]	Acres	Payments (1904)	Assessed property[8] in millions $1907	Realty[8] in millions $ 1907	Tax-rate[8] 1907	Payments for protection of life and property	Health and sanitation	Charities and corrections	Education	Municipal industries	Receipts from liquor licenses and taxes	Debt less sinking-fund assets
Grand total...	.....	21,557,248	.....	2,052,831.4	$1,023,590,388	.. ..	.....	....	$78,445,056	$28,232,188	$19,116,208	$91,027,456	$41,842,821	$28,837,420	$1,228,216,933
Group I[1]	.....	11,748,082	.....	771,489.4	696,508,679	.....	.....	.....	51,860,100	19,531,788	13,301,955	54,972,764	27,631,565	17,630,215	805,086,563
Group II[2]... ...	.....	4,045,169	.....	433,050.9	157,780,070	.....	.....	.....	12,381,018	3,914,290	3,000,886	15,841,096	5,937,203	5,293,481	190,582,733
Group III[3]... ...	.....	3,211,614	.....	427,023.7	98,197,237	.....	.....	.....	8,296,678	3,040,875	1,814,447	11,548,344	4,666,984	3,351,472	136,051,049
Group IV[4].....	.....	2,552,383	.....	421,267.4	71,104,402	.....	.....	.....	5,907,260	1,745,235	998,920	8,665,252	3,667,069	2,562,252	96,496,588
New York, N. Y..	1901	[7]3,888,180	4,152,860	209,218.1	398,786,011	6,305	5,738	....	21,834,596	8,470,250	6,699,543	24,874,455	12,487,896	5,914,807	440,334,904
Chicago, Ill.....	1837	1,932,315	2,050,000	114,932.3	64,104,166	413	303	7.00	5,982,705	1,761,032	354,242	7,528,937	2,327,425	3,814,005	63,194,193
Philadelphia, Pa...	1854	1,392,389	1,500,596	81,828.0	46,874,326	1,250	248	1.50	5,441,142	2,158,706	1,419,705	5,006,244	4,167,097	1,835,000	64,827,789
St. Louis, Mo.....	1876	624,026	750,000	39,276.3	23,870,979	499	409	2.19	2,982,162	1,339,928	752,598	2,117,245	1,285,456	1,307,295	21,389,977
Boston, Mass.....	1854	[7]588,482	607,340	24,613.0	46,958,920	1,289	1,044	1.59	3,501,919	1,834,542	1,774,188	3,958,421	3,103,861	1,093,137	63,658,388
Baltimore, Md....	1898	538,705	500,000	19,290.2	16,278,998	595	306	2.16	1,686,783	585,567	484,386	1,548,431	930,607	431,524	23,605,106
Cleveland, Ohio...	1836	425,032	525,000	22,180.4	15,262,789	215	155	3.19	1,230,025	355,972	292,210	1,842,645	606,975	526,120	20,424,587
Buffalo, N. Y.....	1832	[7]372,033	400,000	26,884.0	16,235,961	268	247	2.52	1,607,790	370,351	132,592	1,466,896	646,865	615,241	18,209,713
San Francisco, Cal.	1900	360,298	375,000	29,760.0	12,668,414	376	276	1.79	2,158,968	419,035	484,409	1,385,617	.....	264,600	5,605,600
Pittsburg, Pa.....	1816	352,852	400,000	18,161.2	13,583,798	475	475	1.25	1,334,131	611,101	139,270	1,434,380	532,215	508,712	18,694,623
Cincinnati, Ohio...	1819	341,444	450,000	27,182.9	14,335,002	230	182	2.60	1,193,742	405,227	470,971	1,157,254	850,000	418,257	31,759,899
Detroit, Mich.....	1883	[5]317,591	400,000	18,560.0	8,191,012	305	212	1.47	1,242,346	350,582	134,196	1,136,505	487,072	324,727	5,467,824
Milwaukee, Wis...	1846	[7]308,343	355,000	14,003.0	9,722,981	201	157	2.43	932,158	534,770	19,097	984,252	178,629	417,190	9,069,541
New Orleans, La...	1896	305,132	375,000	125,600.0	9,635,322	208	136	2.80	731,633	327,825	144,548	531,482	27,467	159,600	18,853,419
Washington, D. C.	1878	298,050	330,000	38,406.4	13,819,454	268	239	1.50	1,537,546	550,502	923,938	1,641,390	170,771	458,849	14,288,369
Newark, N. J.....	1857	[7]272,950	303,000	14,081.6	18,879,836	190	153	1.74	926,159	337,732	221,859	1,195,611	721,561	360,200	17,701,514
Minneapolis, Minn.	1881	[7]250,122	275,000	31,621.6	5,711,437	167	.....	2.55	642,254	174,816	99,787	1,047,983	237,797	402,867	8,105,163
Jersey City, N. J...	1871	[7]227,445	245,000	9,163.0	10,216,990	168	.....	2.49	695,325	102,367	49,916	662,063	639,402	274,014	15,708,461
Louisville, Ky.. ..	1893	219,191	245,000	13,093.5	6,683,097	142	95	1.80	603,500	181,626	181,247	560,597	282,090	136,465	7,827,490
Indianapolis, Ind..	1891	204,772	240,000	18,762.2	3,325,120	148	107	2.13	550,866	157,691	66,535	741,919	27,527	183,850	4,766,147
Providence, R. I...	1832	[7]194,027	200,000	11,355.1	8,555,980	225	170	1.65	808,926	246,755	105,726	840,776	423,215	185,145	13,476,205
St. Paul, Minn....	1854	[7]190,231	198,000	33,388.0	5,212,035	102	.....	2.96	414,536	146,762	50,623	657,026	204,811	379,000	8,958,514
Rochester, N. Y...	1834	[7]177,228	200,000	11,408.4	9,765,012	135	.....	1.93	549,791	279,630	95,349	572,338	327,846	192,812	11,151,566
Kansas City, Mo..	1889	176,168	250,000	16,743.0	7,535,166	107	.....	1.35	629,915	152,043	69,759	855,554	435,580	160,897	7,481,734
Toledo, Ohio.....	1851	150,594	184,740	16,450.0	3,560,671	73	.....	2.98	328,982	99,406	32,470	447,219	144,975	134,346	6,686,423
Denver, Col.....	1893	148,714	200,000	37,348.0	6,822,903	115	.....	3.25	545,304	134,219	207,819	928,392	27,005	255,380	4,217,343
Allegheny, Pa.....	1840	140,456	150,000	4,726.0	4,434,920	95	.....	1.40	386,429	154,807	82,060	495,383	395,134	176,025	7,814,986
Columbus, Ohio...	1834	138,796	179,370	10,176.0	9,347,141	82	.....	3.30	348,182	71,787	32,432	493,960	295,544	111,620	6,841,315
Worcester, Mass...	1848	[7]126,192	132,000	23,683.0	5,067,739	123	.....	1.66	385,294	206,972	194,616	646,339	367,784	151,614	5,627,672
Los Angeles, Cal..	1889	([6])	290,000	27,399.1	5,803,576	202	190	1.16	447,701	137,694	11,980	702,298	181,846	256,995	5,596,982
Memphis, Tenn....	1879	117,452	175,000	9,771.9	2,180,973	63	.....	1.78	304,270	103,396	37,621	187,925	289,849	19,550	6,081,403
Omaha, Neb.....	1897	116,963	150,000	15,380.0	4,497,243	106	.....	1.40	323,412	69,516	1,968	445,854	2,822	435,000	6,977,961
New Haven, Conn.	1784	116,827	130,000	11,460.0	3,381,539	110	.....	1.35	375,599	81,439	91,738	463,903	648	161,244	3,623,404
Syracuse, N. Y....	1847	[7]115,374	120,000	10,639.0	6,167,744	90	.....	1.74	375,659	171,659	110,877	488,591	257,279	146,946	7,957,387
St. Joseph, Mo.....	1885	112,979	115,000	6,080.0	1,525,714	32	.....	1.30	181,725	33,826	14,361	226,321	2,880	81,427	1,984,608
Scranton, Pa.....	1866	112,334	125,000	12,186.1	1,706,182	65	.....	1.10	169,375	43,019	98,616	406,261	756	174,000	2,043,678
Paterson, N. J.....	1871	[7]110,257	120,000	5,157.0	5,989,716	89	.....	1.78	317,827	87,149	78,963	359,246	912	136,750	4,048,330
Fall River, Mass..	1854	[7]105,582	112,000	21,722.0	3,770,545	83	.....	1.84	294,305	97,591	140,626	395,770	184,990	154,685	3,951,698
Portland, Ore.....	1903	101,398	161,205	22,850.0	3,819,337	135	.....	4.87	238,136	91,886	.....	378,377	314,179	163,800	7,664,380

[1] Cities of 300,000 or over. [2] Of 100,000–300,000. [3] Of 50,000–100,000. [4] Of 30,000–50,000. [5] State census. [6] No estimate. [7] Based on twelfth and State census of 1905.
[8] From reports of the mayors of the respective cities in the *World Almanac*.

OTHER STATISTICS—1903.

CITY OR MUNICIPALITY	Patrolmen and officers	Arrests			Marriages reported [3]	Divorces granted.[3]	Death-rate (not including still-births)	Permits for new buildings	
		Total	Drunkenness	Homicide				Number	Proposed expenditures
New York, N. Y.	7,854	175,871	(1)	(1)	38,174	1,087	18.2	7,206	$112,004,027
Chicago, Ill.	2,875	77,763	[2]40,796	139	20,698	1,816	15.3	6,221	33,447,175
Philadelphia, Pa.	2,510	75,699	37,821	68	10,816	627	18.8	3,585	27,461,165
St. Louis, Mo.	1,292	25,524	5,201	66	6,723	646	18.2	3,142	11,494,478
Boston, Mass.	1,225	43,033	27,792	22	6,640	507	17.9	726	.....
Baltimore, Md.	932	28,150	3,573	43	5,396	203	19.1	1,617	5,397,831
Cleveland, Ohio	435	22,250	12,535	45	5,435	583	16.6	1,873	5,458,535
Buffalo, N. Y.	730	20,185	9,119	13	3,732	158	15.4	1,523	5,142,025
San Francisco, Cal.	676	30,851	15,704	46	4,602	1,528	21.3	1,756	13,559,427
Pittsburg, Pa.	467	31,251	17,290	21	3,606	329	21.7	2,194	13,961,484
Cincinnati, Ohio	516	13,642	2,011	20	1,804	370	18.8	563	3,801,695
Milwaukee, Wis.	347	5,666	2,197	6	2,789	286	13.1	1,257	4,653,739
Detroit, Mich.	528	8,978	2,320	8	3,889	529	15.8	2,894	6,345,700
New Orleans, La.	287	16,046	4,576	67	2,303	158	22.3	1,138	2,912,480
Washington, D. C.	686	29,483	5,233	12	3,641	135	20.3	1,878	12,104,992
Newark, N. J.	435	7,394	1,914	26	3,250	75	18.5	1,695	5,473,779
Jersey City, N. J.	375	6,625	3,458	14	2,144	(1)	18.9	496	2,760,557
Louisville, Ky.	296	6,945	1,269	27	2,489	310	18.6	1,230	1,711,196
Minneapolis, Minn.	208	5,289	2,549	...	2,490	293	11.6	1,799	4,822,235
Indianapolis, Ind.	177	8,294	1,611	17	2,637	427	15.8	2,529	3,031,292
Providence, R. I.	305	11,257	6,361	4	2,238	236	20.9	654	3,321,900
Kansas City, Mo.	233	(1)	(1)	(1)	2,377	545	17.4	1,452	5,980,050
St. Paul, Minn.	178	4,933	2,141	...	1,757	155	10.4	884	3,050,244
Rochester, N. Y.	193	5,404	1,825	3	1,635	47	14.9	550	1,694,792
Denver, Col.	149	9,838	1,923	36	2,177	406	18.4	1,608	4,360,812
Toledo, Ohio	133	4,359	319	4	1,435	321	14.7	.....	.....
Allegheny, Pa.	128	4,381	915	1	952	....	19.0	484	1,844,775
Columbus, Ohio	93	4,655	1,137	11	2,058	289	16.9	1,529	3,909,189
Worcester, Mass.	146	5,761	4,034	7	1,428	82	16.4	423	2,080,029
Los Angeles, Cal.	130	10,390	5,417	5	(1)	476	26.3	5,228	12,510,355
New Haven, Conn.	163	5,246	2,711	3	1,144	100	17.0	246	1,461,151
Syracuse, N. Y.	124	4,730	2,040	...	768	45	14.2	270	1,461,070
Fall River, Mass.	111	4,704	2,476	3	1,369	59	20.5	268	897,050
Memphis, Tenn.	91	6,054	1,609	24	1,730	272	17.8	939	1,368,004
Omaha, Neb.	88	9,400	3,733	4	1,384	350	9.7	329	962,602
Paterson, N. J.	104	2,477	983	4	(1)	111	15.4	198	758,450
St. Joseph, Mo.	62	3,869	1,063	2	993	149	6.5	437	817,267
Scranton, Pa.	70	2,649	1,708	2	709	106	14.9	398	1,528,877
Lowell, Mass.	115	4,034	2,664	...	1,026	61	19.4	74	227,100
Portland, Ore.	82	8,347	2,999	5	1,331	180	12.7	1,630	4,280,156

[1] Not reported. [2] Includes arrests for disturbing the peace. [3] In many cases data are for county.

REFERENCES: John A. Fairlie, *Municipal Administration* (1901); F. J. Goodnow, *City Government in the U. S.* (1904); Frank Parsons, *The City for the People*, (1899); *Proceedings of Conferences*, National Municipal League; C. M. Robinson, *Modern Civic Art* (1903); *The Improvement of Cities and Towns* (1904); Albert Shaw, *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (1895); *In Continental Europe* (1895); Josiah Strong, *The Twentieth Century City* (1898); A. F. Weber, *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899); Delos F. Wilcox, *The American City* (1904); Charles Zeublin, *American Municipal Progress* (1902).

CITIZENS' INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE: An outgrowth of the feeling that labor-unionism has taken on certain features which operate most injuriously to the general interest and which need correction. The fact that in all labor disputes, however brought about, the public must foot the bills and suffers from consequent derangement of business, loss of employment by the working classes, etc., suggested the idea that an organization which should comprize all classes of society was necessary to meet these conditions. Employers and strikers alike have been prone to disregard the interests of any one, except themselves, in case of a controversy.

The Citizens' Industrial Association is not opposed to labor-unions. It recognizes the value of organizations of working men, not only to themselves but to the general welfare. But many of the practices of modern unionism are directly opposed to that welfare, are extremely harsh in their operation upon working men who do not belong to the unions, and establish unjust conditions, as by a limitation of output, whereby working men who are members of the union are restricted to the amount of work they may do in a day, by restricting apprenticeship until it has become practically impossible for more than one out of eight of American-born boys to learn a trade, and by denying forcibly, and by violence very frequently, and sometimes by murder or manslaughter, the right of working men not members of the union to accept employment when and where they please and on such terms as suit them and thus to earn their living by the labor of their hands. The resulting assumption of the labor-unions that they must be permitted to control the labor market and dominate all transactions between employed, employers, and the public is regarded as un-American and the practical establishment of a trust which is more mischievous in its operations and more threatening to the best interests of the common people than any other in existence. It is unfortunate that the management of labor-union forces has fallen into the hands of a class of men not of the highest intelli-

gence and patriotism, who in seeking the advancement of their personal interest, as such leaders have misled their followers (the majority of whom are really at heart good and patriotic citizens) to the support of methods which cannot be justified.

For these reasons the effort was entered upon some four years ago to unite the people who are not members of the union and to set their strength over against that of the labor organizations in order to secure the correction of the evils referred to. This it was felt was not only required on behalf of the members of the unions themselves, but emphatically necessary for the protection of the people. And to that end the cooperation of not only employers and working men but also of professional men, of merchants, of farmers, of clerks, and the vast multitude who are not affiliated with labor organizations has been sought.

The census of 1900 gave 29,000,000 as the number of working men, wage-earners, etc., in this country. It is reasonable to assume that by this time the number has reached 32,000,000 at least. The leaders of what may be termed the Labor Trust do not claim that the membership of the unions amounts to more than 2,000,000, and yet they assume to speak for the other 30,000,000, assume to dictate as to the employment of the other 30,000,000, and assert the right to control relations between labor and employers. The result is, so far as the latter point is concerned, that by the unwise increase of wages brought about by force and duress, and not by natural operations of normal conditions, the cost of living to all has been enormously increased with no resulting benefit to the members of the Labor Trust (whose living expenses have been also forced up with the increase of wages, that is, the increase of the cost of production), while the burden has fallen with tremendous weight upon many millions who find no increase in their own incomes to correspond with the greater cost of living thus brought about.

There are between 400 and 500 local associations throughout the country, in at least forty-three states and all of the territories, which are in affiliation with this National Association. These local associations run from a hundred or more up to several thousand in membership each. The St. Louis local association, for instance, has a membership of over 8,000 and is rapidly increasing. By its influence it has succeeded in giving industrial peace to St. Louis where three or four years ago the most violent demonstrations were characteristic of labor strikes, where the commerce and business of the city was held up at the mercy of the leaders of the strikers to the infinite loss of the community in general.

The work of the extension of the influence of the association is going steadily forward in all parts of the United States, is being emulated in Canada, and has been imitated in Great Britain by the recent organization of a British Citizens' Industrial Association, modeled upon the principles of the American institution. This system of meeting organization with organization is the first practical effort that has been made at reducing the undesirable conditions established by the Labor Trust. In politics the unions have been accorded an undue weight because of the fact of their organization as a compact body operating as a trained and disciplined influence, while the great mass of the voters had no organization outside of political parties.

Activities

The officers of the association are Mr. C. W. Post, who was elected last December for the third time to the position of president, Messrs. James W. Van Cleave (president of the National Association of Manufacturers), first vice-president; F. C. Nunemacher, second vice-president; A. C. Marshall, third vice-president; James A. Emery, Esq., secretary; and Major A. C. Rosencranz, treasurer, with an executive committee of ten members comprizing leading business men representing the large cities and manufacturing centers of the country. The association has its headquarters in the St. James Building, Twenty-sixth Street and Broadway, New York, and publishes, as its national organ, a monthly magazine known as *The Square Deal*, which is used chiefly as an educational instrumentality and which carries at its head the following platform of principles:

No closed shop.
No restriction as to the use of tools, machinery, or material except such as are unsafe.
No limitation of output.
No restriction as to the number of apprentices and helpers, when of proper age.
No boycott.
No sympathetic strike.
No sacrifice of independent workmen to the labor-union.
No compulsory use of the union label.
"I find every one of these principles to be in defense of private and public liberty."—*Charles W. Eliot, President Harvard University.*
That power through organization be placed in the hands of the people to effectually control the acts of all organizations when such acts relate to the public welfare, thus to perpetuate the individual liberty of every citizen and prevent interference with the continuous operation of industries.

WILSON VANCE.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM: The Civil Service of the United States includes all public employments which are not military or naval. It may be divided into two parts—the political and the non-political. The political part comprizes the positions which are essential to carrying out the policy of the administration which has been approved by the people at the polls; and the non-political part embraces the positions which are subordinate and ministerial. This last part is strictly a business agency with no representative political character or significance, and civil service reformers aim to purify politics by the removal from political contests of all inducement of office-seeking in these business agencies, and to make the tenure of office in them independent of party changes by putting them under the protection of law. They urge the adoption by legislation or executive action of rules for the regulation and improvement of the public service and for aiding appointing officers in choosing candidates for appointment upon a merit instead of a party basis. While it is obvious that a public office belongs to the people, that its duties are fixt by law and its salary paid by the people, yet owing to the infirmity of human nature the power of patronage tends to be exercised for personal and partizan gain. The reform rests upon the theory that a public office is a public trust and that a president, governor, or mayor in making appointments must not, therefore, himself profit directly or indirectly, in his own person or through the advancement of any other individual or party organization, in administering his trust, and he must himself conduct this administration and not hand it over or farm it out to others. The use of patronage by an appointing officer to strengthen himself in his faction or his faction in his party or his party at the polls is, upon this theory, an

abuse of trust and a form of bribery. The reform, therefore, does not merely propose the establishment of a system of mechanical examinations to test fitness for appointment, but aims at the eradication of the doctrine that offices are party spoils for the victors. A reform in this regard is deemed by its advocates to be vital if the government is not to break down under its work. Under the spoils system the government cannot deal worthily with the problems presented by the growth of industrial combinations, the tariff, the currency, and the regulation of public utilities. Business has attained a high economic organization with which law and administration have not kept pace. Governments are outgrowing their shell and are called upon to do more things and do them better than formerly. The number of public employees is increasing more rapidly than population, due to the assumption of functions that have heretofore been neglected or left to private enterprise. The task of solving these new problems and of administering government efficiently and economically needs the aid of men of as good abilities as the great captains of industries, men trained in administration and fit to be the dispensers and instruments of the power of society, who will administer their trust in the interest of the whole people and not pervert it to the interest of a faction or for corrupt ends.

The reform of the civil service is chief among the great administrative reforms for which the nineteenth century is distinguished. No other reform has made such rapid progress or reached such a stage of general acceptance. It has been found the necessary basis and means of effecting other civic reforms. The history of European countries during the century exhibits social transformations arising from the improvements which have been effected in their administrative machinery, and our country advances as fast as civic spirit and conscience gain the strength and find ways to overcome the forces which would debauch and dishonor it. Party leaders in all countries have used the power of patronage in aid of their own power or that of their party, and their followers appointed to office have regarded their allegiance and efforts as due to them rather than to the government. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the party system reigned in the civil service of Great Britain and state employments were treated as the assets of the party in power and available for party purposes. This feudal administration of the government demoralized the public service and public spirit and is said by Trevelyan to have been one of the efficient causes of the American Revolution. The founders of our government, in breaking away from the mother country, sought to escape the evils of the patronage system; and the purity of the early administrations was such that during the first forty years after the establishment of the Constitution the appointing power was exercised in the spirit of Washington, who declared that nothing would procure an appointment but evidence of ability, integrity, and fitness. The intent of the Constitution, that office should be held during good behavior, was during this period given thorough and practical effect. The spoils system had its beginning in the laws of 1820 and 1823, causing a departure from the traditional policy. It rapidly became the practise to regard these four-year tenure offices as agencies not so much for the transaction of the public business as for the advancement of political ends. The public service, from being used for political purposes, came also to be used for currupt purposes, frauds and defalcations were common, and the public duties, where not entirely disregarded, were negligently and inefficiently performed. The saturnalia of spoils and corruption culminated in the assassination of President Garfield.

The tide of corrupt practises in Great Britain began to turn with the growth of a better sentiment during the reign of George IV., and a merit system of selecting candidates for office began in a small way in 1834. In 1855 a uniform system of competitive examinations was established, effecting a sweeping reform, which has proved permanent and salutary. In our own country in 1853, the same year with the passage of the India Act, and in 1885, laws were passed providing for an examination before an appointment in any of the executive departments. These pass examinations proved inadequate, as they had also in Great Britain, and while useful to a degree, they failed to remedy the evils at which they were aimed. In 1864 Senator Sumner put the reform sentiment of our country into a bill which he introduced in the Senate. A somewhat similar measure was introduced in the House of Representatives in 1867 by Mr. Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island, followed by a comprehensive report presented by him from a joint committee of the two houses of Congress. These bills failed, probably because public sentiment had not been sufficiently awakened, and because their provisions were regarded as too radical and sweeping.

The Commission of 1871

In his annual message of 1870 President Grant recommended legislation, and a commission was established in 1871 of which Mr. George William Curtis was chairman. He was shortly succeeded by Mr. Dorman B. Eaton. An appropriation was made by Congress during two years for carrying the law into effect. Competitive examinations were enforced under rules applying to promotions as well as to original admissions. In the same year President Grant, in a message to Congress, urged that an appropriation of $25,000 be made to continue the system. Congress refused to make the needed appropriation, partly because of the inherent defects of this meager law and the partizan hostility to it. President Grant was obliged to arrest the work of the commission in 1875, and the efforts for reform in a large measure failed, tho the good effects of the examinations were beyond question. In 1877, and again in 1879, President Hayes requested Congress to make the necessary appropriation for the resumption of the work, and he established rules under which competitive examinations were enforced at the New York custom-house and post-office.

Public opinion, which had been diverted from the growing evils in the civil service by the Civil War and the problems arising out of it, was now turned to the imperative need of reform. The voice of the people was unmistakable, and on Dec. 15, 1880, Mr. Pendleton, a Democratic senator from Ohio, presented in the Senate a bill which was in substance and in nearly all of its provisions the same which had been originally presented in the House by Mr. Jenckes. In the debates upon this bill its advocates declared that it would "vastly improve the whole civil service of the country," which they characterized as being at that time "inefficient, expensive, and extravagant, and in many instances corrupt." The bill

became a law on Jan. 16, 1883. It aims to eliminate patronage and political and personal favoritism in appointments, thus taking out of political contests all inducement to office-seeking, and preserving the independence of the legislative and executive departments. It provides for the appointment of three commissioners, not more than two of whom shall be adherents of the same political party, and makes it the duty of the commission to aid the president as he may request, in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect. The act requires that the rules shall provide, among other things, for open competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants, the making of appointments from among those passing with the highest grades, an apportionment of appointments in the departments at Washington among the states and territories, a period of probation before absolute appointment, and the prohibition of the use of official authority to coerce the political action of any person or body. The act also provides for investigations touching the enforcement of the rules and forbids, under penalty of fine or imprisonment or both, the solicitation by any person in the service of the U. S. of contributions to be used for political purposes from persons in such service, or the collection of such contributions by any person in a government building.

Legislation in 1883

The first parts of the service classified embraced the departments at Washington and the custom-houses and post-offices having as many as fifty employees, applying in all to less than 14,000 positions. A committee of Congress, composed of eight Democrats and five Republicans, in June, 1884, made a unanimous report in which it declared itself "entirely satisfied with the thorough, conscientious, and non-partizan work of the commission," and added that the continuance of its work would in a large degree aid in eradicating the prevalent evils in the civil service. In the second year the new system was subjected to the severest test of its vitality. A party which had been out of power for twenty-four years refused to treat the New York custom-house and post-office as party spoils. Notwithstanding the change of power and the fact that the new party had been out of control of the offices for a quarter of a century, the new system was enforced, and the number of places subject to it nearly doubled. In 1886 direct assaults to annul the law failed in both houses of Congress. In the same year President Cleveland commended the cause to the liberal care and jealous protection of Congress. He said that the scheme for reform in the methods of administering the government was no longer an experiment, and that wherever the reform had gained a foothold it had steadily advanced in the esteem of those charged with public administrative duties, while the people who desired good government had constantly been confirmed in their high esteem of its value and efficiency. Several large extensions of the classified service were made by President Cleveland in 1888, as also by President Harrison in 1891. In 1896, during President Cleveland's second term, the number of classified positions was increased by executive order from about 43,000 to about 87,000. Under President McKinley the merit system was applied to additional customs ports, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and under President Roosevelt to the rural delivery, census bureau, field employees of the War Department, the Spanish War, forestry and Isthmian canal employees, and to laborers. The rules were revised and strengthened under President Roosevelt and a marked improvement effected in their observance; the number of excepted positions has been reduced, notably higher positions in the customs service and deputy collectors of internal revenue, and a merit system applied to the consular service.

Congressional Committee of 1884

There are about 325,000 positions in the executive civil service, of which 184,178 are classified subject either to competitive examination under the civil service rules or to a merit system governing appointments at navy yards. In the latter class are about 18,000 workmen. The total expenditure for salaries in the executive civil service is about $200,000,000. Laborers and persons nominated for confirmation by the Senate are exempted from the requirements of classification. Within these limits certain classes of positions are excepted from examination. Examinations are held in every state and territory at least twice a year. They range in scope from technical, professional, or scientific subjects to those based wholly upon the age, physical condition, experience, and character as a workman of the applicant. During the year ended June 30, 1906, 117,277 persons were examined and 39,050 were appointed. In 1900 the Philippine Commission passed a civil service act and in the same year the federal civil service act was extended to Hawaii and Porto Rico. The Philippine act is based upon the federal act and goes much further in giving powers to the commission. There are no excepted positions in the Philippines and natives are preferred in appointment.

Statistics

The competitive system has proved infinitely better than the patronage system. It has produced great economy and efficiency, and the public service has been improved in honesty and general character. Unnecessary positions created for parasites have been abolished. Improved methods of business have been rendered possible by the stability given to the service. Superfluous work is no longer devised to create places for favorites. Employees, released from political and personal obligations, are required to do more and better work. Thus a very great economy has been effected and vastly more is being done in aid of the public welfare, in promotion of the ends for which government is constituted. A marked result is found in the elevation of the tone of official life. The holding of office within the merit system, instead of being a makeshift or a refuge, is regarded as a worthy career that may be attained by self-respecting methods. In time office-holding may be regarded as one of the most important and desirable of professions when freed from the subserviency, discreditable partizan work, and solicitation by which office is gained and held in parts of the service outside the merit system and when promotion is possible to higher administrative positions.

The merit system has not been carried as far in this country as in Great Britain and in several European countries. Postmasters, collectors of customs and internal revenue, and other heads of offices and bureaus are appointed by the president subject to the confirmation of the Senate and are therefore not required to be classified. These offices continue to be political agencies and their occupants being active working politicians are

greatly aided by the power of their offices in affecting the political prospects of leaders in their districts. Thus the Senate becomes actually, if not formally, a nominating body and holds to the powers thus acquired by individual senators. The ultimate and complete success of the merit system depends upon the prohibition of a party test in appointments to these purely administrative business offices.

State Civil Service

The abuses which have been largely corrected in the federal service continue to exist in some of the state governments and especially in the governments of many of the large cities. Fitness for office has been subordinated to a party test, political assessments levied, employees coerced in their political action, and municipal contracts and jobs distributed as political favors. These abuses have been partly corrected by the adoption of the merit system for minor non-elective offices in several state and city governments. The success attending the reform in the federal service has led to its adoption in the program for the reform of state and municipal governments. The federal civil service law and a state law in New York were approved in 1883, a law in Massachusetts in the year following, and laws in Illinois and Wisconsin in 1905. In Massachusetts civil service rules prevail everywhere. In New York a second law in 1884 extended the system, and since 1894 it has been entrenched in the state constitution and applied to villages, all the cities, and, in 1906, to four counties. In Wisconsin, in addition to other state employees, the rules apply to legislative employees. The first municipal civil service rules in the U. S. were established in Brooklyn in September, 1884; the second in New York City in November, and the third in Buffalo in December of the same year; and the cities of Massachusetts followed in 1885. There have been setbacks, but in those cities the system is now successfully enforced. In Buffalo, for instance, more than four fifths of the municipal offices in all departments are under rules which are well administered. There are now seven cities outside of New York and Massachusetts which have a complete merit system: Chicago (1895), Milwaukee (1895), Seattle (1896), Los Angeles (1903), Portland, Ore. (1903), Denver (1904), and Philadelphia (1905). In addition to this list there are some states, cities, and towns where a partial merit system has been established, or where a system has been established and then abandoned. In 1885 Illinois passed an admirable act, not applying to the state service, but permissive for towns and cities, under which Chicago and Evanston adopted rules in 1885, and Cook County, Rockford, Aurora, and Elgin in 1903. The state charitable institutions of Indiana have been made non-partizan by voluntary action of the boards. San Francisco secured a measure of reform by a charter passed in 1900, but it is now held unconstitutional as to certain county offices. In most of the large cities and in many small ones examinations are held for the police and fire departments and for teachers. In 1903 Ohio passed a municipal code, the provisions of which appear to be meager and inadequate and cover only the health, police, and fire departments. Under this law Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Toledo have rules in those departments. In New Jersey in 1905 a law was passed providing for rules in the police and fire departments of cities of the first class. The revised charter of New Orleans has a semblance of the merit system, and there have been creditable but only partially successful or wholly unsuccessful attempts to establish rules in Atlanta, Memphis, Minneapolis, Galveston, Tacoma, Jacksonville, and Duluth, and in Michigan, Kansas, Maryland, and Texas. The application of the merit system to state and municipal governments has proved successful wherever it has been given a fair trial, and numerous and important improvements have been introduced in the more recent legislation permitting the remedial action to be more drastic, reaching to the heart of abuses and effectually stopping them.

References: Eaton, *The Civil Service in Great Britain, A History of Abuses and Reforms, and their Bearing upon American Politics* (New York, 1880); Curtis, *Addresses on the Reform of Civil Service* (vol. ii of Orations and Addresses, 1895); Salmon, *Syllabus for the Study of the History of Civil Service Reform*, and other pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association (55 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston); Fairlie, *The National Administration* (New York, 1905); Fish, *The Civil Service and the Patronage* (New York, 1905); Goodnow, *Principles of Administrative Law* (New York, 1905); Tyler, *Parties and Patronage in the United States* (New York, 1891); *Reports of Civil Service Commissions*; publications of the National Civil Service Reform League (79 Wall Street, New York City).

John T. Doyle,
Secretary, U. S. Civil Service Commission.

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT ASSOCIATION: The United States Civil Service Retirement Association was organized in Washington, D. C., in the spring of 1900. The association has collected and tabulated numerous data bearing upon the subject of superannuation, in the service of this and foreign governments, and in the service of private enterprises; has endeavored to stimulate thought upon this subject, by means of investigations into the real conditions and giving the same publicity, public meetings, which have been addrest by men high in official life, and by correcting, wherever necessary, false impressions that have gained credence as to the labors, lives, compensation, cost of living, etc., of the civil service employees of the government; and it has also been in constant touch with actuaries, in an endeavor to formulate a plan under which superannuated employees may be retired with pay, such compensation to be derived from a fund constituted by assessment upon the salaries of those in the civil service.

The committee's labors resulted in the presentation of a draft of a bill to the President of the United States in May, 1906. The main features of this bill provided for an assessment of 5 per cent upon the salaries of civil service employees and the retirement of said employees, upon reaching the age of seventy, on a retired pay equal to one eightieth of the employee's average salary for the ten years preceding retirement, for each year of service. The bill also provides for retirement on account of disability, without respect to age, at any time after the employee has had ten years of service, on the same basis.

The present membership is about 18,000. Jacob W. Starr, of Camden, N. J., is president, and David D. Caldwell, of Peoria, Ill, secretary. *Address*: P. O. box 37, Washington, D. C.

Jacob W. Starr.

CLARK, EDGAR ERASTUS: Member of the Interstate Commerce Commission; born at Lima, N. Y., 1856. He attended school until sixteen years of age; commenced work on railroad in

1873; became a member of the Order of Conductors in 1885, and was chief of his local division for several terms. In 1888 he was a delegate to the international convention, and in 1889 was elected second vice-president of the Order of Railway Conductors. The following year he was elected chief executive, and held the office continuously till appointed by President Roosevelt in 1902 a member of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, giving most active and valuable service in that important and difficult cause. Clark is a member of the National Child Labor Committee, the National Civic Federation, the American Institute of Social Service, and the Academy of Political and Social Science. Mr. Clark believes in the organization of labor on protective lines, but approves of the strike only as a last resort. He is a strong advocate of arbitration in industrial disputes. He has written "Articles and Papers on Labor and Sociological Subjects." *Address*: Washington, D. C.

CLARK, JOHN BATES: Professor of political economy; born at Providence, R. I., 1847; educated at the public high-school, Brown University, Amherst College (Ph.D., LL.D.), Heidelberg University and University of Zürich. He traveled as a student and tourist in France, England, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, returning to America in 1875. He has held the chair of political economy and history at Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.; that of history and political science at Smith College (1881–92); and that of political economy at Amherst (1892–95); and is now (1907) professor of political economy at Columbia University. He has been lecturer on economic theory at Johns Hopkins University, and president of the American Economic Association. He is perhaps best known for his writings upon Wealth (see Capital). His main writings are: "Philosophy of Wealth"; "Capital and Its Earnings"; "The Distribution of Wealth"; "Essentials of Economic Theory"; "Control of Trusts"; and "The Problem of Monopoly," in addition to numerous articles in economic reviews and journals. *Address*: 616 West 113th Street, New York.

CLARKE, LADY JANET: President of the Australian Women's National League, Victoria. She is interested in all questions affecting the welfare of women, is prominent in philanthropic movements, and rendered active assistance to the Melbourne University Fund (1904–5). In 1890, mainly through her munificence, Trinity College Hostel was supplied with a permanent building erected within the college precincts, and called The Lady Janet Clarke Building. *Address*: Cliveden, East Melbourne, Victoria.

CLARKSON, THOMAS: English philanthropist and abolitionist; born in 1760. He commenced his life-work in 1825, while at Cambridge, by writing a prize essay against the principle of slavery. He secured the cooperation of WILBERFORCE, who undertook the parliamentary campaign. Clarkson became one of the leading members in the antislavery society formed in 1823. His benevolence led him to take part in many other philanthropic endeavors, most notably in providing homes for sailors in the English seaport towns. Among his works may be mentioned: "Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave-trade"; "History of the Abolition of the African Slave-trade"; "The Cries of Africa to the Inhabitants of Europe"; and also the "Grievances of our Mercantile Seamen a National and Crying Evil." He died in 1846.

CLEVELAND, OHIO: Has been well characterized as a city finding itself. A city of broad areas, with plenty of room to grow, it is only within the last few years that it has come face to face with metropolitan problems.

Cleveland, of New England origin, with New England ideals, was founded in 1796 by General Moses Cleaveland, acting for the Connecticut Land Company. The Western Reserve, of which Cleveland is the metropolis, was sold to this company by the State of Connecticut, and the proceeds were applied to the fund which is still used in the support of the common schools of that state. In 1840 the population had reached 10,000; in 1860 it was less than 50,000. At this time the New England traditions asserted themselves. Cleveland was one of the strongholds in the antislavery movement and was an important station on the underground railroad. In 1880 the population was barely 160,000; now it is approximately half a million.

History

Prior to 1891 the government was chaotic. It consisted of the council and mayor, whose powers were modified by numerous boards or commissions, created in various ways. Irresponsibility was largely the result. The so-called federal plan, introduced in 1891, was an attempt to adjust the English parliamentary forms to city affairs. This charter was worked out by a committee of the chamber of commerce. The mayor, with the chief executive officials of five departments, appointed by him, became the repository of all the administrative authority. These officials had a unique privilege, that of a seat and a voice in the council. The mayor exercised the veto, subject to an overruling by a two thirds vote of the council. The chief opposition to the plan was the possibility it gave for a powerful machine, but in this case the mayor, who might become the boss, was at least a responsible boss, instead of an outside and irresponsible one, as is usually the case. This plan, successful on the whole, was overturned in 1902, and the city was given a mixed product, which was a partial return to the old system of the divided responsibility.

The city has come to be essentially independent in local elections, and the principle, city before party, is becoming increasingly prevalent. The merit of individual candidates is being more and more considered, as is shown by the frequent election of Democrat officials in a Republican city. The Municipal Association is undoubtedly to a large extent responsible for this independent spirit. This association examines the individual merits of candidates irrespective of party, and its recommendations are coming each year to have a greater force.

Early in its history the city was prominent in its charities and philanthropy. Its orphan asylums, relief associations, and missions were numerous, but it is only within the last few years that any definite coordination and cooperation has been in existence. This has been brought about largely through the efforts of the Associated Charities and the chamber of commerce. The Associated Charities is a clearing-house for all charitable efforts, particularly in the form of re-

lief, and through this means duplication of effort is rapidly being eliminated. The Associated Charities has a department of relief in which intelligent investigation is the vital principle and where the principle that charity is "love with discrimination" is the key-note. Included in this department is special effort for the tubercular. The organization conducts, also, an employment department, a lodging-house, a wood yard, a penny savings-bank, a system of friendly visiting, and numerous other activities.

All of the Jewish charitable institutions in the city are affiliated through a federation which collects and disburses all funds for the support of these organizations. The Catholics conduct numerous orphan asylums and other organizations upon a high grade of efficiency. The Visiting Nurse Association provides nurses for any who are unable to pay for this service, and this undoubtedly is one of the best of its kind in the country. There are several settlements doing efficient work. One of these, the Hiram House, is following the plan, as far as possible, of having its residents live in small houses of the grade of those in the neighborhood, thus getting closer to the life of the people in the district. Numerous orphan asylums, fresh-air camps, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Anti-tuberculosis League, the Cleveland Day Nursery and Free Kindergarten Association are important factors in social welfare. The Juvenile Court, working in close cooperation with other organizations, is resulting in a constant decrease in juvenile delinquency in crime.

An opportunity for social service study is given through the Social Service Club, the Council of Sociology, and various women's organizations. The colleges of the city and the high schools are also paying especial attention to the subject.

The city government is now developing a "farm colony." This consists of 1,900 acres, ten miles from the city, laid out as a beautiful estate by a landscape gardener. In one section is an open-air tuberculosis hospital, in another is the city infirmary, where the poor and helpless are housed in separate cottages. In an entirely separated section is the workhouse, while the city hospital and other buildings are being planned for. This farm also contains the city cemetery. A large proportion of the work in preparing the land and in building is being done by the workhouse prisoners. These prisoners build their own houses and support themselves, and during their leisure hours they are permitted to work on individual lot-holdings, and produce that which will be placed to their credit as a protection against relapse, or for the maintenance of their families. In connection with the workhouse the brotherhood is conducted. This was founded upon the initiative of released workhouse prisoners, and its aim is the friendly assistance of newly released men until they are able in turn to help others. The city has also founded the Cleveland Boys' Farm, an institution of several hundred acres where boys who are homeless and neglected or delinquent through the influence of their surroundings may find the influences of a home. The boys are housed in families with a matron at the head of each family who is very properly designated "Ma," and who fully lives up to the responsibility thus placed upon her.

The chamber of commerce may well be considered the center of the civic life of Cleveland. In connection with many commercial interests, it carries on a department which embraces every form of civic activity. The chamber is responsible for the plan by which the city hall, the county court-house, the federal building, public library, the union depot, and other public and semi-public buildings will be grouped about a common center. The plan opens on the lake front and in this center will be a broad mall, 600 feet wide and adorned with statuary, fountains, lagoons, and sunken gardens. The architecture for the buildings will be uniform, and of the most classic style. The chamber of commerce includes a committee on benevolent associations, which supervises the charitable institutions of the city. The committee gives a card of indorsement to such organizations as conform to the required standard. It is difficult for any organization to gain support without this indorsement, and the committee is able to develop in this field a standard of highest efficiency. The housing committee has made an extended investigation of tenement conditions in the city, has been influential in procuring legislation tending to prevent future abuses, and is now engaged in preparing legislation for remedying existing conditions. At the inauguration of the industrial committee, six years ago, there were twenty-five employers in the chamber membership engaged in definite welfare work. There are now approximately 200. The municipal committee has brought about the creation of a city department of forestry, under which the trees in the city streets and parks are cared for, and new trees planted. The public bath-house committee brought about the erection of two public baths, and plans for others are now being considered.

Civic Improvements

The sanitary committee was effective in controlling the smallpox epidemic which threatened the city a few years ago. This committee prepared a sanitary code which was adopted by the Board of Health, and which, among other provisions, created a department of meat and milk inspection, which through the cooperation of the committee has become most efficient. This code also provides for medical inspection in public schools, the reporting of communicable diseases, the abatement of nuisances, and similar matters in the enforcement of which the committee is now actively engaged. An efficient system of street cleaning by means of flushing is the result of this committee's work. A committee of the chamber is at present working upon the subject of smoke prevention. Water-supply, sewage disposal, and many other matters are constantly under the active consideration of this commercial body. The chamber has also been influential in preventing various franchise abuses, and has taken a hand in national matters, such as consular service reform and peace promotion.

The city government has shown itself most willing to cooperate in the accomplishment of many civic movements. It owns its own garbage reduction plant, does its ash collection, and supplies the city water. The mayor, some three years ago, endeavored to establish a municipal lighting plant, but the opposition from various sources compelled him to discontinue the project. The city recently annexed a suburb which owns such a plant and this is now being enlarged to supply part of the city with electric current. The city is developing a system of broad boulevards, which will completely encircle it, and large spacious

parks form a part of the system. These parks were formerly adorned with "keep-off-the-grass" signs and were used largely for pleasure drives. The signs have now been torn down and the parks are used extensively for baseball, golf, tennis, outdoor meetings, band concerts, and playgrounds. The city has established several playgrounds in crowded neighborhoods, and a dozen skating-rinks are in operation. The city also conducts several public bathing-beaches.

Mayor Johnson is a strong advocate of public ownership of public utilities, both local, state, and national.

He has worked to bring about the ownership of street-railway lines, but through the failure of necessary legislation and the opposition of the existing railway company and other forces he has not yet accomplished this. He has, however, succeeded in introducing a competing line at a three-cent fare, and in reducing the fare of the other company to three cents and a half.

The public-school system of the city was founded in 1836, and in 1847 one of the first public high schools of the country was started. The Board of Education maintains the highest educational standard, both in its educational systems and in the construction and maintenance of its buildings.

The labor element of the city is essentially radical, the central labor body being largely committed to socialism. Union leaders claim 60 per cent of the laborers in the organized trades. Several severe strikes have been conducted, resulting in few victories for either side. The efforts of the unions have, however, undoubtedly resulted in shorter hours, higher wages, and better conditions of labor. The meetings of the various unions are open to the presentation of general movements of social reforms, and usually these unions have been willing and active in cooperation.

Some important organizations are:

Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Commerce Building.
Municipal Association, 734 Garfield Building.
Sociological Council, Chamber of Commerce Building.
Goodrich House (Settlement), St. Clair and Sixth Street.
United Trades Labor Council, 717 Superior Ave.
Cleveland *Citizen* (Socialist and Labor, M. S. editor), 193 Champlain Street.
Anti-Saloon League, 516 The Arcade.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 513 The Arcade.
Young Women's Christian Association, 1245 Euclid Ave.

CLIFFORD, JOHN: English clergyman and Christian Socialist; born at Sawley, Derbyshire, 1836. At the age of eleven he worked in a factory near Nottingham, and at fourteen he was received into the Baptist Church, soon becoming a student of the General Baptist College. In 1862 he took charge of the Praed Street Baptist Church, in London, of which he is still pastor, altho the growth of the congregation has compelled the removal to the present chapel in Westbourne Park. In connection with his work Dr. Clifford pursued studies and took degrees and honors at London University. He has added an educational institute to his own church, where 1,500 names stand enrolled in various classes. Dr. Clifford is known to-day for his active interest in social reform. He was one of the founders of the Christian Socialist League; president, Metropolitan Free Church's Council (1896–97); and president, National Council of Free Evangelical Churches (1898–99). He is the author of many religious works and numerous tracts and articles on Christian Social topics. *Address*: 25 Sunderland Terrace, Westbourne Park, London, W., England.

CLUBS, MEN AND BOYS' (see Women's Clubs; Working Girls' Clubs): Clubs have played a large part in social development and reform. They existed in classic times and are mentioned by Aristotle and others. The first modern club to win fame seems to have been the club established at the end of the sixteenth century in the Mermaid Tavern at London, to which Shakespeare and other literary men and wits of the day belonged. Since that day clubs of various sorts have flourished in London as in no city of the world. White's, still one of the leading London social clubs, was founded in 1697. There are said to be nearly 300 clubs in London,

London

social, literary, political, sporting, or the like, with a membership of some 300,000. The largest political club is the Constitutional (Conservative) with 7,000 members. The Junior Constitutional has 5,000, and the United Empire the same number. The Conservative (1840) has 1,300. The National Liberal Club has 6,000 members, but more important Liberal clubs are the Carlton (1832) and the Reform (1837) with from 1,500 to 2,000 members. The most expensive London club is the Naval and Military. The oldest service club is the United Service (1815). The leading literary clubs are the United University, the Oxford, and Cambridge. Science has the Athæneum with 1,200 members. There are thirty ladies' clubs, the Pioneers, the Sesame (political), and Empress being prominent. The Ladies' Army and Navy, with its great smoking-room, has 3,600 members. The initiation fees for the larger clubs are from £10 to £50.

Working men's clubs in England, and especially in London, have had a large development. Many have large buildings or rooms. Some of these, usually called "proprietary" clubs, are strictly secret, and with a doubtful reputation. Others are philanthropic, more or less supported and superintended by church and other organizations. Prominent among such are the University Club and the United Brothers. These are usually teetotal and mainly educational and social.

Many clubs are political, Liberal, Radical, Conservative, Socialistic. In most of the clubs

Working Men's Clubs

an unorganized socialism rather than old-fashioned radicalism is the dominant note. All these clubs have a bar, and breweries often help in fitting them up. They also have concerts, lectures, entertainments, dancing, and dramatics. Billiards and whist are played. It is declared by their enemies that they are drinking-dens, and take the men from their homes; but Mr. Booth declares the former accusation to be without foundation, and that most of the members, if not at the clubs, would be on the street. They give an opportunity for political education such as American workmen are almost without. The American workman is organized for political purposes usually only in the heated campaigns with partizan spirit. The English and European working men's clubs discuss politics all the year round, and to an extent in a broad spirit because the clubs are not merely political. It was to these clubs that the lecturers

of the Fabian Society (*q. v.*) went, and largely changed their political spirit from one of cheap negative radicalism to one of constructive evolutionary socialism.

In all the clubs the fee is usually 6*d.* per month; the average membership is from 300 to 400; the hours are from 6.30 P.M. to 12.30 A.M., and on Sunday from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. and from 6.30 P.M. to 11.30 P.M. The management is by a committee, and the sale of drinks makes them largely self-supporting. Gambling and excessive drinking in the open clubs are rare.

Clubs on the Continent have played a minor part. Some republican clubs in Paris, especially during the Revolution, gained notoriety, but most European clubs are more or less artificial copies of English prototypes. In the United States clubs began late in the eighteenth century. The Hoboken Turtle Club, still existent, was formed in 1797. The (New York) Union Club was formed in 1836. The Union League Club (1863), Reform Club (1888), and especially the City Club (1892) have often led in civic reform movements. Various literary, social, university, and church clubs have wide influence, many of these having luxurious clubhouses and appointments. In other American cities clubs are found in similar number in proportion to the size of the city.

United States

In distinctive reform movements, the club is equally important. According to *Social Progress* (1905) there were in connection with Settlements in the U. S. 185 men's clubs, 220 women's clubs, 496 boys' clubs, and 466 girls' clubs. According to an investigation made by Dr. H. D. Sheldon in 1898, there were in 1898 862 clubs in the U. S. formed by boys between the ages of ten and seventeen. Of these 85½ per cent stood for physical activity. Most of the clubs in the Settlements and institutional churches, however, have been started by adults for educational and character purposes. Their object has been to get boys off the street and from bad surroundings, and interest them in activities of their own. The general principle adopted is to leave the conduct of the clubs so far as possible to the boys themselves, with, however, a guidance from some older person, and so far as possible influencing the boys by the power of personality. This is more especially true of the younger and more recently formed clubs. Larger clubs were formally formed and in New York and other cities often occupy large buildings or rooms. A modern development is the federation of clubs.

Boys' Clubs

REFERENCES: H. D. Sheldon, *The Institutional Activities of American Children*, in *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. ix.; Newman, *The Boys' Club in Theory and Practice*, London, 1900; Winfred Buck, *Boys' Self-Governing Clubs*, New York, 1903.

CLYNES, J. R.: English labor member of Parliament; born 1869, Oldham; served his time in a cotton factory. Showing ability for organization, he was selected, in 1891, by the Gas-workers' and General Laborers' Union as organizer for the Lancashire district; became chairman of the Federation of Trades Councils, and for ten years secretary of the Oldham and District Trades Council. He was recently appointed justice of the peace for the Oldham bench. Elected to Parliament 1906 for Manchester, N. E., under the auspices of the Labor Representation Committee. *Address*: 176 Union Street, Oldham.

COAL INDUSTRY (for Coal Miners, see MINERS' UNIONS): The question of coal production is one of the most important of economic questions, and in the coal industry have arisen some of the greatest industrial conflicts in the United States. (See COAL STRIKE.) The coal industry, which began in the U. S. in 1814, to-day employs 600,000 men and boys. Its yearly value is about $520,000,000 at the mine and over $2,000,000,000 when it reaches the consumer. For conditions so far as the miners are concerned, see MINERS. In regard to other conditions in the coal industry we quote largely from the address delivered by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd before the Interstate Anti-Trust Conference at Chicago, June 5, 1893. It still remains one of the best brief statements of evils in the coal trade ever made. The evils since that day have continued substantially unchanged. We add enough facts to bring the subject to date.

Within the last thirty years 95 per cent of the anthracite coal of America, practically the entire supply, it is reported to Congress, this year, has passed from the ownership of private citizens, many thousands in number, into the possession of the railroads controlling the highways of the coal-fields. These railroads have been undergoing a similar process of consolidation, and are now the property of eight great corporations. This surrender of their property by the individual coal-mine owners is a continuing process in operation at this moment, for the complete extinction of the "individual" and the independents in this field. It is destined, according to the report of Congress, to end in the entire absorption of the entire anthracite coal-fields and collieries by the common carriers. . . .

Monopolies

"The railroad companies engaged in mining and transporting coal are practically in a combination to control the output and fix the price. They have a practical monopoly of the production, the transportation, and the sale of anthracite coal."

Congress found in 1888 that the coal companies in the anthracite regions keep thousands of surplus laborers on hand to underbid each other for employment and for submission to all exactions; hold them purposely ignorant when the mines are to be worked and when closed, so that they cannot seek employment elsewhere; bind them as tenants by compulsion in the companies' houses, so that rent shall run against them, whether wages run on or not, and under leases by which they can be turned out with their wives and children on the mountain-side in midwinter if they strike; compel them to fill cars of larger capacity than agreed upon; make them buy their powder and other working outfit of the companies at an enormous advance on the cost; compel them to buy coal of the company at the company's price, and in many cases to buy a fixed quantity—more than they need; compel them to employ the doctor named by the company, and to pay him whether sick or well; "pluck" them at the company's stores, so that when pay-day comes around the company owes the men nothing, there being authentic cases where "sober, hard-working miners toiled for years or even a lifetime without having been able to draw a single dollar, or but a few dollars in actual cash; in debt until the day they died"; refuse to fix the wages in advance, but pay them upon some hocus-pocus sliding scale, varying with the selling price in New York, which the railroad slides to suit itself, and, most extraordinary of all, refuse to let the miners know the prices on which their living slides; a fraud, says the report of Congress, "on its face."

The companies dock the miners' output arbitrarily for slate and other impurities, and so can take from their men from five to fifty tons more in every hundred than they can pay for.

In order to keep the miners disciplined and the coal market undersupplied, the railroads restrict work, so that the miners often have to live for a month on what they can earn in six or eight days, and these restrictions are enforced upon their miners by holding cars from them to fill, as upon competitors by withholding cars to go to market. Labor organizations are forbidden, and the men intentionally provoked to strike to affect the market.

The laboring population of the coal regions, finally, is kept down by special policemen enrolled under special laws, and often in violation of law, by the railroads and coal and iron companies practically when and in what numbers they choose, and practically without responsibility to any one but their employers, armed as the corporations see fit with army revolvers, or Winchester rifles, or both, made detectives by

statute, and not required to wear their shields, provoking the people to riot and then shooting them legally. "By the percentage of wages," says the report of Congress, "by false measurements, by rents, stores, and other methods the workman is virtually a chattel of the operator."

Moved mainly by the disappearance of a free market in oil and coal, the people of Pennsylvania arose in 1873 and adopted a new constitution. To put an end to the consolidation of all the anthracite coal lands into the hands of the railroads, this constitution forbade common carriers to mine or manufacture articles for transportation over their lines, or to buy land except for carrying purposes. These provisions of the constitution have been disobeyed "defiantly." "The railroads have defiantly gone on acquiring title to hundreds of thousands of acres of coal, as well as of neighboring agricultural lands," says the congressional committee of 1888. "They have been aggressively pursuing the joint business of carrying and mining coal." So far from quitting it, "they have increased their mining operations by extracting bituminous as well as anthracite."

Defiance of Law

Instead of enacting "appropriate legislation," as commanded by the new constitution to effectuate its prohibitions, the legislature has passed laws to nullify the constitution by preventing forever any escheat to the state of the immense area of lands unlawfully held by the railroads. Every effort breaking down to meet the evil by state action, failure was finally confessed by the passage, in 1878, by the Pennsylvania Legislature, of a joint resolution asking Congress to legislate "for equity in the rates of freight," and to this day the will of the people of Pennsylvania, as declared in their sovereign utterance, has found among these corporations none so poor as to do it reverence.

The following statement is condensed from Leroy-Beaulieu's "The United States in the Twentieth Century":

The coal-fields of the United States cover an area of more than 275,000 sq. m. The Appalachian ranges along the Alleghanies from Pennsylvania to Alabama, across Ohio, Maryland, the two Virginias, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and contains 73,000 sq. m.; the East Inland field (Indiana, Illinois, and western Kentucky) contains 60,000 sq. m.; the North Inland field (Michigan) contains 11,000 sq. m.; the West Inland field, which stretches from Iowa to Texas, contains more than 89,500 sq. m.; the Rocky Mountain field, running from the Canadian frontier almost to the Mexican border, contains 45,000 sq. m. The small Pacific field has less than 1,000 sq. m. The richest by far, in point both of quantity and quality, appear to be the East Inland and the Appalachian. It is estimated that fully 55 per cent of the whole area is workable. Mention must also be made of the small but extremely valuable anthracite field which covers 500 sq. m. in eastern Pennsylvania, which has an average annual output of 50,000,000 tons. Finally, there are some deposits of brown coal which constitute a reserve supply.

Coal-Fields

In 1902 two thirds of the bituminous coal output of the U. S. was extracted from the mines of the Appalachian field, from which were taken more than 156,000,000 of the total 234,000,000 tons mined that year. As the anthracite field is contiguous to this particular field it is evident that this region furnished in all about 200,000,000 tons, or more than 70 per cent of the total American output. The most productive sections are the extreme northern and southern parts of the field, the more productive of these being the northern section in which the output was 89,000,000 tons for Pennsylvania, 21,500,000 for Ohio, 24,500,000 for West Virginia, and 5,000,000 for Maryland. In 1880 the aggregate output of these four states was but 28,000,000 tons; in 1902 close upon 150,000,000 tons. In the southern section 9,500,000 tons are extracted in Alabama. Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee have an annual output, respectively, of 3,000,000, 6,000,000, and 4,000,000 tons. Naturally, fuel is cheap in all these states. The average price, at the mine, varies (for 1902) from $1.05 per ton in Kentucky to $1.76 in Indian Territory.

One is surprised at the cheapness of coal. The wages paid are so high that it seems incomprehensible that it can be mined and sold at a profit for from only $1 to $1.20 per ton and even in certain years for 80 cents per ton. But the high cost of labor is offset by the employment of machinery. The coal-mines of America are well equipped in this respect, and the miners, after having at first opposed the introduction of machinery, have welcomed it, so soon as they perceived that not only were the risks of mining lessened thereby, but that since 1900 the U. S. has exported more coal than it has imported. In long tons the exports in 1902 were: coal, 6,126,946; coke, 392,491. The imports were: coal, 2,551,381; coke, 107,437.

Estimating a ton of coke as equivalent to 1½ tons of coal, the exports in 1900 exceeded 8,500,000 tons; 5,422,000 tons were shipped to Canada, 223,000 to Central and South America, 664,000 to Japan, 760,000 to Mexico, and 635,000 to Europe. Of the imports 1,484,000 tons came from Canada, mainly from British Columbia. If eastern Canada obtains its coal supply from the Eastern States, western Canada in turn supplies fuel to the Pacific slope, which, moreover, imported 252,000 tons of coal from Australia during 1900.

Coal Trade

There are reasons, too, for believing that the cost of carriage will fall and American coal may be sold on the Mediterranean at or below $4 per ton. In consequence of the deepening and the relative exhaustion of the English mines the price of English coal has a general tendency to rise; whereas in America, with the possible exception of the anthracite field, the development of the coal-beds has but begun. It is quite reasonable to predict that the time will come when, pending the exploitation of the coal-fields of China, all the world, with the exception of northern and northwestern Europe, which will almost certainly remain customers of Great Britain, will look to the U. S. for its coal supply.

WORLD PRODUCTION OF COAL
(IN METRIC TONS OF 2,205 POUNDS)

COUNTRY.	1885	1900	1905	Size of coal-fields in sq. m.
United States....	100,843,000	244,653,000	352,694,110	194,000
Great Britain....	161,909,000	228,795,000	239,888,928	9,000
Germany.....	73,075,000	149,788,000	173,663,774	3,600
Austria-Hung'y	20,436,000	39,108,000	40,725,000	1,789
France.....	19,511,000	33,405,000	36,048,264	1,800
Belgium.....	17,438,000	23,463,000	21,844,200	500
Russia.....	4,268,000	16,157,000	17,120,000	27,000
China.....	.....	.....	.....	250,000
Japan.....	1,303,000	7,489,000	11,895,000	4,000
Australasia....	3,061,000	7,599,000	8,255,250	24,000
Canada.....	1,743,000	5,088,000	7,959,711	65,000
India.....	1,315,000	6,217,000	7,921,000	35,000
South Africa...	15,000	884,000	3,218,500	.....
Spain.....	919,000	2,583,000	3,199,911	5,500
Sweden.....	174,000	252,000	331,500	.....
Italy.....	190,000	480,000	307,500	.....

COAL PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES

Compiled from the U. S. Statistical Abstract, 1905

STATE OR TERRITORY	1880	1890	1900	1904
ANTHRACITE	*Tons*[1]	*Tons*	*Tons*	*Tons*
Pennsylvania	28,640,819	41,489,858	51,221,353	65,318,490
Colorado and New Mexico	.....	.....	87,861	64,352
Total anthracite	28,649,812	41,489,858	51,309,214	65,382,842
BITUMINOUS				
Middle States	28,492,519	57,633,166	112,055,688	142,681,714
Western States	11,800,132	29,645,860	51,161,510	70,703,161
Pacific States	439,918	1,566,136	3,440,091	4,308,312
Southern States	1,978,242	10,547,709	22,822,807	31,486,852
Total anthracite and bituminous[2]	71,360,623	140,866,931	240,789,309	314,562,881
AMOUNTS MARKETED[3]				
Anthracite... tons	.....	36,617,042	45,276,622	63,907,788
Anthracite... value	.....	$58,645,854	$83,761,750	$138,974,02
Bituminous.. tons	.....	78,011,224	154,528,814	243,612,420
Bituminous.. value	.....	$86,498,845	$179,995,163	$300,130,501
Total.... tons	.....	114,628,266	199,805,436	307,520,208
Total.... value	.....	$145,144,699	$263,756,913	$439,104,521

[1] In tons of 2,240 pounds. [2] Amounts marketed only for the year 1880; afterward the entire product of the mines. [3] Quantities represent amounts shipped to market; values are based on those of entire product.

Great Britain

The Royal Commission on Coal Supplies of the United Kingdom, appointed in Dec., 1901, reported in 1905. As summarized in Hazell's *Annual*, the commissioners estimated, after making necessary deductions, the available quantity of coal in the proved coal-fields of the United Kingdom to be 100,914,668,167 tons. The 1871 commission's estimate was 90,207,285,398 tons. The statistics show that, tho between 1870 and 1903, 5,694,928,507 tons of coal have been raised, the present estimates of available coal are nevertheless 10,707,382,769 tons in excess of those of the 1871 commission. This excess is accounted for partly by the difference in the areas regarded as productive by the two commissions, and partly by discoveries due to recent borings, sinkings, and workings, and more accurate knowledge of the coal-seams. In addition, the commission estimated that there were 5,239,433,980 tons of coal in the proved coal-fields lying at greater depth than 4,000 ft. below the surface. From the concealed and unproved coal-fields the Geological Committee appointed by the commission estimated there might be expected 39,483,000,000 tons at depths less than 4,000 ft. and over 1,000,000,000 tons beyond high-water mark in the Cumberland coal-field, and in St. Bride's and Carmarthen bays. The commissioners held that it was highly improbable, owing to physical considerations, that the average increase in the output for the last thirty years (viz., 2¼ per cent per annum) would continue. They said: "In view of this opinion and of the exhaustion of the shallower collieries, we look forward to a time, not far distant, when the rate of increase of output will be slower, to be followed by a period of stationary output, and then a gradual decline."

COAL STRIKE OF 1902: One of the greatest and most far-reaching strikes in the history of the United States. Some 147,000 men were involved. Of the business loss Mr. Carroll D. Wright has said ("Battles of Labor," p. 146):

According to the Chief of the Bureau of Anthracite Coal Statistics, the shipments of coal decreased 22,333,333⅓ tons, 40 per cent of the shipments of the previous year. Making an estimate on coal mined for local trade and consumption, the total decrease in 1902 must have been nearly 25,000,000 long tons. This meant a decrease in the receipts of the coal-mining companies of over $46,000,000, while the mine employees lost in wages a total of upward of $25,000,000, and $1,800,000 was spent by the mine-workers of the country in the relief of the miners of the anthracite regions. The decrease in freights paid to the railroad companies on the larger sizes, had it all been sent to New York harbor, would be about $19,000,000, and on the smaller sizes the total decrease in freight receipts would be about $28,000,000.

The occasion of the strike was the demand of the United Mine Workers of America for an increase in wages and a decrease in time, and the payment for coal by weight wherever practicable. But the cause lay deeper and may be found in the desire for recognition of the miners' union by the operators, and leading up to it many long-continued grievances. (See Coal Industry.)

In 1899 the United Mine Workers of America, who had already organized the bituminous coal miners and had won annual trade agreements, undertook to organize the anthracite miners. Finding some success, they struck, in 1900, for higher wages. Political conditions led Senator Hanna to induce the operators to yield and they posted a notice of a ten-per-cent rise in wages without recognizing the union. In 1901 Mr. John Mitchell, president of the union, tried to induce the operators to confer with his organization as to a wage scale. They refused, but gave notice that they would continue the existing advance. Again, in 1902, the union invited the operators to a conference, but they declined. In March the miners' convention met and demanded an increase in wages and an eight-hour day. They resolved to work only three days a week after April 1st, until the dispute was settled. The Civic Federation, through Senator Hanna, its chairman, tried to intervene, but unsuccessfully. May 8th, Mr. Mitchell, for the union, proposed to the operators to leave the matter to an arbitration committee to be chosen by the Civic Federation or by Bishop Potter and Archbishop Ireland. The operators refused and declined to deal any further with Mr. Mitchell.

On May 14th the United Mine Workers met in convention at Hazleton, and the next day the strike, which had already broken out, was officially declared. The demands of the strikers were:

1. An increase of 20 per cent in the pay of miners working by the ton—about 40 per cent of the whole number.

2. An eight-hour day for per diem employees, being equivalent to a reduction of about 20 per cent in working-time without change of wages.

3. Payment by weight to be based on a ton of 2,240 pounds.

The men were entrenched behind a law requiring every miner in the anthracite field to have a certificate of competence, granted after examination, and based on at least two years' experience as a laborer. As there were only about 40,000 holders of such certificates, and practically all of them belonged to the union, it was impossible to operate the mines as long as they held out, and the contest settled down into one of endurance. One hundred and forty-five thousand men were idle. An attempt was made to call out the bituminous miners in a sympathetic strike, but they unanimously voted to stand by their agreement with their employers and not strike. Two million five hundred thousand dollars, however, was contributed to the miners by unions and friends over the country.

September brought a general scarcity of coal, verging upon famine. By October the country was facing a calamity. The price of anthracite went up to $20 and even $30 per ton, and only small lots could be obtained at those rates. Political pressure was brought to bear upon the operators, but they defiantly refused to yield an inch. President Roosevelt had already, in June, directed Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright to investigate the causes of the dispute, and he now invited President Mitchell and the representatives of the operators to meet him in conference on Oct. 3d. Mr. Mitchell offered on the part of the miners to accept arbitration by a commission selected by the president. The operators rejected this proposition, and their whole attitude appeared so offensive as to make them the objects of intense popular indignation. They insisted that the whole matter was one of protection, and said that if troops enough were furnished they could operate the mines. A considerable force of militia was already on duty, but on Oct. 6th Governor Stone called out the entire National Guard of Pennsylvania, numbering 10,000 men. It soon became evident that miners could not be obtained under any conditions. Accordingly, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan conferred with President Baer of the Reading, and went to Washington. He offered on behalf of the operators to accept the arbitration of a commission to be appointed by the President and to consist of:

1. An army or navy engineer officer.

2. An expert mining engineer, not connected in any way with coal-mining properties.

3. One of the judges of the United States Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

4. A man of prominence, eminent as a sociologist.

5. A man who by active participation in mining and selling coal was familiar with the physical and commercial features of the business.

The findings of this commission were to be binding for at least three years.

The union objected, unless the president was left free to appoint whom he would, and they have a representative.

This was accepted and a convention of the United Mine Workers at Wilkesbarre on Oct. 20th declared the strike off. As members of the commission the president appointed U. S. Court Judge George Gray, Carroll D. Wright, Thomas H. Watkins, General John M. Wilson, E. W. Parker, E. E. Clark, and Rt. Rev. John L. Spalding.

The commission after extensive hearings made an award almost wholly in favor of the men. All contract workers were to receive an advance of 10 per cent. Hours were reduced to eight wherever possible. Wages were to be advanced beyond this as coal prices rose. A board of conciliation was created to settle disputes and which perforce recognizes the union. Mr. Mitchell declares the miners will gain by the strike from $7,000,000 to $8,000,000 annually, but that the board of conciliation is the most important result. The strike was thus a test case between labor and capital, and it was proved that even capital must submit finally to organized public pressure.

COBDEN CLUB, THE: A society founded in 1866, with the object of encouraging the growth and diffusion of those economic and political principles with which Cobden's name is associated. The motto of the club is "Free Trade, Peace, Goodwill among Nations." Its principal work consists in the advocacy of free trade, and its funds are mainly devoted to the printing and circulation of books, pamphlets, and leaflets, in support of free-trade principles.

The club is always ready to place its information at the disposal of parliamentary candidates who are supporters of free-trade principles. With the further object of encouraging the scientific study of economic questions, the club spends considerable money in giving prizes for literary work on political economy at the universities and elsewhere. The club also occasionally organizes dinners, to which notable free-traders and other distinguished men are invited. The management of the club is vested in a committee which reports annually to the general body of members. The chairman of this committee is Lord Welby. Other committee members are: Sir J. T. Brunner, M.P.; the Right Honorable Herbert J. Gladstone, M.P.; Captain Sinclair, M.P.; T. Fisher Unwin; Henry Vivian, M.P.; and Sir Spencer Walpole, K.C.B.; General Secretary, J. A M. Macdonald, M.P.; organizing secretary, F. Maddison, M.P., Caxton House, Westminster, London, S. W.

COBDEN, RICHARD: English free-trader; born near Midhurst, Sussex, 1804. At an early age he entered a London warehouse and after a time became traveler for the firm. In 1832 he started a cotton-printing business of his own at Manchester and Sabden.

There are three great political agitations with which Cobden's name will be always connected—the repeal of protective duties, the movement against war and military expenditure, and the one in favor of commercial treaties.

The general spirit of his whole policy is well exprest in the motto quoted by himself (in "England, Ireland, and America") from George Washington: "The great rule of conduct in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our *commercial* relations, to have, with them, as little *political* connection as possible."

He believed that a nation's first care was for its own household, and that political and military entanglements interfered with the performance of a nation's duty in this respect. He preached the policy of non-intervention, opposing with Bright the war with Russia and China. He maintained that the prosperity of the nation demanded, not military glory and conquest, but a larger population and a wider trade. Cobden and the "Manchester school" of politicians erred in mistaking the welfare of merchants and manufacturers for the welfare of the whole nation; their standpoint was that of the employer of labor, not that of the people. They were the advocates of direct taxation. Cobden has been denounced as a mere pleader for a "let-alone" policy in matters of trade; but it must be remembered that in his day British trade was hampered by absurd governmental restrictions from which it is free to-day. A policy which was best then may be unwise at the present time. Cobden did much for the cause of free education. It was largely owing to his efforts that the Manchester Athenæum was established.

We need not here enter into the details of his busy political career, and shall only mention one more conspicuous service which he rendered, not only to his own country, but to the United States as well. Devoted as he was to the arts of peace, the outbreak of the American Civil War was to him an event most deeply to be deplored. From first to last his sympathies were with the North, because the South was contending for slavery. He was extremely anxious that Great Britain should adopt a just and worthy attitude toward the struggle; and when, therefore, vessels which sailed from English ports committed depredations upon American commerce, he sternly and forcibly brought the question before the House of Commons. Altho attacked for a time on every side because of his manly stand for honor and fair play he persisted in a series of speeches to maintain his position. His death was the occasion of many tributes of honor and esteem, all classes uniting in confessing him to be a statesman who was unswerving in his fidelity to conscience and to what he believed to be the best interests of his country. He died in London, 1865.

COEDUCATION (for the statistics of coeducation in the United States, see article EDUCATION): The following is abridged from an article that appeared in *Munsey's Magazine* for March, 1906:

The essential argument for coeducation in the university is the argument for the university itself. Special subjects can be taught in detached and specialized schools. The university makes better manhood. Its function, in Emerson's words, is to "bring every ray of genius to its hospitable halls, by their combined influence to set the heart of the youth in flame."

For these reasons, it is better for any body of students that they be taught in company with other kinds of students. Culture studies and technical studies gain from mutual association. The man who pursues each gains from contact with other types of mind.

This argument is especially cogent in institutions in which the individuality of the student is

recognized and respected. In such schools each man, by his relation to action and realities, becomes a teacher of women in these regards, as, in other ways, each cultivated woman is a teacher of men.

In woman's education, as planned for women alone, the tendency is toward the study of beauty and order. Literature and language take precedence over science. Expression is valued more highly than action. In carrying this to an extreme, the necessary relation of thought to action becomes obscured. The scholarship developed is not effective, because it is not related to success. The educated woman is likely to master technique rather than art; method, rather than substance. She may know a good deal, but she is not effective in action. Often her views of life must undergo painful changes before she can find her place in the world.

In schools for men alone, the reverse condition often obtains. The sense of reality obscures the elements of beauty and fitness.

Arguments For

It is of great advantage to both men and women to meet on a plane of equality in education. Women are brought into contact with men who can do things—men in whom the sense of reality is strong, and who have definite views of life. This influence affects them for good. It turns them away from sentimentalism. It gives tone to their religious thoughts and impulses. Above all, it tends to encourage action as governed by ideals, as opposed to that resting on caprice. It gives them better standards of what is possible and impossible when the responsibility for action is thrown upon them.

In like manner, the association with wise, sane, and healthy women has its value for young men. It raises their ideal of womanhood, and the highest manhood must be associated with the possession of an ideal.

It is not true that the character of college work has been in any way lowered by coeducation. The reverse is decidedly the case. It is true that untimely zeal of one sort or another has filled the West with a host of so-called colleges. It is true that most of these are weak, and are doing poor work in poor ways. It is true that most of them are coeducational. It is also true that the great majority of their students are not of college grade at all. But none of these defects is derived from coeducation; nor are any of these conditions made worse by it.

Very lately it has been urged against coeducation that its social demands cause too much strain both on young men and young women. College men and college women being mutually attractive, the result is that there are too many receptions, dances, and other functions in which they enjoy each other's company. But this is easily regulated. At the most, the average young woman in college spends in social matters less than one tenth the time she would spend at home.

With the young man, the whole matter represents the difference between high-class and low-class associates and associations. When college men stand in normal relation with college women, meeting them in society as well as in the classroom, there is distinctly less of drunkenness, rowdyism, and vice than obtains under other conditions. And no harm comes to the young woman through the good influence she exerts. To meet freely the best young men she will ever know, the wisest, cleanest, and strongest, can surely do no harm to a young woman. The best young men and the best young women, all things considered, are in our colleges. This always has been and always will be the case.

It is true that coeducation is often attempted under very adverse conditions. Conditions are adverse when the little girls of preparatory schools and schools of music are mingled with college students and allowed to have the same freedom. This is wrong, whatever the kind of discipline offered, lax or strict; the two classes need a different sort of treatment.

Another condition very common and very undesirable is that in which young women live at home and traverse a city twice each day on railway- or street-cars to meet their recitations in some college. The greatest instrument of culture in a college is the college atmosphere, the personal influence exerted by its professors and students. This atmosphere develops feebly in the rush of a great city. The *spur-studenten*, or railway students, as the Germans call them—the students who live far from the university—get very little of it.

Arguments Against

In the English universities the question of where the student should live has been made all-important, almost excluding consideration of methods of study, or even of the relative value or significance of the subject-matter of education. In America we have too much neglected this. We have housed our students in barracks, or, even worse, not housed them at all. We have exposed them, men and women alike, to the vulgarity of the small village or the wear and tear of a great city.

We cannot deny that there has arisen in the last few years a reaction against coeducation in our colleges. In so far as this is honest, it is a reaction not against coeducation, but against the lack of provision for wholesome living. It is a protest against turning girls loose unaided and unguarded in college towns, in which adequate safeguards exist neither for them nor for young men.

There are about three classes of college boys who seem to object to the presence of college women, and these may be classed as the boorish, the dilettante, and the dissolute. If these are to remain such, the sooner they are out of college the better for others, and often the better for themselves.

I have rarely found opposition to coeducation on the part of really serious students.

Sometimes, too, the college athlete objects to the presence of women in college. In athletic matters the young women give very little assistance. They cannot play on the teams, they cannot yell, and they are rarely generous with their money in helping those who can.

Of like grade is the feeling that men count for more than women, because they are more likely to be heard from in after life. Therefore their education is of more importance, and the presence of women impedes it.

A certain adverse influence comes from the fact that the oldest and wealthiest of our institutions are for men or for women alone. These send out a body of alumni who know nothing of coeducation, and who judge it with the positiveness of ignorance. Most men filled with the time-honored traditions of Harvard and Yale, of which the most permeating is that of Harvard's or Yale's infalli-

bility, are against coeducation on general principles. Similar influences in favor of the separate education of women go out from the sister institutions of the East.

The only serious new argument against coeducation is that derived from the fear of the adoption by universities of woman's standards of art and science rather than those of man, the fear that amateurism would take the place of specialization in our higher education. Women take up higher education because they enjoy it; men because their careers depend upon it. Only men, broadly speaking, are capable of objective studies.

It is quite true, as President Hall has lately shown, that the work of the woman student in college, in almost all fields except the creative, is better than that of men of the same age. Girls are more docile than boys; they take better care of their time; they see from a nearer view-point; they are cleaner, not only in their work, but in their acts; they write better examination papers; they are saved from vice not alone by environment, but by instinct. In general, they excel in the conventional courses, especially in those against which the average healthy boy has for generations rebelled.

They excel in others, as President Hall indicates, because these courses appeal to their tastes. The girls compete for outworn prizes, and will complete a useless piece of work with a care and patience which a boy will rarely show on better material.

It has been feared that the admission of women to the university would vitiate the masculinity of its standards, that neatness of technique would impair boldness of conception, and delicacy of taste replace soundness of results. It is claimed that the preponderance of high-school educated women in ordinary society is showing some such effects in matters of current opinion. For example, it is claimed that the university extension course is no longer of university nature. There is nothing ruggedly true, nothing masculine left in it.

Current literature and history are affected by the same influences. Women pay clever actors to teach them, not Shakespeare or Goethe, but how one ought to feel on reading "King Lear" or "Faust." Such studies may be good for the feelings or even for the moral nature, but they have no elements of that "fanaticism for veracity" which is the highest attribute of the educated man.

Current literature reflects the taste of the leisure class. The women with leisure who read and discuss vapid books are not representative of woman's higher education. Most of them have never been educated at all.

In any event, this gives no argument against coeducation. It is thorough training, not separate training, which is indicated as the need of the times. Where this training is taken is a secondary matter, tho I believe with the fulness of certainty that better results, mental, moral, and physical, can be obtained in coeducation than in any monastic form of instruction.

Finally, does not coeducation lead to marriage?

We need not worry over this, because it is in fact not true, and because if it were, its effects would be of little consequence in the development of the race. Love and marriage and parenthood will go on normally whatever our scheme of education.

No doubt university training of women, as distinguished from college training, postpones marriage, and probably the majority of the women taking advanced training have in some degree placed some other ideal, at least as a present aim, before that of matrimony. Some of these women are perhaps "agamic" or "agenesic" by nature; and, if so, doubtless they ought not to marry under any circumstances. But there is not the slightest evidence that highly educated women are necessarily rendered sterile or celibate by their education. The best wives in the world belong to this class.

It is true, no doubt, that cultivated women are more exacting than other women. They are less likely to marry for convenience, and they expect more from their husbands. For these same reasons, their marriages are less likely to prove unhappy.

The woman who finishes credibly the undergraduate course in a well-regulated American college, coeducational or otherwise, has accomplished no *tour de force*, and has performed no dangerous feat of mental gymnastics. She has lived for four years an essentially normal life under wholesome and uplifting conditions.

Nor is the future of our race dependent on having every woman bear the largest possible number of children. In so far as education is genuine, it helps a woman to rear an increasing proportion of the number she bears.

The mental activity necessary to a successful college course is not intense enough to interfere with fecundity. If it were so in individual cases, there is not a ghost of a reason for believing that such a condition is hereditary. We need not fear that college education on a large scale means progressive race sterility.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

REFERENCES: Articles, *Review of Reviews*, Jan., 1904; *Outlook*, Dec., 1902; *Education*, March, 1903; *Independent*, March, 1903; *Nation*, April, 1903; *Harper's Bazar* (W. R. Harper), Jan. and March, 1905; *Munsey's* (against, G. Stanley Hall), Feb., 1906; *Educational Review*, Feb., 1907.

CŒUR D'ALENE, STRIKES AT: Some of the most violent industrial disturbances in the United States have taken place at the Cœur d' Alene mines in Idaho, especially in the years 1899 and 1902. In 1899 mining industrial troubles developed widely in Idaho. At Wardner a mill of the Bunker Hill mine was blown up. It was never proved by whom, but the striking miners were accused. The mine-owners telegraphed to Washington for federal troops. Brigadier-General Merriam was dispatched with troops, some of them colored. He at once declared martial law in Shoshone County. He reported that there were no signs of resistance, but made a thousand or more arrests. The prosecuting attorney pro tem. for the county, who was also an attorney for the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Mining Company, had the courts suspend the writ of habeas corpus. Hundreds of the arrested men were cast into a discarded bull or cattle pen, with straw in the stables to sleep on. The food was bitterly complained of and served, some said, in large pans from which the prisoners had to dip with their fingers. They were certainly treated inhumanly, and the evils and injustices of the "bull pen" have rankled in the minds of organized labor in the U. S. It is claimed, however, by the capitalists that the declaration of martial law was a necessity and that the arrested men who were

innocent were not detained long, being released as soon as their innocence was established.

On the other hand, it is charged against the union miners that in the strike of 1902 they marched on the Cœur d'Alene mines, shot fleeing non-union miners, so that nearly fifty were shot or drowned, took possession of the town, and committed other lawless acts. See Western Federation of Miners.

COFFEE-HOUSES: Coffee-houses as rivals of liquor taverns have been favored almost from the beginning of the active temperance agitation. As early as 1830 and 1831 there was a coffee-house movement in Scotland, under the auspices of temperance societies, resulting in the successful operation of such establishments in nearly all the principal towns and cities, but many of them at that time sold the lighter alcoholic beverages as well as tea and coffee. It was in protest against this practise that the Dunfermline Society, Sept. 21, 1830, formed itself into the "Dunfermline Association for the promotion of temperance by the relinquishment of all intoxicating liquors," and passed a resolution agreeing "to give no encouragement or support to any coffee-house established or receiving countenance from any temperance society, for the sale of intoxicating liquors "(Dawson Burns's "Temperance History," vol. i., p. 48). In 1844 (*ib.*, p. 248) "the coffee-houses of Glasgow, conducted on strict temperance principles, and provided with news rooms, etc., were in some respects much superior to the coffee taverns and palaces of the present day."

But it is more recently, and in England especially, that the coffee-house has become a prominent feature of the temperance movement. Liverpool, Birmingham, Bradford, and other large cities in England are plentifully supplied with these places, while in London, where the development has been slower, a large number of establishments have been opened by the Lockhart Coffee-House Company, with the prospect of a rapid increase in the number. Two weekly newspapers in London, the *Temperance Caterer* and the *Refreshment News* (the latter the organ of the Coffee-Tavern Protection Society), are especially devoted to the coffee-house movement and its interests. In 1872 Rev. Charles Garrett conceived the idea of a coffee saloon in Liverpool, which should combine every attraction of the liquor saloon except the bar. A company was formed, and such a place, with reading-room attached, was opened near the docks. Refreshments were served at the cheapest rates. The enterprise was so successful that there are at present in Liverpool more than sixty of these cocoa rooms, as they are called, while the British Workman's Cocoa-House Company, of Liverpool, which has them in charge, has in no year paid less than 10 per cent dividends. Coffee-houses were established in Bradford after their success had been manifested in Liverpool, and the Bradford Coffee-House Company has opened twenty places in that city and its suburbs. Birmingham also is plentifully supplied with coffee-houses, or coffee-house hotels, and they are successful from a business point of view, as well as influential in molding temperance sentiment. The coffee-house movement has extended into Canada and Australia, but has made little progress in the United States. Probably the nearest approaches to the English coffee-house to be found in this country are the temperance restaurants established in various cities by enterprising or philanthropic persons, those opened and very successfully managed by Joshua L. Bailey, in Philadelphia, being especially worthy of mention.

In England

Another form of the coffee-house work is found in the rooms opened in Boston by the New England Department of the Church Temperance Society. The emphasis is placed in these rooms upon the social aspect, very little attention being paid to the sale of food and drink. Pool tables and other games are provided, smoking is allowed, and the aim has been to afford all the *freedom* of the barroom without the slavery, which is the penalty that has to be paid in places where social freedom means social drinking. In each of these rooms a program of entertainment and instruction is provided once a week; and the great success of this kind of work is demonstrated by the fact that a number of cultivated men and women come to talk about anything which interests themselves, and in the ever-increasing attention and appreciation on the part of the young men who frequent the rooms. Now and then the talk will be a religious one, but, as a rule, these are not preaching places.

The Boston Coffee-House

There is always plenty of water, for those who visit these rooms are thirsty people. As a rule they prefer water to coffee. The rooms are smoky; tobacco is not sold, but there is no restriction upon smoking.

General good order prevails; when parties get turbulent beyond control the doors are labeled "closed for a week on account of disorder," and in every instance the disturbers, missing their privileges, have returned and apologized.

The general idea is, of course, to make the rooms as nearly like a liquor saloon as possible, without the liquor. But good reading matter (illustrated papers, etc.) is provided in abundance.

The mere fact that, at the lowest estimate, the attendance in the Boston coffee-rooms has averaged during some seasons over 300 young men each night, is a sufficient argument for going on with the work; for this average of 300 a night means an attendance during one month of 7,800; during six months, of 46,800; during four years, of 187,000.

After twenty years of this kind of activity, the workers in it feel every year a stronger conviction that it is a good work, and right in line with the sanest temperance sentiment of the day. Tho the Boston coffee-house is not supported by any endowment, there is a constantly increasing sympathy with the work on the part of an always lengthening list of subscribers. A monthly program of the lectures and entertainments is sent to something over 600 people. In case of special need of financial help a simple statement is made of the facts, and the responses are always speedy and generous.

S. H. Hilliard.

COGHLAN, TIMOTHY AUGUSTINE: Acting agent-general for New South Wales in London since Feb., 1905; born at Sydney, N. S. W., 1855; educated in the grammar-schools of that city. He was appointed to Public Works Department in 1873; became assistant engineer of harbors and rivers in 1884; and officiated as government statistician 1886–1905; and as registrar of friendly societies 1892–1905. From 1896 to 1900 he was a member of the Public Service Board; and he

served on three royal commissions: (1) to inquire into the Marine Board, 1896; (2) to inquire into the cause of the decline of the birth-rate, 1903; and (3) to subdivide the State of New South Wales into electorates, 1904. He was president of the Conference of Austin, and is president of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science. Among his works may be mentioned: "Wealth and Progress of New South Wales"; "The Seven Colonies of Australasia"; "Childbirth"; "Notes on the Financial Aspect of the Australian Federation"; and, jointly with T. T. Ewing, M.P., "Progress of Australia during the Nineteenth Century." *Address*: Office of the Agent-General, London, England.

COGNETTI DE MARTIIS, SALVATORE: Italian sociologist and economist; born at Bari, Italy, 1844. In 1868 he became professor in the Institute of Technology of that place; the next year he accepted a similar position in Mantua, and in 1876 he was called to take the chair of political economy in the University of Turin. Professor Cognetti, according to Cossa, may be classed with the Italian sociological school. He has especially studied the economic functions of animal and savage life, and by investigations in philology, etc., has thrown much light on the origins of socialism in antiquity. He has, however, studied modern economic conditions, and particularly those of the United States. He is the author of: "Delle Attinenze tra l'Economia Sociale e la Storia" (Florence, 1866); "Le Forme primitive nell' Evoluzione Economica" (Turin, 1881); "Il Socialismo negli State Uniti d'America" (Turin, 1887); and "Socialismo Antico" (1889).

COHN, GUSTAV: German economist; born at Marienwerder, West Prussia, 1840; studied in Berlin and Jena; Fellow of the Royal Statistical Seminary of Berlin, 1867–68, afterward at Heidelberg and the Polytechnic at Riga. In 1873 he visited England, and as a result of his studies published his "Untersuchungen über die englische Eisenbahnpolitik." In 1875 he was called to the Polytechnic at Zurich, and in 1884 as regular professor to the University of Göttingen. One of the foremost economists in Germany, his writings have been numerous. Perhaps his best-known works are his "System der Nationalökonomie" (1886), in which his chapters on cooperation, the normal labor day, and freedom of industry are of special value; and his "Finanzwissenschaft" (1889). He has written on the woman question (1897), besides various historical studies. *Address*: Göttingen, Germany.

COIT, STANTON: American ethical lecturer; born in Columbus, Ohio, 1857; was graduated at Amherst, 1879, and took the degree of Ph.D. at Berlin, 1885. Studying social conditions, and living himself in a tenement among the poor, he founded the Neighborhood Guild in the tenth ward in New York City in 1887, and became one of the founders, and for two years head worker of the University Settlement in that city. He was for several years lecturer with Professor Adler of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. In 1888 he succeeded Mr. Moncure D. Conway, in London, as lecturer of the South Place Ethical Society, and instituted a Neighborhood Guild in London, and later founded and became head of the West London Ethical Society. He was one of the founders of the *International Journal of Ethics*. His main works are "Neighborhood Guilds"; "The Ethical Movement in Religion," issued in Germany, and several lectures in one volume, translated into French and published as "La Religion basée sur la Morale." *Address*: 30 Hyde Park Gate, S.W., London, England.

COLBERT, JEAN BAPTISTE: French statesman; born at Rheims, 1619. He rose from office to office, till he became one of the greatest ministers France has ever had. In 1661 he became controller-general. His first reform was to reduce the *taille*—a direct property tax—and to establish a departmental office. He was especially noted for his love of system and regularity in industry and commerce. Frequently his regulations were strict even to severity. His economic method was to organize industry, sustain it by custom-house regulations and protection, and to create model manufactures by grants of money or privilege. All financial dishonesties he strove with laudable severity to check. His mind was not sufficiently profound to establish a complete system; he dealt with immediate difficulties, and overcame them by his energy and good sense. He interested himself in the shipping trade and in the arts and sciences, encouraging the arts by liberal presents and pensions. In 1663 he founded the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and in 1668 the Academy of the Sciences. He died in Paris, 1683.

COLINS, JEAN GUILLAUME CÉSAR ALEXANDRE HIPPOLYTE, BARON DE: French soldier and sociologist; born at Brussels, 1783. He entered the French army at an early age, and won many honors. In 1833 he settled down to a quiet life, and pursued at Paris his scientific and social studies. In 1835 he issued his first work, entitled "Le Pact Social." In it he advocated collectivism, and declared that "immovable property belongs to all." Numerous other works on social questions followed, and he continued to write until his death in 1859.

Colins and his disciples called their system Rational Socialism. They believed in spiritualism and atheism, denying the existence of a God, while at the same time affirming the immortality of the human soul. Morality, they say, is sufficiently based upon personal immortality. All men are equal, free, moral, and therefore responsible beings. M. de Laveleye, in his "Socialism of To-day," gives the following concise account of their economic doctrines:

> Originally there existed only man and the earth on which he lived: on the one hand, labor; and on the other, the soil or raw material, without which all labor would be impossible. But from the joint action of these two elements of production there soon came into being wealth of a peculiar kind, in which labor was, as it were, accumulated, which was movable and separate from the soil. This was capital. Labor is free when the raw material, the soil, belongs to it; otherwise it is enslaved. Man therefore can, in fact, only exercise his energy with the permission of the owners of the raw material; and he who requires the authority of another before he can act is clearly not free. In order, then, that all the members of the community should become permanent proprietors of the national soil, the soil must be collectively appropriated.
>
> The collective appropriation of the soil implies, in the first place, that it should be at the disposal of all who wish to utilize it; and secondly, that the rent, paid by the tenants to the community, should be expended for the common benefit of all.
>
> The above relates to the production of wealth. Let us now consider the way in which rational socialism regulates its distribution.
>
> When labor is free—as is necessarily the case when the land is accessible to all—every one can live without being obliged to accept wages from anybody. In that case, a man would work for others only if they offered him, as wages, more than

he could gain by working for himself. This situation is exprest in economic terms by saying that then wages would tend to a maximum, and when it exists, the distribution of wealth is so affected that the larger share of the product goes to labor and the smaller to capital. But when labor is enslaved, the laborers are forced, under pain of starvation, to compete with one another in offering their labor to those who possess land and capital; and then their wages fall to what is strictly necessary for existence and reproduction; while if the holders of wealth do not need labor, the unemployed laborers must disappear. Wages, then, tend to a minimum, and the distribution of wealth takes place in such a way that the greater part goes to the landowners and capitalists, and the smaller to the laborers. When labor is free, every man's wealth increases in proportion to the toil he has expended; but when labor is enslaved, his wealth grows in proportion to the capital he has accumulated.

From these two opposite modes of distribution flow, according to Colins, the two following consequences, each of which has reference to one or other of the two systems of holding land above described: When land is owned by individuals, the wealth of one class of the community and the poverty of the other increase in parallel lines, and in proportion to the growth of intellectual power; but when land is collectively appropriated, the wealth of all increases in proportion to the activity of each, and to the advance of civilization.

Colins has developed also some original views on the history of communities, which have been reproduced by M. L. de Pottre in his "Dictionnaire Rationnel."

COLLECTIVISM: A term sometimes used in the United States and in Great Britain, but frequently in France, to denote socialism as distinguished from anarchism or communism, both of which are sometimes, tho wrongfully, included under socialism. Collectivism is also used sometimes to indicate the general sociological scheme of socialism, as distinct from any particular form of or plan for carrying out its ideas.

COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY: Organized in New York City, 1902. Its principles are set forth as follows:

We believe that the true principle of production and distribution is exprest in the dictum: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." This principle requires that all should have the opportunity of useful work, and that all should engage in useful work under the penalty or public disgrace; that all should receive comfortable incomes except those who will not work, and that none should receive excessively high incomes, as the latter are morally injurious both to the recipient and to the community. The ultimate operation of this principle will be toward the ideal of practical equality of incomes.

We believe that this principle can be made effective only by the people acting as a whole through governments truly democratic.

We believe that this is no far-off ideal, but is in all civilized countries an attainable rule to be embodied, step by step, into law, custom, and habit.

We believe that the establishment of this principle will require the transfer of the means of production and distribution into the hands of the community; and that every transfer of this nature should be accompanied by full provision for those expropriated on the basis of their needs.

We believe that our governments, national, state, and local, are worthy of hearty allegiance, as in the main good institutions, far more free and beneficent than governments in past times. We believe, however, that they can be made vastly more beneficent through changes for which the present time is ripe.

We believe that in those cases where the powers of government are now used for private gain to the detriment of the people at large, it is because the energetic demands of private interests are not met by an enlightened and united opposition.

We believe that this evil—the exploitation of the powers of government for private gain—should be abolished and our government made fully responsive to the people's will, through the establishment of direct legislation, proportional representation, and the power of recall.

We believe that the measures, other than the last named, which at present promise best results are:

Legislation to secure work to the unemployed; to establish a maximum day and a minimum wage for all workers; and to provide pensions for the aged.

The taxation of franchises at their full value, and the graduated taxation of land values, incomes, and inheritances.

The assumption by city and state governments of enlarged and new activities for the common benefit, including the ownership of public utilities.

The assumption by the national Government of the telegraphs, railroads, and mines.

The organization works mainly by publishing and circulating tracts carefully prepared on evolutionary, scientific, and Christian socialism, and by holding meetings and conferences in New York. Secretary, Miss M. R. Holbrook, P. O. Box 1663, New York City.

COLORADO COOPERATIVE COMPANY, THE: Organized and incorporated in Colorado in 1904, to reclaim by irrigation desert land on Tabeguache Park, whereon to found independent homes for its stockholders. This tract of land in Montrose County, southwestern Colorado, consists of 30,000 acres, two thirds of which is arable and fertile. It is specially adapted to fruit growing and general farming. Timber, coal, and building stone are in close proximity, as well as large deposits of the more precious metals. To reclaim the land an irrigation canal, more than twenty miles in length had to be built, costing at least $300,000. To accomplish this work, stock subscriptions were taken in shares of $100 each, payable in cash, labor, or products of practical use to the company. The source of supply is the San Miguel River, a never-failing stream.

None but stockholders are employed, each of whom receives thirty cents per hour, payable in stock and food supplies from the company's store. There are about 400 stockholders, holding varying numbers of shares. The land holdings range from a town lot to a quarter section, tho a forty-acre tract is the usual claim of each stockholder. Each share of stock entitles its owner to draw a *prorata* share of water flowing in the canal, and on full completion it is estimated that a share will properly irrigate four acres. The unclaimed land may be still homesteaded or otherwise entered at $1.25 per acre. There is as yet no railroad, but surveys are being made, and the prospects for one are fair.

Under the title of The Nucla Town Improvement Company the colonists have incorporated a town company. The stock is divided into shares of $10 each, and each share entitles the holder to a lease of one business lot, or two residence lots, for ninety-nine years, with privilege of renewal. A block of four acres is the maximum holding of any shareholder. The organization is based on the Henry George single tax idea. (See FAIRHOPE.) Nucla town site already embraces 400 acres, nearly all of which is under lease, and more land is expected to be soon ready for platting into lots and blocks. Those appreciative of magnificent scenery, a mild and healthful climate, and an intelligent and progressive community, will find it at Nucla.

F. B. LOGAN.

COLWELL, STEPHEN: American merchant and economist: born in Virginia, 1800; admitted to the bar in his native state, but gave up the profession of law to become an iron merchant in Philadelphia. He studied and wrote much on political economy, being a protectionist; and he was a frequent contributor to the periodicals of his time. His best-known work is "The Ways and Means of Commercial Payment" (1858), in which he attempts to give a full analysis of the credit system, and contends that error has always been made in not distinguishing between

money of gold and silver, and forms of credit. His work is valuable also because of its historical inquiry into the growth of the credit system; and throughout it reveals independence of thought and research. He refused to accept the view that the quantity of money is the controlling factor in determining prices. In 1865 he was appointed a member of the revenue commission, and in the year following made a valuable report on taxation. He died in Philadelphia, 1872. Among his more extended writings may be mentioned: "The Relative Position in our Industry of Foreign Commerce, Domestic Production, and Internal Trade"; and an American edition of Frederick List's "National System of Political Economy," for which he wrote a preliminary essay. His other writings of economic interest are: "The Claims of Labor, and their Precedence to the Claims of Free Trade"; "Gold, Banks, and Taxation and State and National Systems of Banks," "Expansion of the Currency, the Advance of Gold, and the Defects of the Internal Revenue Bill of June, 1864."

COMMERCE (from Latin *com*, together, and *mercari*, to trade) is sometimes used for the interchange of any goods or property, but more correctly for the interchange of goods on a large scale and between different countries or different portions of one country.

The first race to carry on commerce on a large scale was the Phœnicians, first in Tyre and Sidon, and then in the Phœnician colony of Carthage. Much of the commerce of Rome was tribute rather than trade. With the breaking up of the Roman Empire commerce languished till the rise of the free cities of Italy, Venice, Florence, and Pisa. Commerce was also much quickened by the crusades. The free cities of Germany and the Netherlands, which formed the Hanseatic League, created a still greater commerce. The introduction of the mariner's compass into Europe in 1302 and the discovery of the New World and of the Cape of Good Hope vastly developed commerce, particularly in Spain, Portugal, and England, and later in the Netherlands. By the seventeenth century Spain and Portugal had lost their prestige, and England had become the great commercial nation of the world. In medieval times commerce was greatly restricted by dues, taxes, and laws. After the discovery of the New World, governments tried to favor commerce by granting monopolies, trading privileges, etc., often doing more harm than good. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century *laissez faire* has been the general policy. But see PROTECTION.

Enormous strides have been made recently in the development of commerce. At the beginning of the nineteenth century men still lived to a large extent in isolated communities. Only a few good roads existed. Even in England rivers rather than roads were the channels of commerce. It took many days to go from Edinburgh to London in the speediest way. When the battle of Waterloo was fought (1815) it took three days for the news to arrive in London. Dr. Atkinson as late as 1847 was eight months in going from New England to Oregon. Foreign commerce was largely limited to voyages made by ships fitted out or chartered for the special trip, and often a commercial venture of the captain himself. Each nation and each section of the nation had to raise its own food. Hence the failure of a crop in one locality meant a famine, and famines were numerous. To-day the world has become a single market. The use of steam as a motor power on land and sea, and the use of electricity for conveying intelligence has revolutionized commerce. Merchants in England make purchases in India the same day, and on the next day the purchased goods start on their journey. The Suez Canal has reduced the voyage between London and Calcutta to thirty days instead of 200. It has destroyed 2,000,000 of tonnage (see PANAMA). Fresh fruit, raised in California, is sold in London. Fresh meat is carried from New York to Liverpool for one cent a pound. Boxed meats have been carried from Chicago to London at one half a cent a pound. The productions of North America, South America, Australia, Russia, and Egypt battle for the world's markets. It has been calculated that railways have added to the power of the human race a force somewhat greater than that of a horse working twelve days for every inhabitant of the globe. Statistics, however, best show the growth of commerce.

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

(Compiled from U. S. Statistical Abstract, 1906) *Statistics for 1905 except as stated*

NOTE.—United States equivalents of the following monetary units: Argentina: Paper peso (1905) = 42.5 cents. Bolivia: Boliviano (1905) = 44 cents; (1906) = 47.7 cents. Brazil: Milreis (1905–6) = 30.4 cents. China: H. tael (1905) = 73.6 cents. Costa Rica: Colon (1905–6) = 46.5 cents. Greece: Paper drachma (1905–6) = 15.7 cents. Haiti: Paper peso (1905–6) = 25 cents. Honduras: Silver peso (1904–5) = 43 cents. Nicaragua: Peso curr. (1905) = 17 cents. Paraguay: Paper peso (1906) = 8 cents. Portugal: Milreis curr. (1905) = 99.2 cents. Salvador: Peso (1905) = 44.1 cents. Siam: Tical (1905–6) = 30 cents. Spain: Peseta curr. (1906) = 17.1 cents. Turkey: £T = $4.40.

COUNTRY	FOREIGN COMMERCE			
	Imports of merchandise	Per cent imports from United States	Exports of merchandise	Per cent exports to United States.
	Thousands of dollars		*Thousands of dollars*	
Argentina	197,974	14.10	311,544	4.87
Australasia:				
Commonwealth of Australia	[4]186,614	11.70	[4]276,617	1.85
New Zealand	[5]62,432	11.21	[5]76,190	4.58
Austria-Hungary	435,665	9.49	455,487	2.36
Belgium	585,603	7.98	446,439	3.99
Bolivia	8,952	8.45	13,024	.21
Brazil	144,775	10.33	216,668	41.13
Bulgaria	23,594	1.16	28,556	.95
Canada[1]	283,282	59.59	218,182	30.41
Costa Rica	5,239	51.65	8,138	47.14
Guatemala	6,844	39.55	8,238	34.90
Honduras	2,293	73.70	5,564	83.09
Nicaragua[2]	3,202	52.09	3,926	53.21
Salvador	4,346	31.18	5,640	21.72
Chile	71,868	9.92	103,223	15.20
China	339,439	16.68	167,726	11.86
Colombia[2]	[6]14,453	34.15	[6]12,658	54.01
Cuba	94,807	45.34	110,168	86.53
Denmark	[7]166,837	16.08	[7]142,991	3.87
Ecuador	7,657	28.86	9,035	27.32
Egypt	106,591	2.26	100,641	6.18
France	922,329	10.72	939,305	6.06
Colonies: Africa	91,644	.....	55,398	.....
" Elsewhere	79,446	.....	73,310	.....
German Empire	1,696,660	13.91	1,364,131	9.46
Colonies[2]	8,666	2.00	5,897	.17
Greece[2]	26,441	1.11	17,480	4.63
Haiti[3]	5,500	35.56	12,760	8.84
India, British	338,750	1.47	513,563	6.13
Italy[2]	369,351	12.48	308,263	11.95
Japan	243,292	21.35	158,508	29.48
Formosa	12,175	4.71	12,097	14.17
Kongo Free State	3,875	.16	10,235	.....
Korea	15,916	6.19	3,438	.....
Mexico[1]	[8]109,884	65.99	[8]135,027	68.60
Netherlands	1,030,918	9.38	799,694	4.08
Dutch East Indies[2]	77,973	1.66	117,635	8.25
Norway	83,706	2.58	50,631	2.34
Paraguay[2]	3,566	3.51	3,179	.....
Persia[2]	26,943	.44	19,093	.15
Peru[2]	20,916	17.98	19,790	9.34
Portugal[2]	67,006	7.13	33,169	1.94
Rumania	65,145	.....	88,221	.....
Russia[2]	335,472	9.66	518,288	.43
Finland	51,770	.....	47,824	.....

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES—*Continued*

COUNTRY	FOREIGN COMMERBE				COUNTRY	FOREIGN COMMERCE			
	Imports of merchandise	Per cent imports from United States	Exports of merchandise	Per cent exports to United States		Imports of merchandise	Per cent imports from United States	Exports of merchandise	Per cent exports to United States
	Thousands of dollars		*Thousands of dollars*			*Thousands of dollars*		*Thousands of dollars*	
Santo Domingo	2,737	71.65	6,881	65.16	United States[1]	[7]1,226,554	.....	1,717,953	.....
Servia	10,731	2.34	13,895	.....	Philippine Islands[1]	25,799	16.80	31,917	36.28
Siam	17,404	1.60	29,043	.....	Uruguay	21,938	9.67	39,793	5.37
Spain[2]	175,740	11.21	171,962	3.08	Venezuela[1]	8,676	30.22	15,630	31.11
Sweden	153,780	7.22	120,657	2.20					
Switzerland	266,311	4.13	187,079	12.90	World's commerce	13,739,697	.....	12,496,419	.....
Turkey[3]	104,903	.25	65,582	2.76					
United Kingdom	[7]2,749,669	20.45	1,605,053	7.25	Total, exclusive of the commerce of the United States	12,513,143	14.37	10,778,466	9.57
British colonies not elsewhere specified[2]	[5]501,956	7.52	[5]440,692	8.33					

[1]1906 year ending June 30th. [2]1904. [3]1901.
[4]Exclusive of intercolonial commerce and including specie and bullion. [5]Including specie and bullion.
[6]With principal countries. [7]General trade.

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

(See also especial article "Commercial Relations," by Oscar S. Straus)

YEAR	IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE				EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE			
	Free	Dutiable	Total	Per capita[2]	Domestic	Foreign	Total	Per capita[3]
1800	(1)	(1)	$91,252,768	$17.19	$31,840,903	$39,130,877	$70,971,780	$13.37
1810	(1)	(1)	85,400,000	11.80	42,366,675	24,791,295	66,757,970	9.22
1820	(1)	(1)	74,450,000	7.71	51,683,640	18,008,029	69,691,669	7.22
1830	$4,590,281	$58,130,675	62,720,956	4.87	58,524,878	13,145,857	71,670,735	5.57
1840	48,313,391	49,945,315	98,258,706	5.76	111,660,561	12,008,371	123,668,932	7.25
1850	18,081,590	155,427,936	173,509,526	7.48	134,900,233	9,475,493	144,375,726	6.23
1860	73,741,479	279,874,640	353,616,119	11.25	316,242,423	17,333,634	333,576,057	10.61
1870	20,140,786	415,817,622	435,958,408	11.06	376,616,473	16,155,295	392,771,768	9.77
1880	208,301,863	459,652,883	667,954,746	12.51	823,946,353	11,692,305	835,638,658	16.43
1890	265,668,629	523,641,780	789,310,409	12.35	845,293,828	12,534,856	857,828,684	13.50
1900	367,236,866	482,704,318	849,941,184	10.88	1,370,763,571	23,719,511	1,394,483,082	17.96
1901	339,608,669	483,563,496	823,172,165	10.58	1,460,462,806	27,302,185	1,487,764,991	18.81
1902	396,818,871	506,502,077	903,320,948	11.39	1,355,481,861	26,237,540	1,381,719,401	17.16
1903	426,180,979	599,538,258	1,025,719,237	12.54	1,392,231,302	27,910,377	1,420,141,679	17.32
1904	454,130,240	536,957,131	991,087,371	12.01	1,435,179,017	25,648,254	1,460,827,271	17.56
1905	517,442,302	600,070,769	1,117,513,071	13.08	1,491,744,641	26,817,025	1,518,561,666	17.94
1906	549,623,878	676,938,568	1,262,562,446	14.42	1,717,953,382	25,911,118	1,743,864,500	20.41

[1] Not stated. [2] Total imports to 1860, after that imports for consumption only.
[3] Total exports to 1800, after that domestic exports only.

MERCHANDISE EXPORTS, CLASSIFIED

YEAR[1]	Foodstuffs in crude condition, and food animals Value	Foodstuffs partly or wholly prepared Value	Crude materials for use in manufacturing Value	Manufactures for further use in manufacturing Value	Manufactures ready for consumption Value	Miscellaneous Value
1870	$41,852,630	$50,919,666	$213,439,991	$13,711,708	$56,329,137	$363,341
1880	266,108,950	193,352,723	238,787,934	29,044,159	92,774,139	3,878,448
1890	132,073,183	224,756,580	304,566,922	46,454,992	132,527,050	4,915,101
1900	227,347,193	318,126,502	325,589,000	152,890,591	331,955,644	14,854,601
1901	246,394,140	336,605,378	397,767,463	148,013,625	317,764,367	13,917,833
1902	184,786,389	328,831,350	373,595,243	131,918,311	321,946,540	14,404,028
1903	185,308,064	323,244,251	408,679,699	140,415,620	327,482,757	7,100,911
1904	135,747,224	308,835,694	461,716,328	174,574,136	348,745,843	5,559,792
1905	118,185,098	283,064,680	472,665,309	209,361,544	402,064,030	6,403,980
1906	177,216,467	347,385,462	500,536,700	226,210,513	459,812,656	6,791,584

[1] Ending June 30th.

MERCHANDISE IMPORTS, CLASSIFIED

YEAR[1]	Foodstuffs in crude condition, and food animals Value	Foodstuffs partly or wholly prepared Value	Crude materials for use in manufacturing Value	Manufactures for further use in manufacturing Value	Manufactures ready for consumption Value	Miscellaneous Value
1870	$53,981,838	$96,253,561	$53,118,022	$54,545,306	$173,034,847	$5,024,834
1880	100,297,040	118,125,216	131,861,617	110,779,516	196,587,405	10,303,952
1890	128,480,142	133,332,031	170,637,250	116,924,080	230,685,581	9,251,325
1900	97,916,293	133,027,374	276,241,152	134,222,045	203,126,341	5,407,979
1901	110,385,208	125,540,654	248,006,751	127,576,924	205,505,580	6,157,048
1902	120,280,302	95,350,256	303,001,868	147,656,292	231,420,820	5,611,410
1903	119,202,674	116,620,623	330,491,084	195,750,847	257,757,184	5,896,825
1904	132,223,895	118,222,862	320,794,431	160,233,890	252,857,673	6,754,620
1905	146,130,903	145,355,839	389,160,658	177,827,960	252,372,650	6,665,061
1906	134,315,448	140,358,114	414,687,999	220,298,751	307,801,154	9,100,980

[1] Ending June 30th.

PER CENT OF MERCHANDISE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES

By Grand Divisions, Years Ended June 30th.

GRAND DIVISION		1890	1895	1900	1905	1906
		Per ct.	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*	*Per ct.*
Europe	Imports	57.01	52.41	51.84	48.39	51.63
	Exports	79.71	77.76	74.60	67.23	68.82
North America:						
	Imports	18.78	18.29	15.30	20.33	19.19
	Exports	10.98	13.45	13.45	17.16	17.68
South America:						
	Imports	11.41	15.32	11.02	13.49	11.45
	Exports	4.52	4.15	2.79	3.75	4.31
Asia	Imports	8.55	10.61	16.45	14.50	14.08
	Exports	2.30	2.15	4.66	8.46	6.05
Oceania	Imports	3.60	2.39	4.07	2.27	2.02
	Exports	1.92	1.62	3.11	2.18	2.02
Africa	Imports	.43	.78	1.32	1.02	1.03
	Exports	.54	.79	1.39	1.22	1.12

For countries, see TABLE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES.

EXPORTS

Merchandise and Specie During the Year Ended June 30, 1906

ARTICLES	Values
Domestic Merchandise	
Agricultural Implements	$24,554,427
Animals	49,139,508
Books, Maps, Other Printed Matter	5,839,452
Brass, and Manufactures of	3,471,981
Breadstuffs: Corn	62,061,856
" Oats	16,234,918
" Wheat	28,757,517
" Wheat Flour	59,106,869
Carriages, Cars, Vehicles and Parts of	17,788,425
Chemicals, Drugs, Dyes, Medicines	18,331,974
Clocks and Watches	2,598,441
Coal: Anthracite	9,722,322
" Bituminous	18,494,054
Copper Ore	1,895,971
" Manufactures of	81,282,664
Cotton: Unmanufactured	401,005,921
" Manufactures of	52,944,033
Earthen, Stone, and China Ware	1,080,274
Fertilizers	8,686,965
Fibers, Vegetable, and Textile Grasses, Manufactures of	8,157,211
Fish	7,559,178
Fruits, Apples, Green or Ripe	31,751,375
Fruits and Nuts, all other	11,522,783
Furs and Fur Skins	8,002,282
Glass and Glassware	2,433,904
Glucose or Grape Sugar	3,489,192
Gunpowder and other Explosives	3,568,038
Hay	1,116,307
Hops	3,125,843
India Rubber Manufactures	6,543,735
Instruments for Scientific Purposes	10,887,774
Iron and Steel, Manufactures of	160,984,985
Leather, and Manufactures of	40,642,858
Malt Liquors	1,116,776
Marble, Stone, and Manufactures of	1,466,561
Musical Instruments	3,168,052
Naval Stores	20,075,585
Oil Cake	23,991,504
Oils: Animal	577,218
" Mineral, Crude	7,016,131
" Mineral, Refined or Manuf'd	77,025,196
" Vegetable	15,906,031
Paints, Pigments, and Colors	3,773,064
Paper, and Manufactures of	9,536,065
Paraffin, Paraffin Wax	8,808,245
Provisions: Beef Products	40,251,314
" Hog Products	130,212,298
" Oleomargarin	18,489,232
" Other Meat Products	13,283,998
" Dairy Products	8,753,223
Seeds	8,912,762
Soap	2,781,179
Spirits, Distilled	1,991,692
Starch	1,490,797
Molasses, and Syrup	2,952,953
Sugar	823,221

EXPORTS—*Continued*

ARTICLES	Values
Domestic Merchandise	
Tobacco: Unmanufactured	28,808,367
" Manufactures of	5,410,480
Vegetables	3,567,127
Wood, and Manufactures of	69,080,394
Wool, and Manufactures of	2,176,813
All other Articles	71,721,047
Total Exports, Domestic Mdse	$1,717,953,382
Exports, Foreign Merchandise	25,911,118
Specie: Gold	$38,573,591
" Silver	65,869,063
Total Exports, Domestic and Foreign	$1,848,307,154

IMPORTS

Merchandise and Specie During the Year Ended June 30, 1906

ARTICLES	Values
Merchandise	
Sugar	$85,460,088
Hides and Skins, other than Fur	83,882,167
Chemicals, Drugs, Dyes, and Medicines	74,452,664
Coffee	73,256,134
Silk, Unmanufactured	54,080,504
Cotton, Manufactures of	63,043,322
Fibers, Vegetable, Manufactures of	51,437,581
India Rubber and Gutta-Percha, Crude	46,035,685
Silk, Manufactures of	32,910,590
Fibers, Vegetable, Unmanufactured	39,360,290
Wood, and Manufactures of	36,528,563
Iron and Steel, and Manufactures of	29,053,987
Wool, Unmanufactured	39,068,372
Fruits, including Nuts	28,915,747
Tin, in Bars, Blocks, or Pigs	30,932,998
Jewelry and Precious Stones	42,120,715
Wool, Manufactures of	23,080,683
Tobacco	22,447,514
Tobacco, Manufactures of	4,143,192
Leather, and Manufactures of	15,140,926
Copper, and Manufactures of (not ore)	25,835,502
Furs, and Manufactures of	21,855,682
Tea	14,580,878
Earthen, Stone, and China Ware	12,877,528
Cotton, Unmanufactured	10,879,592
Wines	10,993,968
Oils	13,723,948
Cocoa, Crude, and Shells of	8,697,515
Glass and Glassware	7,507,823
Animals	3,914,422
Coal, Bituminous	4,367,750
Feathers, Flowers, etc	6,988,612
Paper, and Manufactures of	6,998,761
Spirits, Distilled	5,524,767
Books, Maps, Engravings, etc	5,601,345
Spices	5,188,116
Paper Stock, Crude	4,370,110
Cement, Portland, Hydraulic	1,302,239
Lead, Ore and Base Bullion	3,534,876
Toys	5,887,863
Vegetables	5,092,932
Hats, Bonnets, and Materials for	4,571,184
Hair, and Manufactures of	3,854,349
Art Works	4,908,782
Rice	3,082,203
Provisions, Meat, and Dairy Products	5,117,054
Bristles	2,695,746
Cork Wood, and Manufactures of	3,313,306
Clocks and Watches, and Parts of	3,105,136
Malt Liquors	2,738,855
Fertilizers	4,446,360
All other Articles	127,454,917
Total Merchandise	$1,276,614,917
Specie: Gold	$96,221,730
" Silver	44,442,540
Total Imports	$1,418,279,187

GREAT BRITAIN

Imports and Exports of Merchandise of the United Kingdom

(Compiled from the "Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom")

The values of the imports represent the cost, insurance, and freight; or, when goods are consigned for sale, the latest sale value of such goods. The values of the exports represent the cost and the charges of delivering the goods on board the ship, and are known as the "free on board" values.

Years	Total Imports		Exports				Total of Imports and Exports	
			Of British Produce					
	Total value	Proportion per head of population of United Kingdom	Total value	Proportion per head of population of United Kingdom	Of foreign and colonial produce	Total exports	Total values	Proportion per head of population
	£	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£	£	£	£ s. d.
1891.	435,441,264	11 10 5	247,235,150	6 10 10	61,878,568	309,113,718	744,554,982	19 13 11
1895.	416,689,658	10 12 6	226,128,246	5 15 4	59,704,161	285,832,407	702,522,065	17 18 3
1900.	523,075,163	12 14 3	291,191,996[1]	7 1 6	63,181,758	354,373,754	877,448,917	21 6 5
1904.	551,038,628	12 17 6	300,711,040	7 0 6	70,304,281	371,015,321	922,053,949	21 10 11
1905.	565,019,917	13 1 5	329,816,614	7 12 7	77,779,913	407,596,527	972,616,444	22 10 1

Note.—The above accounts are exclusive of bullion and specie under bond.

[1] The value of ships and boats (new) with their machinery is included in 1900 and subsequently; previous to that the value of such exports is not included.

Foreign Commerce

(For commerce with colonies, see British Empire)

Country		1891	1900	1905
		£	£	£
Russia	Imports	24,110,251	21,983,952	33,302,234
	Exports	8,193,132	16,360,475	14,884,050
Sweden	Imports	8,509,651	10,635,060	9,827,993
	Exports	4,066,242	6,495,223	6,016,332
Norway	Imports	3,363,629	5,756,018	5,954,870
	Exports	2,520,196	3,910,982	3,712,532
Denmark	Imports	7,936,787	13,187,757	15,606,991
	Exports	3,032,612	4,724,181	4,609,671
Germany	Imports	27,031,743	31,181,667	35,799,758
	Exports	29,944,361	38,542,790	42,742,300
Netherlands	Imports	27,301,657	31,381,023	35,481,059
	Exports	14,988,930	14,931,090	14,516,887
Belgium	Imports	17,253,265	23,502,603	27,751,288
	Exports	13,272,472	14,846,307	14,818,923
France	Imports	44,777,460	53,618,656	53,072,900
	Exports	24,336,676	25,877,453	23,232,663
Portugal	Imports	2,952,965	3,241,367	2,929,634
	Exports	2,349,254	2,529,305	2,826,257
Spain	Imports	10,523,875	15,882,346	13,858,631
	Exports	5,527,061	6,333,857	4,841,774
Italy	Imports	3,419,281	3,417,790	3,324,595
	Exports	6,853,048	9,444,498	9,787,306
Austria-Hungary	Imports	1,464,106	1,375,245	1,488,604
	Exports	1,607,191	3,157,716	2,603,223
Greece	Imports	2,166,486	2,227,212	1,328,234
	Exports	1,218,546	1,104,196	1,251,642
Bulgaria	Imports	126,875	40,670	71,316
	Exports	121,641	171,911	649,761
Rumania	Imports	5,038,091	1,396,639	1,689,513
	Exports	1,739,712	616,287	1,305,658
Turkey	Imports	5,442,881	5,657,627	5,491,443
	Exports	7,098,474	5,372,956	6,979,147
Egypt	Imports	10,658,288	12,585,578	14,976,188
	Exports	3,875,664	6,159,468	8,069,668
Tripoli	Imports	271,870	170,024	323,439
	Exports	8,957	63,008	140,079
Tunis	Imports	204,211	202,661	257,636
	Exports	177,096	257,474	297,852
Morocco	Imports	611,445	618,421	467,314
	Exports	733,149	720,494	739,533
Congo Free State.	Imports	12,503	17,619	16,432
	Exports	94,847	162,308	136,245
Persia	Imports	163,639	180,279	151,098
	Exports	487,838	410,190	488,179
Siam	Imports	100,695	26,708	322,682
	Exports	101,938	205,271	544,522
China (exclusive of Hongkong and Macão).	Imports	4,713,508	2,359,821	2,340,346
	Exports	6,525,662	5,634,313	13,298,828
Japan	Imports	1,152,585	1,540,526	1,860,313
	Exports	3,060,893	9,933,925	9,796,900
Philippine Islands and Guam.	Imports	2,421,227	1,680,291	1,889 302
	Exports	812,038	1,200,787	2,429;960
Islands in the Pacific not elsewhere stated.	Imports	58,795	228,664	296,797
	Exports	182,102	163,024	84,224
United States. On the Atlantic.	Imports	99,969,780	133,359,951	113,624,865
	Exports	39,952,818	36,894,169	46,790,941
On the Pacific.	Imports	4,439,270	5,429,310	1,948,186
	Exports	1,113,829	449,786	491,147
Total United States of America.	Imports	104,409,050	138,789,261	115,573,051
	Exports	41,066,647	37,343,955	47,282,088
Cuba and Porto Rico.	Imports	141,117	40,603	163,137
	Exports	2,488,061	2,031,866	2,772,485
Mexico	Imports	493,453	472,184	881,096
	Exports	1,956,647	2,158,976	2,031,260
Central American States.	Imports	1,400,130	672,406	1,257,478
	Exports	1,205,489	990,676	990,814
Haiti and St. Domingo.	Imports	44,757	53,058	31,354
	Exports	335,358	337,281	302,093
Colombia	Imports	329,244	282,906	295,088
	Exports	1,341,233	364,685	591,288
Venezuela	Imports	290,997	123,634	204,778
	Exports	860,490	567,692	479,997
Ecuador	Imports	110,238	152,677	170,231
	Exports	275,262	349,560	449,459
Brazil	Imports	4,249,909	5,946,547	8,109,208
	Exports	8,605,233	6,165,600	6,916,617
Uruguay	Imports	374,261	489,581	818,368
	Exports	1,194,630	1,737,493	2,098,532
Argentine Republic.	Imports	3,451,228	13,080,466	25,034,325
	Exports	4,366,028	7,438,238	13,383,835
Chile	Imports	3,110,356	4,828,371	6,068,037
	Exports	2,205,969	3,535,736	4,782,382
Peru	Imports	969,814	1,307,004	2,367,204
	Exports	1,125,206	1,069,301	1,313,421
Western Coast of Africa.	Imports	418,986	84,013	67,537
	Exports	424,979	103,079	79,380
Other Foreign Countries.	Imports	627,994	139,633	329,122
	Exports	699,986	550,565	903,450
Total of foreign Countries.	Imports	335,976,546	413,434,242	437,151,191
	Exports	215,775,599	252,290,645	284,883,607

GERMAN FOREIGN TRADE (in Marks)

Country	Imports		Exports	
	1898	1905	1898	1905
United States	877,200,000	1,004,300,000	334,600,000	543,000,000
Great Britain	825,700,000	784,300,000	803,800,000	1,057,800,000
Russia	727,100,000	1,090,800,000	409,600,000	368,400,000
Austria-Hungary	661,200,000	773,200,000	453,700,000	594,900,000
France	265,300,000	409,100,000	205,400,000	293,500,000
Belgium	201,400,000	277,500,000	187,300,000	312,500,000
Netherlands	184,100,000	256,800,000	280,100,000	448,800,000
Italy	170,300,000	216,000,000	107,000,000	175,400,000
Switzerland	173,500,000	190,300,000	255,900,000	369,800,000
Sweden	102,900,000	119,200,000	44,700,000	159,100,000
Denmark	65,600,000	124,100,000	94,400,000	185,900,000
Spain	48,100,000	116,800,000	24,700,000	53,100,000
Rumania	34,000,000	94,100,000	37,100,000	44,400,000
Turkey	29,500,000	51,500,000	37,100,000	71,000,000
Norway	29,100,000	24,300,000	63,100,000	70,600,000
Portugal	17,500,000	16,600,000	15,600,000	27,800,000
Bulgaria	1,800,000	15,300,000	5,800,000	12,400,000
Greece	8,400,000	13,600,000	5,500,000	8,500,000
British India	220,900,000	277,800,000	57,100,000	98,700,000
China	39,500,000	42,700,000	48,000,000	75,800,000
Japan	10,300,000	20,400,000	43,000,000	84,600,000
Asia (balance)	118,900,000	61,900,000	18,800,000	30,200,000
Africa	130,700,000	58,700,000	110,600,000	65,600,000
Mexico	11,300,000	22,200,000	30,900,000	43,500,000
Cuba	12,500,000	17,400,000	4,600,000	19,700,000
South America	241,600,000	421,500,000	140,700,000	312,600,000

For further information on commerce, see each country.

COMMERCE AND LABOR, DEPARTMENT OF: This department was formed by the act of Congress of Feb. 11, 1903, and constitutes one of the nine executive departments of the general government. It is in charge of a secretary who is a member of the Cabinet, and who also receives the same salary ($8,000) as the other Cabinet officers. This department was created with a view to the furthering and developing of trade both in the United States and also with foreign lands; of the different industries connected with the fisheries, mines, and manufactures; of matters respecting labor and the working people; of the bettering of the means of transit by coach, railway, and steamboat; of the overlooking of matters regarding the various kinds of insurance. Within the department are several bureaus, the Lighthouse Board and the lighthouse establishment, the Steamboat Inspection, the Bureau of Corporations, the Bureaus of Manufactures, of Labor, of Navigation, of Standards, of Statistics of the Treasury, of Foreign Commerce, of the Census, of the Fish Commission, of the Corporations, of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, of the Shipping Commissioner, of Immigration, of the Fulfilment of the Exclusion Acts against Chinese. The Fish Commission has oversight of the salmon and other fisheries of Alaska and the hunting of the fur-seal. The Bureau of Corporations is intended to have control of the different trust and trade combinations. There is a Commissioner of Corporations who receives a salary of $5,000, whose duty it is to look carefully into the organizing, getting up, and managing of all stock companies trading whether in the U. S. or abroad, with the exception alone of the common carriers who come under the Interstate Commerce Act. It is his duty to collect information and embody it in a paper to the president. He has the power to call upon and to subpœna witnesses to give testimony.

The first secretary under the act was Mr. George B. Cortelyou, of New York, appointed Feb. 16, 1903. After him came Mr. Victor B. Metcalf, of California. The present incumbent, appointed 1907, is Mr. Oscar S. Straus, of New York.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS (United States): The friendly sentiment which exists between nations, while due in many cases to descent from a common stock and to the presence in one country of many former citizens of another, is also due to the existence of that other commercial factor, invested capital. The friendly sentiment existing between the United States and all English-speaking nations is, of course, the result, to a great extent, of a common parentage and the use of a common language as a medium of intercourse. In the case of our dealings with the Germanic nations there is not only the close relationship between the Anglo-Saxon and the Germanic, but also the presence in this country of millions of representatives of those nations.

The number of immigrants admitted into the U. S. from Germany alone since 1820 exceeds 5,000,000 and the number of natives of that country residing in the U. S. at the present time is nearly 3,000,000. The number of Austrians residing in the U. S. at the date of the last census was over a quarter of a million; natives of Holland over 100,000; and of the natives of Norway and Sweden and Denmark over 1,000,000; while of the natives of the United Kingdom the total in 1900 was 2,500,000 and of Canada more than 1,000,000.

The latest available statistics indicate that the number of natives of the U. S. now residing in the United Kingdom is approximately 30,000. The German census of 1900 showed the presence of practically 18,000 of our citizens residing in Germany. The Mexican census showed nearly 16,000 Americans residing in Mexico in 1900, and the Canadian census of 1901 showed about 41,000 natives of the U. S. residing in Canada. Sub-

sequent Canadian records show a migration of from 25,000 to 45,000 per annum from the U. S. to Canada, which suggests that the number of our own people now residing in the Dominion is probably over 100,000.

Our consul-general in Mexico reported some two or three years ago that over $500,000,000 of American capital was invested in that country, and persons well acquainted with the movements of investments out of the U. S. are of the opinion that this sum has been increased since at the rate of perhaps $100,000,000 per annum, and that the total American capital invested in Mexico approximates $800,000,000. Reports from our consuls in Canada and other available sources indicate that the investment of American capital among our neighbors on the north is also to be measured by hundreds of millions.

Our consul-general in Cuba has indicated that, in his opinion, the amount of American capital there invested is between $100,000,000 and $200,000,000, and a study of this subject recently made by the Bureau of Statistics develops the fact that probably $100,000,000 of American capital have been invested in the Hawaiian Islands, and from $10,000,000 to $15,000,000 in Porto Rico. In the great countries of Europe, where capital is plentiful, American inventions and American skill in manfacturing and management have combined with local capital to develop great industrial enterprises, which have strengthened the cordiality of sentiment existing between the two peoples.

There is no difficulty in proving that the existence of these factors—sentiment, immigration, and invested capital—has been followed by the maintenance of cordial commercial relationships. The United Kingdom, having with us a common language and of whose people we had in 1900 2,750,000 in the U. S., and to which we have sent 30,000 of our own people to become permanent residents in its communities, is the most important customer for American exports.

Germany is next in importance in both our export and import trade. Of German people we had in 1900 two and two thirds millions, and today have perhaps as many as 3,000,000, and in that country 20,000 Americans now reside. Canada follows, and of her people we had in 1900 over 1,000,000, and she has 100,000 former citizens of the U. S. In Canada are invested large sums of American capital. Still another country with which our trade relations have grown with wonderful rapidity is Mexico, which takes two thirds of its imports from us and sends three fourths of its exports to us. In that country probably 20,000 former citizens of the U. S. reside and hundreds of millions of American capital are invested, while the number of former Mexican citizens now residing in the U. S. is over 100,000.

There is negative proof to add to the positive proof that sentiment and good-will between nations needs immigration and invested capital for the growth of trade relations. Indeed, there is a reverse side to the picture. Our friendship for France is a matter of history. Altho our relations have always been cordial, we have often wondered that our trade grows so slowly and that we supply only about 10 per cent of its imports, while to Germany we supply 14 per cent, to the United Kingdom 25 per cent, and to Canada 60 per cent of their imports. While this apparently anomalous condition is doubtless due in part to the restrictive policy of France, may it not also be due in some degree to the fact that the total number of French residing in the U. S. in 1900 was but 104,000, as compared to the millions of the United Kingdom, Germany, and Canada?

To prove my proposition further, the surprizingly rapid growth of our trade with Italy in recent years is but an additional argument supporting the theory that the closeness of relationship between the peoples of the two countries is an important factor in the development of commercial relations. Our trade with Italy in recent years has expanded from practically $40,000,000 in 1896 to nearly $90,000,000 at present, and at the same time the number of Italians in the U. S., which in 1900 was nearly 500,000, has grown with phenomenal rapidity in recent years, with a correspondingly gratifying enlargement of our trade relations with that country.

The number of Russians in the U. S. in 1900 was nearly half a million, and the increase since then has been very great. The value of our exports to Russia has more than doubled in the last decade and the value of our imports from that country more than quadrupled. We have wondered and with reason at the slow growth of our exports to South American countries and especially at their small value when compared with the large amount represented by our imports from that section of the world. But possibly we do not take into consideration the fact that the South American countries are peopled by races less akin to us in nationality than those previously mentioned, and that American citizens and American capital are seldom found in those communities. The South American countries are generously populated with Europeans and are enjoying the beneficial effects of their capital. The number of South Americans residing in the U. S. in 1900 was less than 5,000, as compared with the 100,000 from Mexico.

The conclusions to be drawn from these facts and figures are clearly that the sentiment of friendship as well as that of cordiality has accompanied the development of commerce with those countries with which our commercial intercourse is greatest and most satisfactory and that it should be continued and fostered.

There can be no doubt that the presence in the U. S. of capital from foreign countries and the presence in such countries of American capital does strengthen commercial relations between the nations, while the presence of industrious citizens from other countries has been of great aid in developing the many industries that have made us the most wealthy and prosperous nation in the world, as well as the greatest manufacturing nation, and placed us in the front rank of exporters of domestic products and of manufactures.

For the purpose of properly expanding and enlarging our trade relations, it is of the highest importance that the executive branch of our Government charged with the cultivation of friendly relations with foreign countries shall not be hampered by any narrowness or short-sightedness on the part of our lawmakers, either national or in the separate states, for every obstacle that is put in the way of friendly international relations is bound to reflect and act as a check upon our foreign commerce, and at the same time upon our wage-workers, of whom so many are employed in industries and manufactures engaged in exporting. As it has been shown that the movement of population from one country to another is one of the forerunners of international trade, as well as a

great factor in promoting it, we must have a care not to put unreasonable checks on immigration.

So long as the exclusion law was clearly understood to apply only to the coolie class our trade with China grew with rapidity. Her merchants and travelers and representative people visited this country freely and sent their sons to be educated in our schools, colleges, and universities. In like manner Americans visited China freely, and the number of our people residing in that country increased from less than 1,300 in 1894 to over 3,200 in 1904. Our exports to China grew from less than $5,000,000 in 1895 to over $50,000,000 in 1905, and while we believe that the loss of over $20,000,000 shown in the returns for 1906 was due, in some degree, to the fact that the trade of 1905 was abnormally large, there can be no doubt that it was due in some part to the recent trade boycotts, resulting from the feeling on the part of the Chinese that their representative people do not receive proper treatment when they apply for admission into the U. S. So apparent was this fact that President Roosevelt, in a message to Congress a year ago, urged the enactment of a Chinese admission law.

The individual merchant or manufacturer knows that he cannot expect to hold customers whom he openly offends or brutally insults. The same is true of a nation. It cannot offend another nation and hold the trade of its people. International courtesy is as essential to international good-will as is a similar relationship between individuals, and the consequences in the former case are far more serious and permanent. The merchants and manufacturers of our country can perform no more valuable service to the nation and to the promotion of foreign commerce than in strengthening public sentiment to support the government in cultivating these friendly relations with other nations which are so essential to good-will and good trade relations.

Our trade with Japan has shown a surprizing growth in recent years, during which time a feeling of deep friendship has developed between that remarkable race and our own. Her people have been welcomed to all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the most favored nation, except actual citizenship. The privileges of Americans residing in Japan, the number of whom has nearly doubled in the past decade, have correspondingly increased.

Our great silk manufactories, which employ thousands of working men and disburse over $30,000,000 a year in wages, have drawn largely for their raw material upon Japan, sending her nearly $40,000,000 for raw silk in the year just ended. Japan in turn has purchased freely of the products of our farms and factories, so that our exports to that country have grown from less than $8,000,000 in 1896 to over $38,000,000 in 1906. In view of these flattering commercial relations with the dominant power of the Far East, it is a matter of serious regret that recent incidents in a single community of our country—a community that has profited largely through the enlargement of our trade with Japan—should have endangered the cordiality of relations under which that trade has developed.

While this occurrence is too recent to have had as yet a perceptible effect upon trade relations, it requires no stretch of imagination to foresee that unless these deplorable incidents are satisfactorily adjusted they will have a disastrous effect upon our future trade with that country. On this subject I believe the President voiced the sentiment of the great mass of our people when he said in his message to Congress:

> Not only must we treat all nations fairly, but we must treat with justice and good-will all immigrants who come here under the law. All we have to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the State, then he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is a sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such stranger who has come here lawfully and who is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is especially incumbent on every government official, whether of the nation or of the several states.

Altho the question of ethics in the growth of international commerce may at first sight prove novel, there is really nothing new about it other than that the nations of the world are growing more enlightened, because the basic principles of honesty and courtesy in individual business naturally extend to the larger enterprise of international trade relations. As I have traced out, the growth of trade relations is attributable, in some degree at least, to cordiality of international relationship and of relationship between our own people and those of the nations with which we come into business contact. The future success of our manufacturers and exporters rests in their own hands.

Our government can do certain things. It can, for instance, maintain a great department, such as that of Commerce and Labor; it can record the movements of articles into and out of the country, and the names of countries from which imports come and to which exports go; it can show the growth of exports of various articles, the demand in a given country for the same; it can send its consuls and special representatives to the various nations of the world to learn what markets exist for our goods, and how they must be made and packed and sold to meet the requirements of those markets—but it cannot bring to our manufacturers and exporters that close personal relationship with the people of these nations that is so essential to them if they are to maintain the greatest measure of success.

By sending special representatives to solicit trade, by establishing banking and other facilities therefor, and by cultivating and maintaining friendly relations the exporting nations of Europe have obtained their success in the markets of the world. And when I say special representatives I mean men representing the manufacturer, and so familiar with his own individual methods of production and with commerce that they can present to him the details of the existing trade opportunities and the processes to which he must adapt his own existing methods in order to make his goods salable in the communities in question. These are the things the government cannot do for the manufacturer and the exporter —things they can do only for themselves.

In round numbers the world's imports of manufactures now aggregate $5,000,000,000 in value, and of that amount we are at present contributing but $700,000,000, or about 14 per cent, altho we are the world's greatest producers of all the important articles used in manufacturing, such as cotton, iron, copper, timber, and coal, the last of which furnishes the power necessary to transform the others into the finished products.

We also have the world's greatest system of railways with which to assemble these raw ma-

terials and carry them to the water's edge. Whether our government shall aid in building a great merchant marine for carrying these products, already cheaply transported, from the water's edge to the principal foreign markets, or whether such aid should be confined to those sections with which our trade has shown little development and to which foreign capital is offering us no direct system of transportation, is a matter yet to be determined.

But certain it is that, whatever the government may do in aid of our foreign commerce, or in collecting general information regarding trade opportunities in foreign countries, the real opportunity for success in those markets rests with our producers and exporters, who, by sending their personal representatives among these people, will not only obtain for themselves the information necessary to that trade, but will, at the same time, aid in developing that international sentiment and close relationship which have proved so important a factor in our commercial relations with the countries where our greatest success has been attained.

OSCAR S. STRAUS,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

COMMONS: Commons, or land held in common by a village, town, or community, play a large part in the history of land tenure. This is true of Great Britain among other countries, but for the treatment of the subject in general and also in Great Britain, see LAND; PRIMITIVE PROPERTY. The subject is here treated in regard to the United States. The first colonists of America divided land among themselves in proportion to the size of their families; and in some parts of New England according to rank. In Plymouth, however, pasture lands were for many years assigned by lot in town meetings, and wood was cut down and hauled in common. The forests were for more than a century known as "commons." In 1710 Plymouth comprized over 30,000 acres of common land, and to-day there are still over 200 acres of "town land," chiefly forest.

In the old town of Sandwich there is still a parcel of land known as the "Town Neck." This is owned by a company of twenty-four proprietors, the descendants or heirs of the first settlers of the town. Originally the Town Neck, like other common lands, belonged to the whole town. In the town records, under the date May 22, 1658, stands the following note: "If an inhabytant wanteth land to plant, hee may have some in the Towne Neck, or in the common for six yeare and noe longer." Later, April 6, 1678, townsmen are given liberty to improve Neck lands "noe longer than ten yeares, and then to be at the townsmen's ordering againe." In the year 1695 the use of the Town Neck was restricted to the heirs of original proprietors, and the land was staked out into thirty-eight lots. The lots were not fenced off, and the whole tract continued to lie as a common field, under the authority of the entire body of proprietors, like the arable lands of a Germanic village community. On April 4, 1695, it was agreed that the Town Neck should be improved for the future as a common field, until the major part of those interested should see cause otherwise to dispose or improve the same. The common fence was to be made up, and a gate to be provided by May 1st. A field-driver or hayward was to keep the Town Neck clear of creatures, and to impound for trespass. In 1700 it was voted that the Neck be cleared of creatures by April 16th, and that no part of the land be improved for tillage other than by sowing.

Lately, it has been proposed to sell this land to a private company for the Cape Cod Canal, a proposal which the Massachusetts Nationalists have strongly opposed. The above is only one instance of the survival of communal lands in New England. In Salem there were ten fields which belonged each to a number of proprietors, who had individual rights, but were subject to communal authority, a majority vote being supreme. They were tilled, sown, reaped in common. And this was only a part of their communism. The forests around Salem were long kept "for the commons of the towne, to serve it for wood and timber." No townsman could make profit by exporting the logs or lumber, but every man was free to take all he needed for fencing, fuel, or building purposes. Like many other towns, Salem had large tracts of meadow land, where every man had liberty to mow. After the grass crop had been gathered, the cattle of the town were turned into the meadows to graze. Along the Connecticut River this custom continued until quite recent times. Boston Commons was thus used for many generations. The Town Neck in Salem, which is now a public pleasure-ground, remained a common pasture for milch cows until lately. At present there are 300 acres of common land, called the "Great Pastures," being the last remnant of a tract of 4,000 acres. It is owned by the descendants of the original commoners. In 1640 the town voted that "none of the commons within the cattle range should be granted to any individual use." Generally, however, the increase of population led to the gradual breaking up of the system of communism. It was, however, only after a long contest that the landless citizens triumphed over the village patricians. The immediate result of the abolition of common lands was very beneficial to the interests of the community, as the number of small landowners was increased.

It is not only in New England that traces of the early land communism appear, but in all English or Dutch settlements. There were commons in Nantucket, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Almost everywhere in the South certain communal customs prevailed. Forests, streams, and foot-paths are generally regarded as common to all. The court greens in Southern towns are as free as village greens or commons. Annapolis has a town pasture which is typical of scores of others. In the Southern parishes the glebe lands are only an ecclesiastical phase of the original communism, separated and administered by church boards for church purposes, similar to the town lands of New England, which yielded support to the schools and clergy.

REFERENCES: *The Survival of Land Community in New England*, by W. F. Allen, in *The Nation*, Jan. 10, 1878; *Johns-Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol. i., No. 2, on *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns*, and Nos. 9 and 10, on *Village Communities of Cape Ann and Salem.*

COMMONS, JOHN ROGERS: Professor of political economy; born at Hollandsburg, Ohio, 1862; educated in public schools and at Oberlin College; studied political science at Johns Hopkins University, 1889–90 (A.M., 1890). He was successively tutor in economics at the Wesleyan University, and professor of political economy at Oberlin (1891–92), Indiana University (1893–1895), Syracuse University (1895–9). He was expert agent of the United States Industrial Commission in 1901; and assistant secretary of the National Civic Federation, 1902. Since 1904 he has been professor of political economy at the University of Wisconsin. Commons was one of the founders of the AMERICAN PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE, and has been active in numerous social-reform movements and organizations, particularly, recently, in the National Civic Federation, and as a director of the American Bureau of Industrial Research at Wisconsin University, in which capacity he made special studies of trade-unionism and kindred subjects for an industrial history of the United States, now in course of preparation. He belongs to no one school, except as holding to the so-called ethical view of political economy. He favors the referendum and initiative, proportional representation, arbitration and conciliation, trade-unionism, the nationalization and municipalization of natural monopolies, and the complete governmental control of currency. He is the author of: "Distribution of Wealth"; "Social Reform and the Church"; "Proportional Representation"; "Trade-Unionism and Labor Problems"; "Races and Immigrants in America," besides numerous articles in magazines and economic journals. *Address*: Wisconsin University, Madison, Wis.

COMMUNE, COMMUNALISM, AND COMMUNARDS: A commune (from Latin *communis*, common) is in general a community organized, or the

government of such a community. Under the Roman Empire every province appears to have had its own provincial diet or assembly, called a *concilium* or *commune*, and these are held by some to have been the first attempts at representative assemblies. But see COMMUNISM; MIR, etc. In the Middle Ages many cities and towns formed confederacies of citizens, and all such confederacies of towns or provinces were called communes. We read of the Commune of Florence, the Commune of Paris, etc. In France especially these communes at one time developed very considerable power and obtained large rights which they gradually lost under the centralizing tendencies of the government of the Louis. Beginning with the Revolution, however, there has been a constant agitation for, and some serious insurrections in order to gain, the supremacy of the old *communes*. This has led to a theory particularly popular in France, which would make the commune the political and social center, and do away with all central government save a loose federation of communes. This was the ideal of BAKOUNIN, and is the view of most anarchist communists. (See ANARCHISM, section "Anarchist Communism.") It was this theory that largely led to the rising of the PARIS COMMUNE in 1871. One who advocates this view is sometimes called a *communard*, tho this phrase has been particularly appropriated for the supporters of the Paris Commune. Prof. R. T. Ely and other writers, however, prefer the word *communalist* for the believer in this theory. (See also COMMUNISM; PARIS COMMUNE.)

COMMUNISM: The economic theory which advocates the total or partial abolition of the right of private property, actual ownership being ascribed to the community as a whole or to the state. Says Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy":

> Communism is the theory which teaches that the labor and the income of society should be distributed equally among all its members by some constituted authority. For an example of what communists mean by equal division of labor and income, the following explanation may suffice: "Here equality must be measured by the capacity of the worker and the need of the consumer, not by the intensity of the labor and the quantity of things consumed. A man endowed with a certain degree of strength, when he lifts a weight of ten pounds, labors as much as another man with five times the strength when he lifts fifty pounds. He who, to satisfy a burning thirst, swallows a pitcher of water, enjoys no more than his comrade who, but slightly thirsty, sips a cupful. The aim of the communism in question is equality of pains and pleasures, not of consumable things and workers' tasks." (Buonarroti, "Conspiration de Babeuf," i., 297.)

Says John Stuart Mill ("Political Economy," book ii., chap. i.):

> The assailants of the principle of individual property may be divided into two classes: those whose scheme implies absolute equality in the distribution of the physical means of life and enjoyment, and those who admit inequality, but grounded on some principle, or supposed principle, of justice or general expediency, and not, like so many of the existing social inequalities, dependent on accident alone. At the head of the first class, as the earliest of those belonging to the present generation, must be placed Mr. Owen and his followers. M. Louis Blanc and M. Cabet have more recently become conspicuous as apostles of similar doctrines (tho the former advocates equality of distribution only as a transition to a still higher standard of justice, that all should work according to their capacity, and receive according to their wants). The characteristic name for this economical system is communism, a word of continental origin, only of late introduced into this country. The word socialism, which originated among the English communists, and was assumed by them as a name to designate their own doctrine, is now, on the Continent, employed in a larger sense; not necessarily implying communism, or the entire abolition of private property, but applied to any system which requires that the land and the instruments of production should be the property, not of individuals, but of communities or associations, or of the government.

This is probably the best use of the word, tho there is some authority for using the word "communism" simply as identical with extreme and radical socialism. It is unnecessary, however, to use two words for the same thing, and communism is being limited more and more by the best writers to apply to that school of Socialists who believe in holding all property in common except the merest personal effects, and giving to every man equally, in contradistinction to Socialists, who would only have capital, or the means of production, in common. Concerning communism in general, the best brief discussion is still undoubtedly that of Mill, from whom we therefore quote at length. He says:

Mill on Communism

> Whatever may be the merits or defects of these various schemes, they cannot be truly said to be impracticable. No reasonable person can doubt that a village community, composed of a few thousand inhabitants cultivating in joint ownership the same extent of land which at present feeds that number of people, and producing by combined labor and the most improved processes the manufactured articles which they required, could raise an amount of productions sufficient to maintain them in comfort; and would find the means of obtaining, and if need be exacting, the quantity of labor necessary for this purpose from every member of the association who was capable of work.
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> The objection ordinarily made to a system of community of property and equal distribution of the produce, that each person would be incessantly occupied in evading his fair share of the work, points, undoubtedly, to a real difficulty. But those who urge this objection, forget to how great an extent the same difficulty exists under the system on which nine tenths of the business of society is now conducted. The objection supposes that honest and efficient labor is only to be had from those who are themselves individually to reap the benefit of their own exertions. But how small a part of all the labor performed in England, from the lowest paid to the highest, is done by persons working for their own benefit. From the Irish reaper or hodman to the chief justice or the minister of state, nearly all the work of society is remunerated by day wages or fixt salaries. A factory operative has less personal interest in his work than a member of a communist association, since he is not, like him, working for a partnership of which he is himself a member. . . .
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> Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motives to restraint equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers, or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of overpopulation, has there commendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil.
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> A more real difficulty is that of fairly apportioning the labor of the community among its members. There are many kinds of work, and by what standard are they to be measured one against another? Who is to judge how much cotton-spinning, or distributing goods from the stores, or bricklaying, or chimney-sweeping, is equivalent to so much plowing? The difficulty of making the adjustment between different qualities of labor is so strongly felt by communist writers, that they have usually thought it necessary to provide that all should work by turns at every description of useful labor: an arrangement which, by putting an end to the division of employments, would sacrifice so much of the advantage of cooperative production as greatly to diminish the productiveness of labor. Besides, even in the

Difficulties

same kind of work, nominal equality of labor would be so great a real inequality, that the feeling of justice would revolt against its being enforced. All persons are not equally fit for all labor; and the same quantity of labor is an unequal burden on the weak and the strong, the hardy and the delicate, the quick and the slow, the dull and the intelligent.

But these difficulties, tho real, are not necessarily insuperable. The apportionment of work to the strength and capacities of individuals, the mitigation of a general rule to provide for cases in which it would operate harshly, are not problems to which human intelligence, guided by a sense of justice, would be inadequate. And the worst and most unjust arrangement which could be made of these points, under a system aiming at equality, would be so far short of the inequality and injustice with which labor (not to speak of remuneration) is now apportioned, as to be scarcely worth counting in the comparison. We must remember too that communism, as a system of society, exists only in idea; that its difficulties, at present, are much better understood than its resources, and that the intellect of mankind is only beginning to contrive the means of organizing it in detail, so as to overcome the one and derive the greatest advantage from the other.

If, therefore, the choice were to be made between communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it, as a consequence, that the produce of labor should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labor—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessaries of life—if this, or communism, were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communism would be but as dust in the balance. But to make the comparison applicable, we must compare communism at its best with the *régime* of individual property, not as it is, but as it might be made.

The perfection both of social arrangements and of practical morality would be to secure to all persons complete independence and freedom of action, subject to no restriction but that of not doing injury to others; and the education which taught or the social institutions which required them to exchange the control of their own actions for any amount of comfort or affluence, or to renounce liberty for the sake of equality, would deprive them of one of the most elevated characteristics of human nature. It remains to be discovered how far the preservation of this characteristic would be found compatible with the communistic organization of society. No doubt this, like all the other objections to the socialist schemes, is vastly exaggerated. The members of the association need not be required to live together more than they do now, nor need they be controlled in the disposal of their individual share of the produce, and of the probably large amount of leisure which, if they limited their production to things really worth producing, they would possess. Individuals need not be chained to an occupation or to a particular locality. The restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race. The generality of laborers in this and most other countries have as little choice of occupation or freedom of locomotion, are practically as dependent on fixt rules and on the will of others, as they could be on any system short of actual slavery; to say nothing of the entire domestic subjection of one half the species, to which it is the signal honor of Owenism and most other forms of socialism that they assign equal rights, in all respects, with those of the hitherto dominant sex. But it is not by comparison with the present bad state of society that the claims of communism can be estimated. . . .

Freedom

It is yet to be ascertained whether the communistic scheme would be consistent with that multiform development of human nature, those manifold unlikenesses, that diversity of tastes and talents, and variety of intellectual points of view, which not only form a great part of the interest of human life, but by bringing intellects into a stimulating collision, and by presenting to each innumerable notions that he would not have conceived of himself, are the mainspring of mental and moral progression.

For contrary views, see ANARCHISM; INDIVIDUALISM.

We give here a summary of the history of communism in general, down to the nineteenth century, referring the reader to separate articles for details, and especially to the article COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA, for a sketch of the important development of American communism.

Communism has always existed, to more or less an extent. According to LAVELEYE (see also PRIMITIVE PROPERTY) and many other sociologists, communism was the earliest known form by which property was held, as evidenced in existing conditions among the North American Indians and most savages, and as witnessed to by the Russian *Mir*, the Javan *Dessa*, and many other Asiatic and European survivals from primitive forms. This has been strenuously denied by some authorities, notably by Fustel des Coulanges, but the denial is more apparent than real, since they admit that property was held by some great chief or strong man for the community fraternally or feudally rather than in the ordinary sense of private property. The Buddhist monasteries, where the devotees renounced marriage and property, are another early communistic attempt. Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle and other Greeks largely favored communism. (See PLATO; ARISTOTLE.) Some of the Jews, the Essenes, and Therapeutæ taught and practised communism. (See ESSENES.)

Early History

The early Christian Church was, in places at least, undoubtedly largely communistic. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) We are distinctly told of the first Christian Church at Jerusalem, that they had all things in common. It was, however, a perfectly voluntary communism. Christians were not required to renounce private property. Peter said to Ananias of the price of his land, part of which Ananias had kept back—"While it remained was it not thine own, and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?" Yet the fact remains that, led by the power of love, some early Christians did practise communism. After the third century the Church became a much more worldly power, but in the fourth century the communistic tendency developed into the communistic monasticism of the anchorites and monks. Ever since there have been various communistic orders and sects appearing in the Christian Church—the Humiliates; the Beghards and Beguines; the various mendicant orders of the Middle Ages; the Brethren of the Free Spirit, in the thirteenth century; the Adamites, during the Hussite wars. This last order advocated the community of women, and some of the other sects and orders degenerated into disorder and excesses; but, on the whole, considering the ages in which they appeared, they usually stood for the purest and most vital Christianity of their times. Often these communities of brotherly love were the only spots of quiet in the darkness and bloodshed of lawless ages. (See MONASTICISM and MIDDLE AGES.)

The Reformation developed a new impulse toward communism, as indeed has been the case with every new religious movement. The Peasant War in Germany was largely an outcome of the communistic idea working out among the peasantry, but the influence mainly appeared in the organization of the Heavenly Prophets, by Storch, the Anabaptists in Münster, the Libertines of Geneva, the Familists of Holland and England, and the Buchanites of Scotland. The communistic principle is also present in a purer form among the Herrnhuters (Moravians) and in some communities of Auvergne. In Germany many communistic sects arose in the eighteenth century. (See ANABAPTISTS; PEASANTS' WAR; MORAVIANS, etc.)

The eighteenth century also saw a wave of communistic thought in France. MORELLY in his "Code de la Nature" (1755), taught that man naturally possesses every virtue, and is only depraved by bad institutions, the chief of which is private property. He declared that it would be "in conformity with the intentions of nature," if every citizen contributed to the resources of the State, in accordance with his strength, talents, and age, and in return were wholly maintained at the public expense. MABLY, who was a brother of Condillac, endeavored to show, in opposition to Mercier de la Rivière that private property in land is not the natural and necessary basis of society. On the contrary, he said, society could exist without property, as is proved by the cases of Sparta, the Jesuits in Paraguay, and the monastic orders; while the establishment of property in land and inequality of condition has been the great source of avarice, ambition, and vanity.

The Eighteenth Century

BABEUF and his fellow conspirators of 1796, calling themselves the "Equals," were the most remarkable representatives of this thought. In the Utopia of Babeuf, as described by Buonarroti, every one is allotted two different occupations, the one light and the other hard. To give variety and change of scene, all are employed by turns in the transport and postal services. Those who will not work are treated as thieves. Education, carried on in vast boarding-schools, subordinates the family to national life. Distribution is to follow the strictest equality. In England Robert Owen was the great teacher of communism; but for his views, see OWEN.

For the Communists of Paris in 1871, see PARIS, COMMUNE OF. (See also ANARCHISM; BABEUF; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA; COOPERATION; PROPERTY; PROUDHON; SOCIALISM.)

REFERENCES: *Histoire du Socialisme*, by B. Malon, 1879; *Life, Written by Himself*, by R. Owen, vol. i., 1857, vol. i. A., continuation of appendixes, 1858; *Outline of the Various Social Systems and Communities which have been Founded on the Principle of Cooperation*, by M. Hennell, 1844; *History of Cooperation in England*, by G. J. Holyoake, vol. i., 1875, vol. ii., 1879

COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA: Communism implies common ownership; and hence, strictly speaking, there should be included under this term only such settlements, colonies and societies, based on common ownership of property, as have been subjected to the test of practical experiment in America. It is usual, however, to group the communities, the Fourieristic phalanges of half a century ago, the commonwealths, and the joint-stock and cooperative associations of recent date, all together as "American Communities" or "Communistic Societies"; and this grouping is at least partly justified by the fact that in their practical life these various organizations have all had communistic features, all being, as the author of "American Socialisms" affirms, to a certain extent compromises between communism and some form of individual ownership. Then, too, the communists, associationists, and other builders of social colonies have had similar high aims, well exprest in the threefold motto of the Fourierists: "Union of man with man in true society, union of man with God in true religion, union of man with nature in creative art and industry." Their plans and methods, also, have had much in common, alike involving the elimination of class distinctions based upon wealth and special privileges, the substitution of brotherly cooperation for competition in the affairs of life, the erection of large unitary dwellings as centers of attractive social life.

The principle of common ownership, far from being of the modern origin supposed by many, antedates the individual holding of real estate, as exemplified in the village communities of India, Russia, Germany, and England, confirmation of which may be found in the works of Sir Henry Maine of England, Maurer of Germany, and Laveleye of France. "These three eminent writers," says Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., in his work on socialism, "are agreed in the conclusion, after independent and great research, that common property in land was, in many parts of the world, perhaps everywhere, undoubtedly the original form of ownership." But the antiquity of the principle of common ownership, and the fact that the record shows that it was favored by both the Old and the New Testament, it may be urged, do not prove that communism is to be the final status of society; and it may be fairly asked, What good purpose have the communistic societies served? And what sufficient reason is there for supposing that communism in any form will play an important part in the world's future? It must be admitted that these American communities, considered with reference to their numbers and wealth, have thus far been comparatively unimportant; but it is, on the other hand, affirmed by the communists that their history is of transcendent importance, in demonstrating by more than a century's experience the practicability of forms of society dominated by the Golden Rule. For example, the Shakers, who established their first community 131 years ago, now make the astounding claim that during all these years they have lived prosperous, contented, happy lives, and have not spent among themselves a penny for police, for lawyers, for judges, for poorhouses, or for penal institutions.

Principle of Common Ownership

Who shall measure the value of such a record for good in the world's history? If, as we read in Proverbs, "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city," what shall be said of the 1,700 Amana Communists that for threescore years have lived such a life of peace that no lawyers or constables or courts have been required to maintain order in their midst, and in such prosperity that during all these years not a mendicant has been seen in the streets of their seven villages save such as have come from the outer world? Consider, too, the example given by the Separatists of Zoar, who maintained their community organization for seventy-nine years, and proudly boast that during that time no member was ever charged with crime, and that they had no disputes they could not settle among themselves, no divorces, no scandals, no controversies over property.

Whether the principle of communism will play an important part in the ultimate condition of society will depend, the communists assert, upon the inherent character of society in the distant future. If individual selfishness shall become more rampant and dominant as the centuries roll by, then communism may be wholly ignored in the final social fabric; but if, on the other hand, the principles that have wrought since time began for the elimination of strife, ignorance, superstition, cruelty, injustice, and all forms of wickedness, and fostered the growth of all that tends to make mankind unselfish, altruistic, brotherly, just and noble, and that have built up institutions for the amelioration of human conditions, shall continue to be operative and become predominant and all-controlling, then surely, they say, the principle of communism will eventually become the most important factor in society.

Blessings of Altruistic Unity

In considering the principle of communism as exemplified in the communistic societies of the United States, and as likely to be more fully exemplified as mankind more fully realizes the unspeakable blessings that result from altruistic unity, a clear distinction should be kept in mind between the voluntary, peaceable, conservative communism so exemplified, and which abhors every form of compulsion, and the political communism that was exhibited in France in 1870, and now is occasionally heard even in the United States, demanding that society shall be reorganized on the basis of equality of conditions and privileges, and which aims at controlling all the functions of government, and compelling everybody, *nolens volens*, to become communists. With such communism, whether French, German, European, or International, communism as sought to be realized in the communistic societies of the United States, and properly termed American communism, has scarcely anything in common, either in aim or method.

The colonies and settlements thus collectively called American communities may be classified as: (1) the religious; (2) the non-religious; (3) the transcendental; (4) the Fourierists; (5) the Spiritualists; and (6) the commonwealths, brotherhoods, etc., of recent date. The religious communities head the list because first in point of time, first in longevity, first in general success. The most important of these are:

Classification of Communities

The Labadist Community of Protestant Mystics, numbering 100 members, and owning 4,000 acres of land in the northern part of Maryland, founded 213 years ago, and which has long ceased to exist.

The existing Community of German Seventh-day Baptists, founded 175 years ago at Ephrata, Pa., by Conrad Beisel, and at one time having 300 members and considerable property, both the membership and property being now greatly reduced.

The Shakers, founded in 1776 at Watervliet, N. Y., at one time having a membership of over 5,000 and large landed properties, and now having fifteen separate societies in eight states, but with much reduced membership.

The community founded in 1805 by George Rapp in Butler County, Pa., afterward removed to Posey County, Ind., and later to Economy, Pa., possessing at one time property of the estimated value of more than $1,000,000, and numbering 1,000 members, of whom very few now survive.

The community founded by Joseph Bimeler at Zoar, Ohio, in 1817, and at its greatest period of prosperity numbering about 500 members and having nearly a million dollars' worth of property.

The Perfectionist Community founded by John H. Noyes at Putney, Vt., in 1836; transferred to Oneida, N. Y., in 1848; numbering at one time with its branches over 300 members, and having several prosperous businesses; transformed in 1880 into a joint-stock corporation.

The Amana Community, founded near Buffalo, N. Y., in 1843, removed to Iowa in 1855–64; now numbering over 1,700. members, and having seven villages, all under one control and all having a common interest.

The Bethel-Aurora Community, founded by Dr. Wm. Keil in Shelby County, Mo., in 1844, and in Aurora, Ore., in 1856, and numbering together at one time about 1,000 souls, neither now existing.

The Swedish Community, founded by Eric Janson, at Bishop Hill, Ill., in 1856, having over 1,000 members and existing for sixteen years.

The Bruderhof Communities of Russian Mennonites in South Dakota, which have existed for many years, and aggregate over a thousand members.

The Koreshan Community of Estero, Fla., numbering over 160 members, and apparently prosperous.

The Community of Israelites at Benton Harbor, Mich., having 700 members, and growing.

The more important of the distinctly non-religious group are:

The community founded by Robert Owen at New Harmony, Ind., in 1825, which had 900 members, and which led to the formation of eighteen other communities of similar character; and the French community founded by Etienne Cabet in northern Texas in 1848, transferred to Nauvoo, Ill., in 1849, to Corning, Iowa, in 1857, and having at one time 500 members.

The Brook-Farm Community, founded by George Ripley at Roxbury, Mass., in 1842, and Fruitlands, founded by A. Bronson Alcott and others at Harvard, Mass., in 1843, constitute the transcendental group, tho often classed with the Fourieristic settlements, one of which Brook Farm became in its later years, but it owed its origin to the transcendental movement in and near Boston, and particularly to the Transcendental Club, an organization of cultured people formed in Boston in 1836.

Of the Fourieristic colonies nearly thirty were formed within five years in eight different states, with an aggregate membership of about 4,500, and a longevity ranging from a few months to seventeen years.

Of the several spiritualistic communities those founded by Thomas Lake Harris at Brockton, N. Y., in 1867, and at Santa Rosa, Cal., a few years later, are the most important, unless we include in this group the Shakers, who have abounded in spiritualistic phenomena during their long career, and claim to have been the first to introduce spiritualism into this country. Several smaller communities owe their origin to spiritualism.

It may be stated in this connection that no classification of the communistic societies of the United States which may be made will prove entirely accurate, there being, for example, religious people in the non-religious and Fourieristic societies, and vice versa.

Of the communities, commonwealths, brotherhoods, and cooperative settlements of recent date may be mentioned: The Koreshan Community at Estero, Fla.; the Christian Commonwealth of Georgia; the Ruskin Commonwealth of Tennessee and Georgia; the Cooperative Brotherhood of Burley, Wash.; the Equality Colony, Equality, Wash.; the Industrial Single-Tax Association, Fairhope, Ala.; the Colorado Cooperative Company; the Freeland Association of Washington; the Mutual Home Association of Washington; the Straight-Edgers of Staten Island and New York; Shalam, or "The Children's Land," of New Mexico; and the Woman's Commonwealth of Washington city.

These settlements are all of too recent origin to furnish noteworthy examples of success; but they all emphasize the longing desire filling the hearts of thousands for a life free from the contention and competition so universally prevalent.

There have been but two widespread movements in this country resulting in the establishment of communistic societies: that in 1825, when Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland, electrified the nation with his grand schemes of social amelioration; and again in the decade between 1840 and 1850 when Fourierism was heralded by the New York *Tribune*, Horace Greeley, Chas. A. Dana, Albert Brisbane, and a score of other able writers and speakers, as the great social panacea—the one system that was to bring in the era of universal brotherhood and justice. The first movement produced, as we have seen, nineteen societies which survived for a few years only; the latter produced about thirty, some of which were of much longer duration, but none exceeding seventeen years.

The present status of the community movement in the United States is less favorable than it was in former years, undoubtedly owing in part to the fact that several of the prosperous religious communities have been unable to fully maintain their organization and prosperity after the death of their founders, and have either modified their property arrangements or dissolved; and partly to the fact that political socialism now absorbs much of the attention that would otherwise be given to experimental communism, its advocates claiming that only through state and national aid can the objects which communists have so much at heart—true and just relations of man to man and man to society—be realized. Still there exist to-day: (1) the Ephrata Community (after 175 years), (2) the fifteen Shaker Communities (after 131 years), (3) the Harmony Community (after 101 years), (4) the Amana Community (after 64 years), (5) the Oneida Community (after 59 years, tho transformed into a joint-stock company after 32 years), (6) the Koreshan Community, and (7) the Straight-Edgers; in addition to various brotherhoods, cooperative colonies, and other societies of recent date; and such experiments continue and seem destined to continue despite all discouragements and failures.

WM. ALFRED HINDS.

REFERENCES: *History of American Socialisms*, by Noyes; *Communistic Societies of the United States*, by Nordhoff; *American Communities*, by W. A. Hinds; *Communistic Societies of the United States*, by Bushee; *Cooperative Communities*, by Kent; *U. S. Labor Bulletin*, No. 35; *Communism and Socialism*, by Woolsey; *Socialism*, by Hitchcock; *Transcendentalism in New England*, by Frothingham. See also the individual articles on communistic societies.

COMPETITION: In social science this term denotes the strife of the individual or of a group of individuals to gain the utmost possible profit, rent, or wage in free rivalry with other individuals or groups of individuals. It is defined in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" as "the free action of individual self-interest." But this is not enough. The free action of individual self-interest may lead a man into cooperation or socialism, the opposites of competition. The distinctive characteristic of competition is in its being the free action of self-interest *in fair rivalry with some other individual or group of individuals*. One man cannot compete. He must compete with somebody. This is seen in the derivation of the word, from *com* and *petere*, to seek together.

Competition, so conceived, is held by most to be to-day the supreme law of trade. As such it is defended by believers in present industrial methods, is bitterly condemned by Socialist reformers, while perhaps the majority of minds, and almost all political economists to-day, see evils in unlimited competition, and would modify its free play, but not supplant it by any other principle.

Still another school of thought denies that we have free competition to-day, and declares that what is needed to save us from our present industrial ills is not less competition, but more competition. We notice these four views:

The Argument for Competition

I. The believers in competition usually assert first that it is the law of nature, and they sometimes add that it is "the law of God." "Theorists and sentimentalists may talk as they will," say the believers in competition, "of abolishing the strife for self or the struggle for existence, the play of self-interest; but the fact remains that this principle always has existed in the world, always has ruled the world, has produced and exists most in the most progressive civilizations." "Progress," says Professor Flower ("Reply to an Address by the Trades' Council," Newcastle, September, 1889), "has been due to the opportunity of those individuals who are a little superior in some respects to their fellows, of asserting their superiority, and of continuing to live, and of promulgating as an inheritance that superiority." "To formulate this as the immutable law of progress since the beginnings of life has been," Mr. Benjamin Kidd tells us ("Social Evolution," p. 34), "one of the principal results of the biological science of the century." "It is," says Professor Flower, "the message which pure and abstract biological research has sent to help us on with some of the commonest problems of human life" (*idem*). "It is," Mr. Kidd adds (*idem*, p. 37), "an inevitable law of life among the higher forms, that competition and selection must not only always accompany progress, but that they must prevail among every form of life which is not actually retrograding." Socialism, therefore, which aims "at the final suspension of that personal struggle for existence," cannot, according to Mr. Kidd, "in any case avoid progressive degeneration" (*idem*, p. 210). This is the main argument urged in a hundred forms by the believers in competition. Competition is the source of progress. We must, therefore, have competition in order to have progress.

But, secondly, competition is defended as working on the whole for the good of all classes. Most orthodox economists take this position. Professor Fawcett ("Political Economy," book ii., chap. ii.), says of competition: "The poverty of the poor is often attributed to it; but we shall have reason to show that it is no enemy to the working classes. Without it, their poverty would be rendered doubly severe; for it is an active spirit of competition which maintains the capital from which the wages of the laborers are paid. Competition befriends the working classes in other respects; it cheapens commodities, and insures that the maximum of wages shall always be paid. Competition is not confined to one class; it may be as rife among buyers as among sellers, or among the employers as among the employed. Individuals who have goods to sell are anxious to realize as large profits as possible; but when there is competition, a trader cannot be paid more than what is termed a fair price for his goods, because if he attempts to obtain more than the ordinary price he will be undersold by other traders. When buyers compete with each other they are anxious to secure the greatest gains, or, in other words, to buy upon the best possible terms; and thus when buyers are each intent on purchasing on the most favorable terms, a commodity is sure to realize what it is worth. It therefore follows that if, on the one hand, competition prevents a trader obtaining exceptionally high profits, on the other hand it insures to him a fair price for his goods. Some, perhaps, may think it unfortunate that employers, stimulated by a desire to realize the largest gains, should seek to engage their laborers on the lowest possible terms. But such conduct upon the part of the employers inflicts no injury upon the laborers; for whenever there is activity of competition, an individual manufacturer or trader is as powerless to get laborers to work for him at less than the ordinary wages as he would be to buy cotton at a cheaper rate than his fellow manufacturers. The price of cotton is maintained because there are those who are anxious to purchase it; the rate of wages is also maintained by those who are anxious to purchase labor. Competition, consequently, exerts no tendency to reduce profits or wages; the tendency is rather one of equalization.

Wages

Another form of the same argument is to say that competition works for the good of all because it tends to make each individual and each nation do what they can do best. Where each individual and each nation is striving in a free market, that individual and that nation that can do given work or produce a given commodity the best will win. We thus have the survival of the fittest. But there is something which each man and each nation can do best. Therefore under free competition each man and each nation will do what he or it can do best, and all be benefited by the exchange.

Thirdly, believers in competition say nothing can be substituted for it. Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" says: "It is difficult even to imagine upon what other principle certain complicated transactions of modern trade and industry could be regulated."

"The difficulty of finding any adequate substitute for it (the motive of self-interest) is an almost invincible obstacle in the way of reconstructing society on any but its present individualistic basis" (Sidgwick).

Jevons says: "Scientific Primer," chap. vii.): "There is no way of deciding what is a fair day's wages, outside competition."

Lastly, the believers in competition defend it on the ground that it tends to make individuals self-reliant, independent, inventive, alert, quick to conceive, strong to execute, ready to dare. They point out that the most progressive nations are those where competition has had the greatest development.

The Argument against Competition

II. Coming to the views of those who disbelieve in competition, they, in the first place, deny that competition and the struggle for existence is the *only* cause of progress. Says Charles Kingsley: "That self-interest is a law of human nature I know well; that it ought to be the root law of human society I deny, unless society is to sink down again into a Roman empire and a cage of wild beasts." "Competition," said F. D. Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. This is a lie. The time is come to declare it a lie by word and deed."

That competition and the struggle for existence have entered into and do still enter into the progress of the world, no one denies; it is simply denied that it is the only way of making progress. Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution," that lauds competition as "the immutable law of progress," is full of instances of progress in civilization made by the spirit of altruism and self-sacrifice. Even animals (like the beaver and the ant) progress by cooperation. Human society has progressed immeasurably by organization, by combination, by cooperation. It is not true that those states are the most progressive where competition is the least controlled. One chief function of the State is to limit competition, and when the State has reached the fullest development, as in Germany, England, and America, then civilization is the best. Biology, if it asserts that competition is the law of progress, has studied the lower forms of life more than the higher. It is almost more true that progress is proportional to man's escape from competition. Competition patterns after the brutes; cooperation patterns after the nobler instincts of humanity.

It is not, however, claimed by the disbelievers in competition that competition has no place in society. They simply argue for an evolution of competition. Competition does tend to the survival of those most fit to compete in the form of struggle in which the competition takes place. The primitive competition was purely physical. Men fought with bare hands, with clubs, or with spears, poisoned arrows, etc. It produced physical giants—Agamemnons, Herculeses, Nimrods. "There were giants in those days." But by the gradually developing combination of law, order, and State, the competition of force was checked, and replaced by a competition more intellectual. Did the race deteriorate? No; it simply developed a higher form of leaders, the Alexanders, Hannibals, Cæsars, Napoleons of society. To-day cooperation, combination, arbitration are replacing the competition of conquerors; competition is now industrial. It is developing leaders in that form of competition—"Napoleons of finance"—the Rothschilds, Carnegies, Rockefellers, etc. What the disbelievers in industrial competition ask is not that competition be done away with, but simply that it be lifted up to a higher level. As the State now in the main prevents physical competition and protects the life of the weakest citizen, so they would have the State replace industrial competition by fraternal cooperation, and set men free to compete in art, in science, in learning. This, they say, will produce not degeneration, but a higher type of men. They deny that industrial competition produces the best citizens. It exists nowhere so fiercely as in the United States." What is the result? Smart business men—the "smartest" in the world. But are these the highest type of men? Says Mr. Bryce ("American Commonwealth," part iv., chap. 81): "In no country does one find so many men of eminent capacity for business, shrewd, forcible, and daring, who are so uninteresting, so intellectually barren, outside the sphere of their business knowledge." Industrial competition produces a survival of the industrially smart, with little reference to their morals. Morals do help to a slight extent, but very slight. Says John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, Feb., 1879): "If persons are helped in their worldly career by their virtues, so are they, and perhaps quite as often, by their vices; by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling speculations, not seldom by downright knavery. Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues; but if one man succeeds by employing energy and talent in something generally useful, another thrives by exercising the same qualities in out-generaling and ruining a rival. It is as much as any moralist ventures to assert, that, other circumstances being given, honesty is the best policy, and that with parity of advantages an honest person has better chances than a rogue. Even this, in many stations and circumstances of life, is questionable; anything more than this is out of the question. It cannot be pretended that honesty, as a means of success, tells for as much as a difference of one single step on the social ladder. The connection between fortune and

Competition does not Produce the Best

conduct is mainly this, that there is a degree of bad conduct, or rather of some kinds of bad conduct, which suffices to ruin any amount of good fortune; but the converse is not true; in the situation of most people no degree whatever of good conduct can be counted upon for raising them in the world, without the aid of fortunate accidents." As for what competition means to the working classes, says Louis Blanc, quoted by Mill in the above review:

"What is competition from the point of view of the workman? It is work put up to auction. A contractor wants a workman; three present themselves. 'How much for your work?' 'Half a crown; I have a wife and children.' 'Well; and how much for yours?' 'Two shillings; I have no children, but I have a wife.' 'Very well; and now how much for you?' 'One and eight pence are enough for me; I am single.' 'Then you shall have the work.' It is done; the bargain is struck. And what are the other two workmen to do? It is to be hoped they will die quietly of hunger. But what if they take to thieving? Never fear; we have the police. To murder? We have got the hangman. As for the lucky one, his triumph is only temporary. Let a fourth workman make his appearance, strong enough to fast every other day, and his price will run down still lower; there will be a new outcast, a new recruit for the prison perhaps! . . .

"Who is so blind as not to see that under the system of unlimited competition, the continual fall of wages is no exceptional circumstance, but a necessary and general fact? Has the population a limit which it cannot exceed? Is it possible for us to say to industry—industry given up to the accidents of individual egotism and fertile in ruin—can we say: 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther'? The population increases constantly; tell the poor mother to become sterile and blaspheme the God who made her fruitful, for if you do not the lists will soon become too narrow for the combatants. A machine is invented; command it to be broken, and anathematize science, for if you do not, the 1,000 workmen whom the new machine deprives of work will knock at the door of the neighboring workshop, and lower the wages of their companions. Thus systematic lowering of wages, ending in the driving out of a certain number of workmen, is the inevitable effect of unlimited competition. It is an industrial system by means of which the working classes are forced to exterminate one another."

If it be answered to this that such is not the fact; that the working classes are not exterminating each other; that their condition has steadily risen through the century, and that the higher workmen of England and America, for example, do not fear the competition of China and India, it is to be said: "Yes, it is true that wages have risen; but is this the result of competition? Is it not because competition has to no little extent been limited in England and America by trade-union combination and factory legislation? Have not higher wages and shorter hours as a rule been forced from unwilling employers by organized labor and by legislation?" Until trade-unions were developed, and before there were efficient factory laws, when competition was unrestrained, wages were lower and conditions more terrible among working men than ever in English history. In the Middle Ages competition was somewhat restrained by feudalism, and later by monopoly grants. Only in the latter part of the last century and first of this has competition been at all unlimited. Now of this period Thorold Rogers says ("Work and Wages," p. 63): "I am convinced that at no period of English history for which authentic records exist was the condition of manual labor worse than it was from 1782–1821, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortunes rapidly, and in which the rent of agricultural land was doubled."

Competition Modern

The trouble with competition is that it puts even those manufacturers and employers who would be just at the mercy of those who are willing to do anything for gain. Says Prof. Henry C. Adams, Ph.D. ("An Interpretation of the Social Movements of Our Time," p. 11):

"Without legal regulation the struggle between men for commercial supremacy will surely force society to the level of the most immoral man who can sustain himself. The fittest to survive unregulated competition will be he who is morally the least fit to live. For purpose of illustration, suppose ten manufacturers competing with each other to supply the market with cottons. Assume that nine of them, recognizing the rights of childhood, would gladly exclude from their employ all but adult labor. But the tenth man has no moral sense. His business is conducted solely with a view to large sales and a broad market. As child labor is actually cheaper than adult labor, he gives it a decided preference. What is the result? Since his goods come into competition with the goods of the other manufacturers, and since we who buy goods only ask respecting quality and price, the nine men whose moral instincts we commend will be obliged, if they would maintain themselves in business, to adopt the methods of the tenth man, whose immoral character we condemn. Thus the moral tone of business is brought down to the level of the worst man who can sustain himself in it."

As for the assertion that competition is necessary to produce independence, self-reliance, and individual exertion, the Socialists who would supplant competition by cooperation do not argue for paternalism. Says a Socialist writer: "Socialists are the opposite of paternalists. The Socialists of Germany, for example, recently cast 1,500,000 votes against the so-called paternal socialism of the emperor. It is the wealthy Carnegies who would manage all business and give of their fortunes for the good of working men, who are the real paternalists of the day. Under democratic socialism the people would be the government, and work and manage for themselves. It would be the very 'open sesame' of character. Each man would then have to work. No drones here; no beggars living on the rich; no wealthy parasites fattening on the poor. If any man refused to work he would be left to starve, yet with no one to blame but himself, *for every man would then have an opportunity to work*. By simply doing a few hours of honest work each day for a few years of his life (each man choosing his own kind of work, the more disagreeable kinds of work being favored by less hours being demanded in them, so that men would be found to choose even them), every man would be sure of an honest competence. Does any man assert that this would not produce better and more independent character than we have to-day? No sycophancy of employee to employer; no dependence of professional men upon patrons; no servility of men of genius to men of money. There would still be competition, but for honor, not for money. Men would battle to see who should best serve the community, and so be honored by their fellowmen; they would not be forced to battle as men are forced to battle to-day, however much they hate it, to undercut their rivals, or enter into 'combines' against the public. Competition for honor would alone be appealed to, as that alone would mean success. Mrs. Annie Besant well says: 'It is instructive to notice that these very forces may already be seen at work in every case in which subsistence is secured, and honor alone supplies the stimulus to action. The soldier's subsistence is certain, and does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, to his *esprit de corps*, to the honor of his flag; he will dare anything for glory, and value a bit of bronze, which is the "reward of valor," far more than a hundred times its weight in gold. Yet many of the private soldiers come from the worst of the population.

"She continues: 'Or take the eagerness, self-denial, and strenuous effort thrown by young men into their mere games! The desire to be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke of the Cambridge boat, victor in the foot-race or the leaping—in a word, the desire to excel—is strong enough to impel to exertions which often ruin physical health. Everywhere we see the multiform desires of humanity assert themselves when once livelihood is secure.'"

The final argument of the opponents of competition to-day is, that competition cannot endure, that competition inevitably leads to combination, and that, therefore, the only question is not a choice between competition, or combination, but between different kinds of combinations. Starting with competition, the few strong competitors find that it pays to combine. They therefore combine and establish a private monopoly. The problem thus for the people becomes, not whether they shall compete or combine, but whether they shall submit to the rule of private combinations or democratically combine themselves through the State. It is a question of monopoly *vs.* monopolies, of democracy *vs.* the worst kind of an oligarchy, the rule of the plutocrat. The choice comes, they say, not between socialism or individualism, but between socialism and plutocracy.

Competition Develops Combination

III. Many minds to-day and most profest political economists would not abolish industrial competition, but simply limit it. Says Professor Jevons, in the last chapter of his "The State in Relation to Labor": "The subject is one in which we need above all things—discrimination. Restrictions on industry are not good nor bad *per se*, but according as they are imposed wisely and with good intentions, or foolishly and with sinister intentions. *Prima facie*, indeed, restriction is bad, because Providence is wiser than the legislator—that is to say, the action of the natural forces of evolution will insure welfare better than the ill-considered laws of the prejudiced and unskilful legislator. But reason is a Divine gift, and where upon the grounds of clear experience interpreted by logical reasoning we can see our way to a definite improvement in some class of people without injuring others, we are under the obligation of endeavoring to promote that improvement. The greater part of the interference of trade societies is objectionable, because, tho directed toward the welfare of a part, it is directed against the welfare of the rest of the community. All other industrial problems must be solved by similar careful estimation of the total utilitarian results.

Political Economists

"If such be a true view of the case, it is clear that there can be no royal road to legislation in such matters. We cannot expect to agree in utilitarian estimates, at least without much debate. We must agree to differ; and tho we are bound to argue fearlessly, it should be with the consciousness that there is room for wide and *bona fide* difference of opinion. We must consent to advance cautiously, step by step, feeling our way, adopting no foregone conclusions, trusting no single science, expecting no infallible guide. We must neither maximize the functions of government at the beck of quasi-military officials, nor minimize them according to the theories of the very best philosophers. We must learn to judge each case upon its

merits, interpreting with painful care all experience which can be brought to bear upon the matter."

This is probably the view of most professional economists to-day, tho as to Jevons's assertion that Providence works through competition, it may be questioned if the State is not quite as much a natural development under Providence as any fiercest competition.

IV. We must not forget the view of those who assert that we do not have competition to-day. They say that under various laws, protecting private property in land, men are not free to compete. They trace most monopolies in America, for example, to a protective tariff, and the most radical among them assert that as long as the law recognizes private property in land, men cannot be really free to compete. Some would abolish all taxes, save on land values. The total value of the land, which no individual has created, they would take by taxation for the community that has given land its value, and then, thus putting all men on a natural equality, they would let man be absolutely free to work, sell, or cooperate as he will. They argue that men, when natural opportunities are not monopolized, are so nearly equal in ability, that no man could take much advantage of his neighbor, but each would be led to do that which he could do best, and exchange the fruits of his activity in equality and in freedom. (For a complete statement of this view, see SINGLE TAX.) It is said, on the other hand, that men are not equal in ability; that even on free land the smart, the shrewd, the strong would soon lord it over the altruistic and the weak, and free competition lead to the tyranny of the shrewdest and smartest competitor.

The Individualistic View

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION (for the facts of the compulsory arbitration laws of New Zealand and Australia, which are the only general compulsory arbitration laws in the world, see articles ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, and NEW ZEALAND). The following article by Samuel Gompers presents the reasons why organized labor in the United States and elsewhere has almost universally opposed compulsory arbitration. Mr. Gompers says:

The very terms arbitration and compulsory stand in direct opposition to each other. Arbitration implies the voluntary action of two parties of diverse interests submitting to disinterested parties the question in dispute, or likely to come in dispute.

Compulsion, by any process, and particularly by the powers of government, is repugnant to the principle as well as to the policy of arbitration. If organized labor should fail to appreciate the danger involved in the proposed schemes of so-called compulsory arbitration, and consent to the enactment of a law providing for its enforcement, there would be introduced the denial of the right of the workers to strike in defense of their interests and the enforcement by the government of specific and personal service and labor. In other words, under a law based upon compulsory arbitration, if an award were made against labor, no matter how unfair or how unjust, and brought about by any means, no matter how questionable, we would be compelled to work or to suffer the stated penalty, which might be either mulcting in damages or going to jail, not one scintilla of distinction, not one jot removed from slavery.

Arbitration is only possible when voluntary. It never can be successfully carried out unless the parties to a dispute or controversy are equals, or nearly equals, in power to protect or defend themselves, or to inflict injury upon the other party.

It is our aim to avoid strikes, but I trust that the day will never come when the workers of our country will have so far lost their manhood and independence as to surrender their right to strike or refuse to strike. We endeavor to prevent strikes, but there are some conditions far worse than strikes, and among them is a demoralized, degraded, and debased manhood. The right to quit work at any time, and for any reason sufficient to the workman himself, is the concrete expression of individual liberty. Hence any curtailment of this right, by and through law, or by and through contract enforced by law, is, in fact, a negation of liberty and a return to serfdom.

The industrial conciliation and arbitration law of New Zealand, the law creating and governing the Indiana Labor Commission and Arbitration Board, copied from the laws of 1897 and issued by the Indiana commissioners, and the arbitration law of Illinois, as well as an act concerning carriers engaged in interstate commerce and other employees, approved June 1, 1898, along with other information from this and European countries, show that the kernel of all this species of legislation is a desire to prevent strikes by punishing the strikers. Our existing form of society is unquestionably based upon manufacture, commerce, and transportation, and anything that disturbs the industries is resented, and means are sought to prevent a recurrence and to clothe it in such a garb that public opinion will accept it and permit its execution.

Various Laws

The industrial courts of France are, as I understand it, organized much in the same way. The bill to prevent strikes, which was introduced in the German Reichstag at the instance of the government, had the same underlying motive, and practically the same way, of attaining this purpose. In the law adopted by the Hungarian Diet—we again meet the same purpose to prevent strikes by punishing the strikers. The question of extending the master and servant laws of Sweden to the industrial workers of that country was under discussion in the Swedish Ricksdag, and was for some time fiercely combated by the lovers of liberty of that country, but it was finally adopted, and the other day a strike on the street-cars in Stockholm was suppressed by sending several of the strikers to prison for long terms.

Coming now to our own country, we find that a bill was introduced in Congress which would admit of every train being made a mail train, and which, under the postal laws, would have subjected the strikers in railroad transportation to imprisonment for delaying the mails. Through the efforts of the railroad brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor the bill failed. Then followed the introduction of the Olney arbitration bill, which provided for arbitration, voluntary in submission, or in its initiatory stages, but with compulsory obedience to the award; that is, the award was to be enforced by a direct penalty for the individual violating the same. The Indiana law has the following provisions:

"An agreement to enter into arbitration under this act shall be in writing, and shall state the issue to be submitted and decided, and shall have the effect of an agreement by the parties to abide by and perform the award."

It will be observed that this may be called voluntary arbitration, because it is voluntarily entered into. The parties agree from the very beginning that if they, for some reason sufficient to themselves, should decline to abide by and perform the award, they are willing that the judge alone, without any jury and without any limit as to time, may send them to prison until they shall consent to perform the labor which the award enjoins upon them. The thought un-

derlying this law is that the individual man may alienate his right to liberty, and it is, therefore, destructive of the fundamental principle of the Republic of the United States. It is equally dangerous with the New Zealand law, the Hungarian statute, or the proposed law of Germany, because it aims at tying the worker to the mine, the factory, or the means of transportation upon which he works.

The Manufacturers' Association of the South in 1900 decided to submit to the legislature of each of the Southern States a law providing for term contracts, the violation of which would be punished as a felony, and that they did this with the specific purpose of preventing strikes and of inviting Northern capital. When their attention was called to the fact that they were as yet not "bothered" by labor organizations, they answered: "That's true, and that's just the reason why we decided to take steps to prevent the formation of any and to stop strikes in the most effective manner."

All these schemes are reactionary in their character.

I believe that the reason why many well-meaning, honest, and conscientious men and women favor some form of compulsory arbitration arises from the fact that their attention has been called to the refusal to arbitrate on the part of some large corporations or other employers of labor. It is felt that the rest of the public are made innocent sufferers and victims, and that there ought to be some way to give to the public the facts, in order that it might be known who is actually to blame. Whenever they are asked: "Do you want to send a man or a woman to jail for quitting work?" they immediately answer, "No, no." What they seem to desire is that these corporations or employers who refuse to arbitrate shall in some way be compelled to do so. This is manifestly impossible. Laws that are "jug handled," even if possible of enactment and execution, invariably have the handle so placed that the large corporations and employers of labor keep hold of the handle. Commissions, with power to examine and report, would seem to be more in line with what is actually desired, but I would call attention to the fact that even these have in them a feature dangerous to liberty, because from them may come, and sometimes do come, reports which have a tendency to warp public opinion and prepare it for measures which, without such preparation, the public would unhesitatingly repudiate.

We shall insist upon the right to quit work whenever the conditions of the labor are irksome to us. If we should commit an error—which is likely—then we will be the sufferers more than any other or all other peoples, and we shall have learned by that error to avoid them in the future. But I repeat, with all the emphasis that I can command, that we shall always insist upon our right to quit work for any reason or for no reason at all. SAMUEL GOMPERS.

COMPULSORY VOTING: This is advocated by some social reformers, on the ground that in democratic countries the government ought to represent the will of at least the majority of all the citizens entitled to vote. It is argued, too, that in most communities if all the citizens voted, the result would be the improvement of general conditions and the diminution of corruption, because those who have corrupt or low motives for voting can be counted on to go to the polls, while it is on the whole those who are the most intelligent and the most incorruptible who refrain from voting. In many communities the stay-at-home vote is as high as 25 per cent of the registered voters. Compulsory voting exists in Belgium and very recently in Austria.

COMSTOCK, ANTHONY: Secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice; born at New Canaan, Conn., 1844; educated in the academies of New Canaan and New Britain. From 1863 to 1865 he served in the Union army. Since March, 1873, he has been post-office inspector; and secretary and chief special agent of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice since its organization in 1873. The society has made about 3,021 arrests, and seized and destroyed 103 tons of obscene matter and gambling materials. He has written: "Frauds Exposed" (1881); "Gambling Outrages" (1887); "Morals versus Art" (1888); and "Traps for the Young" (1890). *Office*: 140 Nassau Street, New York City.

COMTE, ISIDORE AUGUSTE MARIE FRANÇOIS XAVIER: French philosopher; born at Montpellier, France, 1798; studied at the *École Polytechnique* in Paris, and early attracted attention by his speculations. He became acquainted with St. Simon, and entered enthusiastically into his theories. In 1820 Comte was appointed to prepare an exposition of the *Politique Positive* of the St. Simonians. The work did not satisfy St. Simon, who deplored the absence of the "religious and sentimental aspects" of his system. In 1825, on the death of St. Simon, Comte broke off altogether from the school, and in after-years was accustomed to speak slightingly of his old master's abilities. In 1826 Comte was attacked by a cerebral disorder, brought on by "overwork and heart anxieties." He recovered, however, and in 1832 was appointed teacher of mathematics at the polytechnic school, which position he held for twenty years, till he was forced to resign in 1852, on account of differences with his colleagues. He died at Paris in 1857.

Comte's works are: "Cours de Philosophie Positive" (6 vols., 1830–42; freely translated into English and condensed by Harriet Martineau, 2 vols., 1853); "Traité Elémentaire de Géométrie Analytique" (1843); "Traité d'Astronomie Populaire" (1845); "Discours sur l'Ensemble du Positivisme" (1848); "Système de Politique Positive" (4 vols., 1851–54; Eng. trans., 1875, *et seq.*, Longmans); and "Catéchisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle" (1 vol., 1852). In brief, Comte's central and governing doctrine is this:

> The race (like the individual) necessarily passes through three intellectual stages—the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. "The theological conception assumes the direct intervention of an intelligent agent, presiding over the universe, to whom is attributed the arbitrary distribution of each modification undergone by nature. The metaphysical conception searches for some entity to whose intervention the phenomena in question are to be ascribed. The positive conception disregards all causes, and addresses itself solely to the study of phenomena as they present themselves to the senses" (Ward's "Dynamic Sociology," vol. i., p. 93). The theological conception, Comte tells us, ruled to the thirteenth century; the metaphysical, in western Europe, to the close of the eighteenth. To-day man asks, according to him, simply what are phenomena, without seeking for intelligent agent or intervening entity. Sociology under the first period, he argues, assumed God as the center of society; in the second period, it forgot God, yet found naught. It was critical, negative, destructive; its only positive tendencies were in

wild, visionary and anarchistic schemes, like those of most of the French revolutionists. To-day, he says, sociology must be constructive, based not on assumption of God or man, but only on proved facts.

This leads us to Comte's great distinction as a sociologist, that he first gave sociology a place as a science. His merit is to have laid emphasis upon facts rather than upon theories; to have given us a plan of arranging facts, which, if not a good plan, at least teaches us to have some plan, to insist upon action and legislation based upon knowledge of facts.

In the fourth volume of the "Philosophie Positive" (1839), Comte marks out the broad division between social statics and social dynamics—the former studying the laws of social coexistence, the latter those of social development, together forming sociology, which to him is the master science, for in his remarkable ordering of science he shows how the different sciences, as they emerge into the clear light of positivism, take their proper place, all leading up to sociology, as, so to speak, the architect who builds up the thought of society, using other sciences as materials. Yet is Comte essentially a dogmatist. He starts out with asserting that "the essential spontaneous sociability of the human species, in virtue of an instinctive penchant for a life in common, can in no way be henceforth contested." In the matter of the dynamics of sociology, Comte finds the great forces of life in the instinct for material self-preservation, in the battle of the attributes of humanity over those of animality, and in the restlessness of *ennui*. Of *laissez faire* Comte was no friend. He favored a State ruling all life, conducted by a scientific priesthood. Such were, in brief, the teachings of the world's first great sociologist.

Comte's sociologic weakness is that he himself knew little of sociologic facts. He discovers the ocean and tells us that we ought to know it, but not much of the ocean does he himself report.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH. See WEALTH.

CONGO QUESTION, THE: It is the question whether the civilized world will permit the exploitation of perhaps 20,000,000 of defenseless people. Up to the present time, according to a conservative estimate, from 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 of Congolese have been murdered, directly or indirectly, for the sake of increasing the gains of a great rubber monopoly. Of this monopoly King Leopold II. of Belgium is the head and the responsible individual. He has robbed the people of their native land. In spite of his own law that the "tax" limit shall amount to forty hours of labor a month, he has extorted the labor of the natives to the extent of nearly 300 days in the year. Practically the only wages which the people receive for their never-ending toil is the abuse of the king's agents, a few inhuman white men and an army of blacks, for the most part cannibals drawn from alien tribes. Under the abuse of these cannibals, which takes the form of outrage, mutilation, arson, murder, and whippings with the terrible "chicotte" of raw hippopotamus hide, the Congolese are disappearing from the earth at the rate of many thousands a year.

King Leopold's Commission of Inquiry

Frequent denials of the atrocities practised by the agents of King Leopold have been made, for the most part, by persons more or less intimately connected with the so-called "Belgian Lobby" in Washington. Over against all denials are the statements of King Leopold's own Commission of Inquiry, published to the world Oct. 30, 1905. This commission was an *ex parte* body appointed by the king. It spent five months in the Congo Free State collecting evidence as to the conditions of the natives. It consisted of men of the highest capacity and honor. Its deliverances constitute really the official report of the results of the government's self-investigation. Its decisions must, therefore, be accepted as final. It establishes the existence of the gravest abuses.

After a careful study of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry, Prof. Felicien Cattier, of Belgium, made the following statement:

An examination of the Congo Free State administration reveals the clear and indisputable fact that the Congo Free State is not a colony in the proper sense of the term; it is a financial speculation. The real aims of those in authority are pecuniary—to increase the amount yielded by taxation, to exploit the natural wealth of the country, to effect all that can stimulate the powers of production. Everything else is subordinated to this end. The colony is administered neither in the interest of the natives nor even of the economic interests of Belgium; the moving desire is to assure to the sovereign king the maximum of pecuniary benefit.

As showing the character of the atrocities in the Congo Free State, we may cite these extracts from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry itself:

As the greater part of the land in the Congo has never been under cultivation, this interpretation gives to the state a proprietary right, absolute and exclusive, to almost all of the lands, and as a consequence, it can grant to itself all the product of the soil and prosecute as robbers those who gather the smallest fruit, and as accomplices those who buy the same. It could prohibit any one from locating upon any portion of the greater part of the state; restrict the activities of the natives to a very limited space; and immobilize their economic conditions. This principle applied abusively would oppose all evolution in the life of the native. . . . Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were unanimous in accentuating the general wretchedness existing in the regions. One of them said that "this system will, if continued for another five years, wipe out the population of the district." . . .

It was barely denied that the imprisonment of women hostages, the subjection of the chiefs to servile labor, the flogging of rubber collectors, the brutality of the black employees set over the prisoners were the rules commonly followed. . . .

Evidence

The native must go one or two days' march every fortnight, until he arrives where the rubber vines can be met with in a certain degree of abundance. There the collector passes a number of days in a miserable existence. He is deprived of his wife, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts. When once he has collected the rubber he must bring it to the station, and only then can he return to his village where he can sojourn for barely more than two or three days, until the next demand is made upon him. . . .

These auxiliaries convert themselves into despots, claiming the women and the food not only for themselves but for the body of parasites which a love of rapine causes to become associated with them; they kill without pity all those who attempt to resist. . . .

The commission could not, of course, verify in every case the correctness of these charges, many of which date back several years. However, the essential features of the accusations made against the sentries seem to be established from the combined testimony and the official reports. . . .

None of the agents who testified before the commission, or were present at the sessions, made any attempt to refute the charges made against the sentries.

The character of the atrocities is also indicated in the following statements of individuals:

Upon the least resistance the men were shot down, and the women were captured as slaves and made to work. It was a sad sight to behold these poor creatures driven like dogs here and there, and kept hard at their toil from morning to night. (Semliki region. Mr. Lloyd, a missionary, 1899.)

Imprisoning sixty women and putting them in chains, where all but five died of starvation. (One of the counts in the indictment drawn up against the agents of the Anversoise in the Mongala massacres in 1900.)

Men are first applied for, and if they do not present themselves, soldiers are sent, who tie up the women of the chiefs until the workmen are forthcoming. (Rev. A. Billington, Bwemba, 1903.)

M—— went to the factory and released 106 prisoners. We saw them pass our stations—living skeletons—among them gray-headed old men and women. Many children were born in prison. One poor woman was working in the sun three days after her child was born. (Mr. Ruskin, a missionary, 1903.)

Sixteen Esanga witnesses were questioned one by one. They gave clearly the details of how father, mother, brother, sister, son, or daughter were killed in cold blood for rubber. Then followed the chief of all, Bolima, who succeeded Isekifasu (murdered by the A. B. I. R.). He stood boldly before all, pointed to his twenty witnesses, and placed on the table 110 twigs, each twig representing a life for rubber. "These are chiefs' twigs," he said, "these are men's, these shorter are women's, these smaller still are children's." He said that the white man fought him, and when the fight was over handed him the corpses, and said: "Now you will bring rubber, won't you?" To this he replied "Yes." The corpses were cut up and eaten by M. Forcie's fighters. He told how he had been chicotted and imprisoned, and put to the most menial labor by the agent, of numbers of stolen and ravished wives, and of the many anklets, spears, shields, etc., that he had been forced to give the sentries. (Mr. John Harris.)

The young woman Imenega was tied to a forked tree and chopped in half with a machete, beginning at the left shoulder, chopping down through the chest, etc. This was how the sentries punished her husband. (Mr. Harris, a missionary, in letters to commission.)

While the men are in the forests trying to get rubber, their wives are outraged, ill-treated, and stolen from them by the sentries. (Mrs. Harris, at Baringa.)

Under the influence of terror entire villages hide in the bush at the approach of white men—natives are bound with ropes and chains—all aspirants for liberty are punished with the whip and hunger cure. (Dr. Edwardo Baccari, Surgeon-General of the Royal Italian Navy in report to his government.)

It has been maintained that the Congo reform movement is a Protestant propaganda against Roman Catholics. To the candid observer it must be patent that sectarianism is not in any sense the issue. The reform movement in the United States is founded on the report of a Roman Catholic body, King Leopold's own Commission of Inquiry. The commission, according to its own declaration on p. 6 of the translation published by Putnam, "received while in Congo the statements of judges, officials, directors, the agents of companies, of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, and especially natives." The two strongest books against the king that have made their appearance in the reform campaign were both written by Catholics. The one is Professor Cattier, professor of history in the University of Brussels, the other is Father Vermeersch, a Belgian and a Jesuit priest. The personnel of the Congo reform movement in Belgium consists almost wholly of Roman Catholics.

The United States

It would seem that the primary moral responsibility for the sovereignty of Leopold in Africa belongs to the people of the U. S. A few years after the discovery of the Congo basin, England entered into a tentative treaty with Portugal which would have given to the latter country large rights in the government of Western Africa. Then came representatives of the "International African Association," of which King Leopold was the backbone and head, and appealed strongly to our government against the proposed treaty. Our influence was sought, rather, in favor of the "International Association," by Leopold purely on the ground of his philanthropic and humanitarian intentions toward the natives. On account of the king's representations, after a favorable recommendation by President Arthur, the U. S. Government formally recognized the "International Association," April 22, 1884. This action taken at a critical juncture was determinative of the future of the Congo Free State. Most of the great powers, following the lead of the U. S., recognized the flag of the "International Association." Finally a conference, participated in by fourteen different states, was convened at Berlin. By this conference practical recognition was given to the enterprise of King Leopold and articles regulative of its powers were adopted. Six months later, on Aug. 1, 1885, the association formally adopted the title of "The Independent State of the Congo." The U. S. Government, for prudential reasons, did not become actually a signatory of the act adopted by the conference of Berlin, but took a leading part in the deliberations.

The U. S. Government, by the act of Secretary of State Root, has formally put itself on record as in favor of an international convention of the great powers of the world to consider reform in the Congo Free State. On Dec. 6, 1906, Secretary Root definitely promised members of the Congo Reform Association that he would do his utmost to bring about reform. He recognized that our government has a right to cooperate in such a movement under the act of the Convention of Brussels, which pledges this nation to an interest in the preservation of the Congolese people from slavery. Immediately after the secretary had made this promise, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts drew up a resolution which is understood to represent the secretary's wishes. This resolution was introduced into the Senate on Dec. 10, 1906, where it was immediately referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. It is as follows:

Whereas, The reports of the inhuman treatment inflicted upon the native inhabitants of the Congo Free State have been of such a nature and so well sustained as to draw the attention of the civilized world and excite both the indignation and the compassion of the people of the U. S., therefore be it

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Senate of the U. S. the time has come when the affairs of the Congo Free State should be made the subject of international inquiry, and the Senate respectfully advises the president that in any steps he may deem it wise to take in cooperation with or in aid of any powers signatory to the treaty of Berlin, which shall seek to ameliorate the conditions of the Congo Free State and redress any evils now existent there, he will receive its cordial support.

On Dec. 14th the Belgian Chamber of Deputies voted tentatively under certain conditions to annex the Congo Free State as a Belgian colony. This action was unquestionably influenced by Secretary Root's stand for the liberties of the Congo people. King Leopold seeks by it to remove the Congo from the realm of international jurisdiction. The powers, through courtesy, would be inclined to defer action proposed till Belgium has received full opportunity to determine the question of her future relation to the Congo Free State. In case of final annexation by Belgium, Leopold plainly hopes thereby to balk all action by the powers. Will this expectation be realized? It ought not to be. The status of the Congo Free State has been heretofore that of an international colony. Leopold has reigned as the steward of the other powers. How does the steward suddenly acquire the right to dispose of the stewardship without authorization of the world powers which constituted him therein?

Belgium

If annexation by Belgium is to be the final disposition of the Congo Free State, humanitarians may well be filled with consternation. For the king permits annexation only under conditions which nullify all hopes of reform. In the first place the rights of the concessionary companies which already exist are to be recognized in the future. Many of the most terrible conditions now

prevailing in the Congo are due to this concessionary system. In the second place the king's own *Domaine de la Couronne* is to be preserved to him and to his heirs inviolate. This private domain is six times as large as Belgium and has been the scene of many of the worst cruelties and abominations. In the third place the revenues of the Congo Free State are not to be reduced. But the revenues cannot be maintained at the present rate except by the present system of enforced labor, which has been the cause of all the abuses. The only effect of the annexation for an indefinite period in the future would be to transfer the Congo from Leopold, the sovereign of the Free State, to Leopold, King of Belgium.

HERBERT S. JOHNSON.

REFERENCES: For information concerning the Congo reform movement address Congo Reform Association, Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass. Publications: *Bulletin Officiel de l'État Indépendant du Congo*, Sept.-Oct., 1905; *Rapport Au Roi-Souverain de la Commission D'Enquete, Bruxelles*, Nov., 1905; *Étude sur la situation de l'État Indépendant du Congo*, by Felicien Cattier, Bruxelles, 1906; *La Question Congolaise*, by Arthur Vermeersch, S.J., Bruxelles, 1906; *Red Rubber, The Story of the Rubber Slave Trade on the Congo*, E. D. Morel (recommended as best for general reading); *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*, by E. D. Morel, New York, 1905; *Civilization in Congoland*, by H. Fox-Bourne, London, 1903; *King Leopold II.*, by John de Courcy MacDonnell, London, 1905.

ED.—There are many who believe the Congo atrocities exaggerated, but it is said that this impression has arisen from misrepresentations systematically sent out from a bureau in Brussels organized to defend King Leopold's interests. See *Everybody's Magazine*, Nov. and Dec., 1906. For authorities, however, arguing that the reports of the atrocities are exaggerated, see:

Bulletin Officiel de l'État Indépendant du Congo; Rev. W. H. Bentley, *Life on the Congo* (London, 1887); *Pioneering on the Congo*, 2 vols. (London, 1900); F. Cattier, *Droit et Administration de l'État Indépendant du Congo* (Brussels, 1898); F. Cattier, *Étude sur la situation de l'État Indépendant du Congo* (Brussels, 1906); C. de Deken, *Deux Ans au Congo* (Brussels, 1901); *La Vérité sur le Congo*; *L'Indépendance Belge* (Roland de Marès, editor).

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE: Democracy in religion, the fundamental principle and *raison d'être* of Congregationalism, has made it a reformatory force in modern life. In the stand for freedom of worship taken by a few churchmen within the Church of England in 1567 and thereafter began the far-reaching movement that issued in ecclesiastical Separatism, Independency, Nonconformity, and Congregationalism, and in the many reformatory tendencies toward social democracy necessarily involved therein. The first organization of this force was effected in Bridewell Prison by those incarcerated for holding religious services at a wedding in Plumbers' Hall, London, who provided for a continuance of the same during their term of imprisonment and thereafter. Under the leadership of Robert Browne, others became Separatists at first only from the "world," but involving thereby the principle of their separation from the State Church, and of the Church from the State by establishing the ecclesiastical right of self-government and local autonomy. Thriving under the persecution which branded Nonconformity in religion as treason to the State, and punished it with death, the blood of their martyr ministers became the seed of the social revolution of the English people. Barrowe and Greenwood in 1593 formulated this growing sentiment into a polity which, because it vested the only recognized ecclesiastical authority in the local congregation, came to be known as Congregational. The only chance for the survival and growth of this tender plant of liberty being in transplantation to more hospitable soil, the little village congregation of Scrooby "resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."

Resident long enough in Holland to be deeply impressed with the civil and religious liberties, popular education, local self-government, and democratic tendencies of the Dutch, who were then the freest and most progressive people in Europe, the Pilgrim Fathers again tried the experiment of planting the free life on English soil in the New World.

With their landing at Plymouth, the process of settling the New England by church congregations began. "In pursuit of religious freedom they established civil liberty. Meaning only to found a church, they gave birth to a nation; and in settling a town in Connecticut, they cemented an empire."

The reformatory force of the Congregationalists both in England and America has been most profoundly and practically felt in the political life of both countries.

The ecclesiastical policy of these locally autonomous congregations of worshipers became the formative principle and framework of their politics when they formed themselves into the colonial bodies politic. Nov. 21, 1620, when, in accordance with the farewell letter of instruction from their pastor, John Robinson, the pilgrims signed their compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, is declared by Bancroft to be "the birthhour of popular constitutional liberty." But constitutional government in America had another, tho Congregational source. It is to be traced through the independence of the town, as that political unit was first constituted in Connecticut. There the federation of three independent self-governing towns constituted the commonwealth. These three original towns were the Congregational churches of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Their compact, made with each other in Hartford, Jan. 14, 1638, more than that of the *Mayflower*, is to be regarded as "the first written constitution, in the modern sense of the term, as a permanent limitation of governmental power known in history." This first constitutional government was forged out in fact and formulated in statute by men who, on May 31, 1638, had heard Thomas Hooker, the pilgrim pastor of these migratory towns, preach from Deut. i. 13 these political doctrines of Christianity:

Doctrine I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance.

II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

III. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.

Reasons: 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid firstly in the free consent of the people.

2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and more ready to yield obedience.

"Here is the first practical assertion of the right of the people," writes Alexander Johnston in his volume on Connecticut, "not only to choose, but to limit the powers of their rulers, an assertion which lies at the root of the American system."

Two hundred years later the anti-slavery reform was largely prompted and promoted by the

Puritan and pilgrim spirit embodied in Congregational churches.

In 1836 Congregationalists, upon securing control of the recently founded Oberlin College, made it the first educational institution which accepted the basis of Christian equality and opened its full privileges to all alike, irrespective of color or previous condition of servitude.

The reformatory movement in the American body politic cannot be accounted for without recognizing the large part which Congregational educational institutions have borne in them all. Harvard, Yale, Mount Holyoke, and the New England colleges; Oberlin, Marietta, Beloit, Whitman, and the Western colleges have woven their names into the social and political history of the country. The acquisition of the rich and vast Northwest Territory of Oregon and Washington was due to Marcus Whitman, the pioneer missionary and educator, whose famous ride to the nation's capital saved the "great American desert" to the sisterhood of states. One in four of the entire male membership of churches in the interior and trans-Mississippi States was enrolled in the Union army during the Civil War. To reformatory literature the churches and schools of this order have contributed names than which none are more illustrious. Of the periodicals which have formed and led public opinion in these directions, such as the *Independent*, *Christian Union*, *Youth's Companion*, and others, many owe their origin and success to the aggressive spirits, born of these churches, who founded and conducted them.

In the adjustment of church life and work to the changed social conditions in city centers and large towns, the Congregationalists have been foremost. The so-called "institutional" churches, which by corporate effort and organized agencies seek to Christianize conditions of common life, have been from the first and still are found in the Congregational fellowship. The contemporary sociological movement in life, literature, and education has found no quicker and more practical response than in Congregational theological seminaries. While Harvard University was the first to offer social ethics as an elective course to its divinity students in 1880, Andover introduced the same in 1887; Hartford prescribed sociology as necessary to graduation in 1880; Chicago established an entire department exclusively devoted to sociological training in 1890, and Yale a distinct professorship of social ethics in 1894. In Iowa College, likewise, a department of applied Christianity was founded. In connection with three of these seminaries social settlements have been successfully inaugurated—the Andover House, now the South End, in Boston, Chicago Commons, and the Hartford Settlement. Among the foremost specialists in sociology and social economics a notably large proportion are Congregational professors and ministers.

In 1891 the National Council of the Congregational Churches appointed a labor committee, afterward called the Industrial Committee, to designate its broader and more impartial function, to inform and interest the churches in the social and moral phases of industrial conditions and relationships, and, as opportunity offered, to apply to them Christian ideals and spirit. This action was taken at the suggestion of the Standing Committee on Labor Organizations of the Massachusetts General Association. The appointment of similar committees has been initiated in the associations of other states to serve as auxiliaries to the Industrial Committee of the National Council to these ends:

To help toward a better knowledge of industrial conditions, and of the spirit of the churches, especially in their own locality.

To come into sympathetic relations, as far as possible, with labor, organized and unorganized.

To help just and wise movements among working men, which means physical, social, and moral betterment.

To seek affiliation with humanitarian and religious bodies having similar ends in view.

And to keep the Labor Committee of the National Council informed as to the conditions found and the efforts made to promote the well-being of the industrial part of the community.

In exemplification of these aims a joint meeting of members of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Des Moines, Iowa, and of the National Council was held at the call of the former, when the latter body met in that city in Oct., 1904, and representatives of the Assembly also addrest the council by special invitation.

The vital relation of the industrial situation to the spiritual problem of the churches is thus recognized in the latest published report of the Industrial Committee to the National Council:

> Your committee has a twofold conviction out of which issues an inference vital to the spiritual problem of our churches:
>
> First, that this question has come to stay; that it cannot be blinked or waved aside; that no amount of religious activity or of practical religious helpfulness can solve it; that nothing short of justice—justice by and justice to capital and labor alike—can reach the case.
>
> Second, that only by the principles of the Gospel—its ethics, its love, its law of respect for every human soul as a son of God, and a brother of Jesus Christ, and its foundation stone of sacrifice—can the ends properly sought by all true employers and workers be attained.

The Committee on the Family has for many years kept the congregational Churches abreast of the best literature and movements for the protection and promotion of the highest family life. Its reports to the National Council on marriage and divorce, sexual purity, and the nurture of child life have become valuable contributions to that literature. Its efforts have been made to invest the Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society with the function and equipment of promoting, especially through its home department, all these interests of the home by investigation, publication, and practical methods of teaching and applying Christian ideals and ethics to the relationships and obligations of family life.

While it cannot be said of any class of the American churches that they are to American social reform movements what Mr. Gladstone called the Nonconformist churches of Great Britain—viz., "The backbone of the Liberal Party"—yet the Congregational churches of America, by virtue of their polity, principles, and history, have a supreme opportunity to exemplify and make more largely possible a Christian social democracy. What these churches have always in principle and often in practise stood for in America they have planted in many lands and nations by that splendid world movement of Christian civilization in which their American Board of Foreign Missions has led, and whereby the kingdom of God is coming to earth.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

CONGRESS: We consider the subject only from the standpoint of social reform, in which it plays, however, an important part. Congress as it now exists is the result of a long evolution.

Origin of Congress

In 1765, on a proposition made by Massachusetts, a congress met in New York to consider the Stamp Act. This was the first general meeting of the colonies for the purpose of considering their relations to the mother country. As a result, the Stamp Act was repealed, but the British ministers imposed new duties quite as obnoxious. The colonies determined to form a closer union, and sent delegates to Philadelphia with the general authority "to meet and consult together for the common welfare." This was the first Continental Congress.

The session was short, and the business quickly dispatched. They adjourned after recommending that another Congress should convene on May 10th of the next year, provided that a redress of grievances was not previously obtained.

The breach, however, between England and the colonies became wider. Consequently, in accordance with the recommendation of the first Continental Congress, delegates were appointed by the several colonies, who met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. This body is known as the second Continental Congress. It became the national government of the people and continued its sessions for fourteen years.

The delegates to this Congress were chosen in some instances by the colonial legislatures, and in other cases by conventions of the people. With the story of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States accomplished by this Congress we are not here concerned.

The Congress had but the most meager power. It was an executive without power to execute. It was a single House, composed of delegates from states, each of which expressly retained its "sovereignty, freedom, and independence." Each had the right at any time to recall and replace its delegates; and even their compensation was paid by the states sending them, so that no bond should hold them to the common government. Voting was by states. The separate states retained their sovereignty, refused at will their quota of contributions for national debts and national expenses, managed foreign and interstate commerce to suit their local interests, and made partial compacts with neighboring states in a manner which produced a general confusion bordering upon anarchy. But more union was necessary. In his "The Critical Period of American History," Professor Fiske shows how the country was "drifting toward anarchy" (chap. iv.). The difficulty was met by the Constitution (*q. v.*) of 1787, the present Constitution of the U. S. According to this, all legislative powers granted by the Constitution of the U. S. are vested in Congress, which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The powers of Congress are enumerated in Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution, and all powers not granted to Congress, or prohibited to the states, are reserved to the states or to the people; but the power of Congress is absolute within the scope of its authority. The Senate is composed of two members from every state, regardless of size or population; the members of the House are apportioned on the basis of population. Thus, while in the House the influence of the people is felt directly, according to their numbers, the Senate provides the means of defending the smaller states from the possible encroachments of the larger; and to assure the safety of the smaller states, the Constitution, Article 5, provides that "no state without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." Bills that have passed both houses are sent to the president, who may either sign or veto them, or do neither, in which case the bill becomes a law after ten days unless Congress has previously adjourned. (See VETO.) The veto of the president is the only check upon the power of Congress to legislate within the scope of its authority. Legislation exceeding the constitutional power of Congress will be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, if that body is appealed to by either party to any controversy arising in an attempt to enforce such laws. Each house is, by the Constitution, "the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members."

Powers of Congress

Each Congress must have at least two sessions. A new Congress comes into existence on March 4th in each odd year.

The first regular session begins on the first Monday of December following. This session may hold, if the two houses choose, through the entire year, or they may adjourn at any time during the year. Their second regular session begins on the first Monday of December following, and that session must close by March 4th following, when the new Congress comes into existence. The members of both houses receive a salary from the federal government.

These salaries are besides mileage and many other perquisites.

No senator or representative can hold any office under the U. S. during his membership. This prevents cabinet officers from being members of Congress.

"*All bills for raising revenue originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.*"

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate must, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the U. S.; if he approves he signs it, but if not he returns it, with his objections, to that House in which it originated, who enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that House agree to pass the bill, it is sent, together with the objections, to the other House, and if approved by two thirds of that House it becomes a law. If any bill is not returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it has been presented to him, it becomes a law, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it does not.

Coming now to the important subject of how this system works, we notice, first, the general characteristic that Congress works mainly by committees.

The number of bills before each Congress reaches into the thousands; only the few most important can be adequately discust by Congress as a whole. All others, if they are favorably reported by the committees to which they are referred, can be and usually are passed with little or no discussion. It follows that the fate of most bills depends not upon Congress as a whole, but upon the small committees to which they are referred. The committees usually sit in secret. They ordinarily give a public hearing to the friends and opponents of a measure, but the final voting of the committee is usually in secret. This gives the utmost opportunity for underhand influence and corruption. Small changes can be made, bills can be defeated or wholly altered at the last moment and then rushed through Congress. Especially is this the case with personal bills and special legislation. The fate of a bill thus often depends on the make-up of the committee. Now the appointing of the committees is made for the House by the Speaker, which gives him enormous and sometimes dictatorial power. In the Senate, the committees are voted on by the Senate but in both cases they are almost invariably appointed in consultation with the leaders of the party in power and for strictly party purposes. The Senate has toward fifty standing committees; the House over fifty. Besides these, special committees are continually being appointed. The most important standing committees are the following: Ways and means; appropriations; elections; banking and currency; accounts; rivers and harbors; judiciary (including changes in private law, as well as in courts of justice); railways and canals; foreign affairs; naval affairs; military affairs; public lands; agriculture; claims; and the several committees on the expenditures of the various departments of the administration (war, navy, etc.).

Secret Legislation through Committees

Each congressman is usually put upon some committee (a committee ordinarily consisting of from 3 to 11 members); but the more important committees and the chairmanship of all committees are usually given to old party leaders who often hold the same committeeship year after year, and are always (in the case of standing committees) appointed for the two years' session of Congress.

It is obvious from these conditions what a grip party machinery has upon Congress, and how helpless against the machine is the individual congressman. Especially in the last days of Congress, when bills are rushed through, enormous influence is brought to bear upon any obstreperous member who dares to resist the party's will. Corrupt special legislation can thus

be easily gotten through, provided that the party leaders acquiesce. This gives enormous power to lobbyists, who know what ropes to pull. A bill can be defeated or rendered successful by inducing the leaders to refer it to the right committee. In the committee the purchase or influencing of one or two votes will usually decide legislation. Considering the enormous financial interests involved in most congressional legislation, the wonder, perhaps, is, not at the corruption, but at the lack of corruption in Congress.

The system, however, is more effective in stopping legislation than in enacting it. It is easier to stop a bill than to pass it. Most bills are choked in committees. Almost any bill can be conveniently pigeonholed and not reported. Hence the defeat of most reform legislation in which the great parties are not immediately interested. Almost all bills are, as a matter of course, passed to a first and second reading and then referred to a committee, where it is said that over nine tenths of all bills stop. Occasionally a committee is compelled to report a bill, but usually not. When reported, it is rarely stated how large a majority or who of the committee favored or rejected the bill. The parties thus responsible for the adoption or rejection of a measure are often unknown. The whole system may be considered one of secret legislation.

The system, too, enables the administration to exert a strong but unseen influence on Congress. In the English Parliament the cabinet appears in Parliament to propose and defend its measures. In Congress the Cabinet does not openly appear. But it can appear before and influence the committees, and yet this most important connection between the administration and Congress is wholly secret.

This committee system is the most important characteristic of congressional working, but others are of only less moment. Congress is rendered largely inefficient for wise patriotic legislation by the fact that since all senators and representatives must, when elected, be inhabitants of the state or district they represent, each member is all but expected to speak and vote, not for the good of the country as a whole, but of his particular section. Debates, therefore, become sectional rather than of real statesmanship. Again, the above fact often keeps out of Congress the best men. If a leading Republican happens to reside in a Democratic State, or vice versa, he has little or no chance of election to Congress. Any congressman who rises above sectional feeling and for the good of the country opposes the interests of his section can be retired, and no other section of the country can elect him. Machine politics, rather than fitness, elect congressmen. Terms of office, too, in Congress, especially for representatives, being short, and the intricacies of politics often preventing renomination, few congressmen have power to accomplish much. Before they have well learned the ropes their term of office has expired. The result is that few congressmen have a chance to develop statesmanship. This is, of course, more true in the House than in the Senate. The House is usually a confused mass of new men whom the country does not know, managed by a speaker who becomes an autocrat, ruling through committees which can easily be influenced by trained lobbyists who know the ropes.

Other Characteristics

In the Senate men have more training and are better known; but it is a notorious fact that the best men of the country are not in the Senate, and the difference between the Senate today and in former times can be seen by comparing the names of senators early in the century with those now in office.

Congress is almost the only great national legislative body owned wholly by the well-to-do.

Composition of Congress

In the legislative bodies of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium there is a large and growing number of Socialists representing the toiling classes.

The following is the composition of Congress, as stated by the *World Almanac*, 1907:

PARTY DIVISIONS IN CONGRESS SINCE THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1856

Congresses	Years	Senate			House of Representatives.		
		Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.
XXXV	1857–1859	39	20	..	131	92	14
XXXVI	1859–1861	38	26	..	101	113	23
XXXVII	1861–1863[1]	10	31	2	42	106	28
XXXVIII	1863–1865[1]	9	36	5	75	102	9
XXXIX	1865–1867	11	41	..	40	145	..
XL	1867–1869	11	42	..	49	143	..
XLI	1869–1871	11	58	..	78	151	..
XLII	1871–1873	17	57	..	103	138	5[2]
XLIII	1873–1875	20	47	7[2]	92	194	14
XLIV	1875–1877	29	43	2[2]	168	107	..
XLV	1877–1879	39	36	1[2]	151	142	..
XLVI	1879–1881	44	32	..	148	129	16[3]
XLVII	1881–1883	38	37	1[4]	138	140	10[3]
XLVIII	1883–1885	36	40[5]	..	198	124	1[3]
XLIX	1885–1887	34	42	..	204	120	1[3]
L	1887–1889	37	39	..	168	153	4
LI	1889–1891	37	39	..	159	166	..
LII	1891–1893	39	47	2[6]	236	88	8[6]
LIII[7]	1893–1895	44	38	3[6]	220	126	8[6]
LIV	1895–1897	39	42	5[8]	104	240	7[6]
LV	1897–1899	34	46	10[8]	134[9]	206	16[10]
LVI	1899–1901	26	53	11[12]	163	185	9[11]
LVII	1901–1903	29	56	3[14]	153	198	5[13]
LVIII	1903–1905	32	58	..	174	206	2[15]
LVIX	1905–1907	32	58	..	136	250	..
LX	1907–1909	29	61	..	164	222	..

Parties as constituted at the beginning of each Congress are given. These figures were liable to change by contests for seats, etc.

[1] During the Civil War most of the Southern States were unrepresented in Congress.
[2] Liberal Republicans.
[3] Greenbackers.
[4] David Davis, Independent, of Illinois.
[5] Two Virginia senators were Readjusters, and voted with the Republicans.
[6] People's Party, except that in the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress one member is classed as Silver Party.
[7] Three Senate seats were vacant (and continued so) and two Representatives seats were unfilled (Rhode Island had not yet effected a choice) when the session began. Rhode Island subsequently elected two Republicans.
[8] Five Populists, two Silver Party, three Independents.
[9] Including fifteen members classed as Fusionists.
[10] Including three members classed as Silver Party. There was one vacancy.
[11] Six Populists, three Silver Party.
[12] Five Populists, one Silver Party, two Independents, and three vacancies.
[13] Three Populists, one Silver Party, one Fusion Party, one vacancy.
[14] One Populist, one Silver Party, one Fusionist, two vacancies.
[15] Two Union Labor and two vacancies—one Democratic, one Republican.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SIXTIETH CONGRESS

STATES	Sixtieth Congress[1]		STATES	Sixtieth Congress[1]	
	Dem.	Rep.		Dem.	Rep.
Alabama	9	..	Nevada	1	..
Arkansas	7	..	New Hampshire	..	2
California	..	8	New Jersey	4	6
Colorado	..	3	New York	12	25
Connecticut	..	5	North Carolina	10	..
Delaware	..	1	North Dakota	..	2
Florida	3	..	Ohio	5	16
Georgia	11	..	Oregon	..	2
Idaho	..	1	Pennsylvania	7	25
Illinois	5	20	Rhode Island	1	1
Indiana	4	9	South Carolina	7	..
Iowa	1	10	South Dakota	..	2
Kansas	..	8	Tennessee	8	2
Kentucky	7	4	Texas	16	..
Louisiana	7	..	Utah	..	1
Maine	..	4	Vermont	..	2
Maryland	3	3	Virginia	9	1
Massachusetts	3	11	Washington	..	3
Michigan	..	12	West Virginia	..	5
Minnesota	1	8	Wisconsin	2	9
Mississippi	8	..	Wyoming	..	1
Missouri	12	4			
Montana	..	1	Total	164	222
Nebraska	1	5			

[1] As constituted at the beginning of the Congress.

CONRAD, JOHANNES C.: German political economist; born in West Prussia, 1839; studied at Berlin and Jena. In 1868 he became privatdocent, and then professor of political economy at Jena, but in 1870 was called to Halle. From 1872 he assisted his father-in-law, Professor Hildebrand, in the editorship of the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, and in 1878 became sole editor. In economics he is identified with the historical school. From 1889 to 1895 he was chief editor of the important "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften." Among his writings are: "Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft" (1848); and "Liebig's Ansicht von der Landwirtschaftlichen Bodenerschöpfung"(1864); and "Grundriss zum Studien der Politischen Ökonomie" (1902).

CONSERVATIVE PARTY. See UNIONIST PARTY.

CONSIDÉRANT, VICTOR PROSPER: French Socialist; born at Salins, Jura, 1808; studied at the *École Polytechnique* in Paris. He entered the army as an engineer officer, but resigned his commission in 1831 to spread Fourierite socialism; and he took part in the socialistic experiment of 1832 at Condé-sur-Végre. Later he was associated with Fourier as editor of *Le Phalanstère*. In 1834 Considérant published "La Destinée Sociale" in 3 vols. On the death of Fourier (1837), he became chief of the Fourierites, and edited two papers, *La Phalange* (1836–43), and *La Démocratie Pacifique* (1843–50), a daily. He was chosen to the Republican constituent assembly of 1848 as representative for Loiret. In 1849 he was returned as member for Paris of the *Corps Legislatif*, but on account of certain indiscreet acts he was soon compelled to retire from the country. He went to Belgium, and thence to Texas (1853), where he afterward organized the unsuccessful socialistic colony *La Réunion*. He was naturalized, and remained in Texas until 1869, when he returned to Paris, where he died in 1893. Among his works may be mentioned: "Manifeste de l'École Sociétaire" (1841); "Exposition Abrégée du Système Phalanstérien" (1841); "Théorie de l'Éducation Naturelle" (1845); "Principes du Socialisme" (1847); "Théorie du Droit de Propriété et du Droit du Travail" (1848); "L'Apocalypse, ou la Prochaine Rénovation Démocratique" (1849).

CONSPIRACIES: A conspiracy may be defined in general as a combination of two or more persons to commit in concert some reprehensible, injurious, or illegal act. Conspiracy laws are the laws forbidding such combinations. According to the common law of England, which is also the basis of the American law, conspiracy laws forbid combinations

(1) To falsely charge another person with a crime punishable by law. (2) To wrongfully injure or prejudice a third person, or any body of men. (3) To commit any offense punishable by law. (4) To do any act with intent to pervert the cause of justice. (5) To effect a legal purpose with a corrupt intent or by improper means. (6) To endeavor, by unfair means, to raise wages.

Under the United States laws the following are the things a concerting to do which made between two or more persons constitutes the offense of conspiracy: (1) An agreement to overthrow the government of, or levy war against, the U. S.; to overthrow, put down, or destroy by force, or oppose the authority thereof; by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the U. S., or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the U. S., contrary to the authority thereof.

General Laws

(2) To deter a party or witness from attending or testifying in a court of the U. S., or to injure one on account, or to influence a verdict or indictment by grand or petit jury, and to impede the due course of justice with intent to destroy equal protection of laws. (3) To hinder or prevent any person from voting or qualifying to vote at any election, or to injure, oppress, or intimidate any citizen in the full exercise or enjoyment of the right or privilege secured by the Constitution or laws of the U. S. (4) To hinder by force or intimidation any person from occupying or holding office under the U. S., or to injure such officer on account. (5) To induce any officer of the U. S. to leave any state, or to injure such officer on account. (6) To defraud the U. S. by obtaining approval of any false claim against the same. (7) To cast away any vessel with intent to defraud the underwriters.

Besides these the various states have their special laws. Criminal conspiracies in the United States consist not in the accomplishment of any unlawful purpose, nor in any one act moving toward that purpose, but in the actual concert and agreement of two or more persons to effect the unlawful thing so concerted or agreed upon. Mere concert in itself is not a crime, for associations to prosecute a felon have been held to be lawful; but it is the object or purpose of the concerting that makes the offense. Where the object or intent, it carried into effect, would be a wrong, then concert is indictable, as an act in itself tending to produce it; as, for instance, to support a cause, in itself just, by false testimony. A combination to do a criminal act is indictable; also an agreement or confederation to do a lawful act by unlawful means; because, in the first instance named, the act being in itself criminal, a conspiracy to do it must in the very nature of things be also criminal, while in the second instance, the means being unlawful, it matters not what may be the act to be done.

In this encyclopedia we are specially concerned with application of conspiracy laws to industrial combinations. For their application to combinations to raise prices, fares, etc., see MONOPOLIES. The laws are here considered simply in regard to their application to combinations of workingmen —a subject which has a long and important history.

The general theory in the Middle Ages of the relation of the workman to the State was one of tutelage. The law undertook to control him at well-nigh every point. This was largely attempted through the gild. The old craft gilds were originally composed of apprentices, journeymen, and masters, joined in one association. As, however, the gilds grew in wealth, they became more and more purely instruments of the masters to oppress the journeymen. These naturally resented this, and formed combinations of their

own, usually secret, and sometimes under the guise of religious brotherhoods, but really organized to protect their rights. It was against these brotherhoods that the first laws concerning workmen's combinations were directed.

Workmen's Combinations

As early as 1383 the city authorities of London issued a proclamation forbidding all congregations, covins, and conspiracies of workmen in general. In 1387 three journeymen cordwainers were carried to Newgate for trying to found a brotherhood. In 1415 the brotherhood of tailors was for a while suppressed. An early law of Henry VI. forbade the yearly confederation of the masons, on the grounds that these gatherings tended to destroy the force of the famous Statute of Apprentices, which had tried to fix wages at the wages of 1327. In 1548 a more general statute of Edward VI. prohibited all conspiracies and covenants not to make or do work except at a certain price, under penalty, on a third conviction, of the pillory and the loss of an ear. This act was not repealed till 1824. In the Elizabethan period the famous poor-laws were passed decreeing that wages should be fixt by justices of the peace, etc. This led to numberless combinations and prosecutions, particularly during the eighteenth century. The earlier laws forbade combinations of masters and of workmen alike. The later laws were directed against workmen only. In 1799 they were combined in a general act, repealed and replaced the next year by 40 Geo. III. c. 106, which prohibited all combinations for raising wages or reducing hours. Mr. Justice Stephen says of this act ("History of the Criminal Law of England," vol. iii., p. 20): "The only freedom for which it seems to me to have been specially solicitous is the freedom of the employers from coercion by their men." This act was in force till 1824, during all the period when the workmen were feeling the first results of the factory system, and were breaking machinery, etc. In 1803 three linen-weavers were sent to jail simply for carrying a letter requesting help from other workmen. At last, in 1824, a change came, due to the activities of Joseph Hume in Parliament, and of Francis Place, a London tailor, out of Parliament. All previous statutes, so far as they related to workingmen, were repealed, and workmen combining to advance wages or lessen hours were not liable to prosecution for conspiracy. But the masters next year succeeded in having this replaced by the 6 Geo. IV. c. 129. This new act, while it repealed the previous statutes, did not in express terms legalize combinations of workmen—the legality of such combinations was left to be dealt with by the common law—it simply rendered men liable to punishment for the use of threats, intimidation, molestation, and obstruction directed toward the attainment of the objects of trade-unions. A few alterations in the act were made by 22 Vict. c. 34. The recommendations of the royal commission of 1867 on trade-unions led to the repeal of the 6 Geo. IV. c. 129, and the 22 Vict. c. 34, by the 38 and 39 Vict. c. 31, and the 38 and 39 Vict. c. 32, which declared that the purposes of a trade-union were not to be deemed unlawful by reason merely that they were in restraint of trade, and carefully defined what acts should be deemed criminal offenses. The protection afforded by these acts was greatly diminished by the gradual extension of the common law doctrine of conspiracy, and at length, in 1875, the act was repealed and replaced by the Conspiracy and Protection Act 38 and 39 Vict. c. 86. According to this act, an agreement between two or more persons to do any act in furtherance of a trade dispute is not indictable as a conspiracy if such act committed by one person is not punishable as a crime.

Present English Law

Such is a brief record of English legislation on this subject, but it does not show the bitter struggle of the workingmen against these combination laws. In 1834 the case of the six Dorchester laborers elicited general indignation. These poor and ignorant men, of good previous record and characters, were convicted nominally of administering unlawful oaths, really of committing the crime of combination. They were transported to Australia and sold to labor contractors for £1 per head. It aroused all English labor. A monster meeting was held in Copenhagen Fields, attended, it was said, by 400,000 persons; 50,000 workmen marched to the official residence of Lord Melbourne, presenting a petition for clemency signed by 266,000 persons. Pardon was finally granted against strong protests from the manufacturers, but was not properly promulgated, and some of the convicted only heard of it by accident after years of slavery. All through this period there were conspiracy prosecutions and condemnations. One of the most important of these was the prosecution of the Wolverhampton tin-plate workers in 1851, at a cost of some $19,220. During a strike the strikers picketed a factory, and, inducing workmen to keep away, brought the business to a standstill. They were charged with conspiracy, and convicted under common law misdemeanor, punishable by two years of penal servitude. It was this conviction that brought the first modification of the law of 1825. In the "sixties" a series of conspiracy trials led to the commission of 1867, which resulted (1871) in the change of the law and a careful definition of what was a conspiracy in trade disputes. This law, tho generally an advance, on one point—the right of the workman to address another employee during a strike—was retrograde, and led to the great act of 1875. Since 1875 disputes have turned mainly on the application of the law to such acts as picketing; and of late especially on the question of the liability of trade-unions. (See Taff Vale Decision.)

United States Law

In the United States, the first trial for conspiracy to raise wages was in 1741, when certain journeymen bakers of New York City were convicted for conspiring not to bake till their wages were raised. It does not seem, however, that any sentence was passed. The first case of which complete records exist was the trial of journeymen boot- and shoemakers of Philadelphia in 1806. They were found "guilty of a combination to raise their wages," and were fined $8 each and costs. The next important case was that of the people of the State of New York against James Melvin and others in 1809. It was decided July 12, 1810, before the Mayor of New York City, against the men, because, tho possibly a combination not to work except for certain wages might not be indictable, they were organized to compel members of their union not to work if the union voted to strike.

The same position was taken in a court of quarter sessions for Allegheny County, Pa., when Judge Roberts said: "It is not for demanding high prices that these men are indicted, but for employing unlawful means to exact these prices, for using means prejudicial to the community. . . . A conspiracy to compel an employer to have only a certain description of persons is indictable." Similar verdicts were rendered in various trials.

In 1834, in Hartford, Conn., the Thompsonville Carpet Manufacturing Company brought suit against W. Taylor and others for conspiring to raise the price of wages, hindering others from working, and declaring a strike. The defendants won. The court charged the jury that a peaceable arguing with workmen not to work except for a certain price was not a ground for civil action.

In 1840 certain journeymen of the Boston Bootmakers' Society were indicted for conspiracy in the municipal court. They were convicted in the lower court, but the Supreme Court did not sustain the verdict. It is claimed by labor leaders that the decision of Judge Shaw decided definitely that men have a right to combine to raise wages. The "Third Annual Report of the United States Commission of Labor" says (p. 1130) that this is a mistake, but that the verdict was not sustained simply because the indictment was not rightly framed.

The next important cases were those of the

Master Stevedores' Association *vs.* Peter H. Walsh and others, decided in 1867, important because Judge Daly reviewed adjudications; and the case of some members of the Knights of Labor of District Assembly No. 91, arrested March, 1887, for alleged interference with the employees of John H. Hanan and Gardner & Estes, shoe manufacturers of New York City, important for the opinion delivered by Judge Barrett.

The "Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor," in its first number (November, 1895, p. 98), thus summarized the state of the common law bearing upon combinations:

Every one has the right to work or to refuse to work for whom and on what terms he pleases, or to refuse to deal with whom he pleases; and a number of persons, if they have no unlawful object in view, have the right to agree that they will not work or deal with certain persons, or that they will not work under a fixt price or without certain conditions. The right of employees to refuse to work either singly or in combination is balanced by the right of employers to refuse to engage the services of any one for any reason they may deem proper. . . . In short, both employers and employees are entitled to exercise the fullest liberty in entering into contracts of service, and neither party can hold the other responsible for refusing to enter into such contracts.

Of the present (1905) situation, Prof. T. S. Adams says ("Labor Problems," p. 194):

About fifteen states have statutes modifying the old law of conspiracy, specifically conferring on the laborer the right to combine to raise wages, or to induce, by peaceable means, any person to accept or quit any employment. The Pennsylvania statute authorizing workmen, *inter alia*, to combine to quit work whenever the continued labor by them would be contrary to the rules of their union; the New Jersey, Texas, and Colorado statutes permitting combinations for the purpose of persuading others to strike or quit work; and the Maryland and California statutes declaring that no combination to do any act in furtherance of a trade dispute shall be indicted as a conspiracy, if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as an offense, have all wrought important modifications of the law, and might profitably be indorsed by the laboring classes in other states. But with these exceptions the statutes do not appear substantially to have altered the common law, particularly as regards the civil liability of strikers.

Three federal statutes, however, are of great importance: section 3,995 of the Revised Statutes which penalizes the knowing and wilful obstruction of the passage of the mails; the tenth section of the Interstate Commerce Act which makes it a misdemeanor to interfere with interstate transportation; and the first section of the Anti-Trust Act of 1890 which declares illegal every combination in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations. No one can state at the present time the exact effect of these statutes upon the legality of labor combinations.

See also BOYCOTTING; INJUNCTIONS; STRIKES.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, THE: In this article is considered the working of the United States Constitution, especially in relation to social reform. For a general view of constitutions, see CONSTITUTIONALISM. The Continental Congress, which declared the independence of the United States, was a revolutionary body, called into existence by the necessity of common action between the colonies in protecting their rights, and, when it was so voted, of obtaining their independence.

It gave itself, in 1877, a new legal character by framing the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, whereby the thirteen states entered into a "firm league of friendship"; but this confederation was rather a league than a national government. Each state, according to the articles, retained "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

Beginnings

There was no federal execution, no federal judiciary, no federal taxing power, no means of paying an army, or any federal bills, save as the states voluntarily contributed money. The confederation did not work. It was, in fact, little better than anarchy, as men like George Washington declared. Some firmer union was evidently needed.

In 1786 delegates from five states met at Annapolis, Md., and recommended that Congress call a general convention to consider the condition of the union and needed amendments to the Constitution. Congress did so, recommending the states to send delegates to a convention which should "revise the Articles of Confederation, and report to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the states, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the union."

The convention thus summoned met at Philadelphia on May 14, 1787, became competent to proceed to business on May 25th, and sat nearly five months. Every state was represented save Rhode Island. George Washington was chosen President, and the leading men of the country were the delegates. It boldly decided to prepare a wholly new Constitution, to be considered and ratified neither by Congress nor the state legislatures, but by the people of the several states. The delegates were 55, and 39 signed the Constitution; the debates were secret; the difficulties were very great.

Two tendencies manifested themselves, which led to the formation of the two great political parties which, under different names, have divided American political life. On the one hand was a strong desire for a national unity, with a highly developed central power; on the other, a still more powerful fear of centralization and the desire to retain the sovereignty of each state. As is well known, the constitution adopted was a compromise between these two tendencies. The framers of the Constitution had the experience of the English Constitution to go by, with its Cabinet, its House of Commons, and its House of Lords. They had the state constitutions, which had to an extent been modeled after the English pattern, modified by the peculiarities of the different states as they had grown up under the different charters originally granted to the different colonies. On the other hand, the minds, particularly of the Virginian delegates, were filled with theories regarding the natural rights of individuals, derived, in fact, from Rousseau and other French writers, and made them very jealous of granting power to any government. The Constitution framed was a resultant of these and other forces. The framers had in mind the principle of English common law, that an act done by any official person or lawmaking body beyond his or its legal competence is simply void, which principle Mr. James Bryce declares became the key to their difficulties. They carefully assigned to different branches of the government certain fixt forms which they held it necessary for them to hold, and all powers not mentioned were therefore retained in the hands of the people. They sought so to divide the powers between federal and state governments, and between the different branches of government, that no branch should absorb too much power or trespass upon the power of another branch.

Fundamental Principles

On September 17th the convention adjourned to submit its result to the people of the various states for ratification. Then began a struggle. It was declared by many that the Constitution gave too much power to the central government. Men said that liberty would perish. It was asserted that freedom won from George III. was being slain by her own children. The vote to ratify was nearly defeated in Massachusetts and New York. Several of the states suggested amendments, and most of these were adopted in 1791, soon after the adoption of the Constitution itself, in ten amendments, called, after the English precedent, a Bill or Declaration of Rights. The first state to ratify the Constitution was Delaware (Dec. 7, 1787). When nine states had ratified, the Constitution was to be adopted, and this was accomplished when New Hampshire ratified, June 21, 1788, by a majority of eleven.

Adoption

Four days after Virginia ratified, not knowing of New Hampshire's vote; next New York and North Carolina. Rhode Island had sent no delegates to the convention, but finally ratified, May, 1790. Congress voted that the Constitution go into effect March 4, 1789. Elections had previously been held, and on that day the first Congress under the new Constitution met, but for lack of a quorum did not organize till April. Then the electoral votes were counted in the presence of both Houses, and George Washington was found elected president, and inaugurated April 30, 1789, in New York City.

Analysis

The characteristic feature of the American Constitution is its union of federal and state government. The federal government was restricted to the minimum of power necessary to a national union, yet the state governments were prevented from exerting undue power. The Constitution being a creature of the states, only the states can amend it. The states, too, form the national government by choosing presidential electors, senators, and fixing the franchise which qualifies the citizens to vote for representatives. On the other hand, the federal court is supreme in the interpretation of the Constitution, and can overrule any state or national legislation which it decides to be unconstitutional. (See JUDICIARY.) The President and Congress, too, have power over the states in certain specified matters, the presumption, however, always being in favor of the state. The states cannot make treaties, tax exports or imports, save with the permission of Congress. They must surrender fugitives from justice in other states. They can be sued by other states or foreign powers in federal courts. Congress has power to establish uniform bankruptcy laws. Resistance to federal authority or attacks on federal property may be repulsed by federal troops. In all other cases states are to act, tho they may call upon the federal government for aid.

The federal government comes into direct contact with the people of the states by the federal courts, its taxing power, its power to raise an army, and, above all, by the election of presidential electors and representatives to Congress by the people. It was on these two last points that the framers of the Constitution found their greatest difficulty. Whether the states should be represented in Congress as states, or simply by the representatives of the people, was a burning question. The smaller states desired representation as states, while the opponents of this position declared that this would be unjust, since it would give the few people in the smaller states equal power with the large populations in large states. The question, too, of states rights *versus* the federal government was involved. It was finally settled by having the members of one house—the Senate—elected by the state government, and the members of the lower house—the House of Representatives—elected by the people, the number of the latter depending on the population of the state.

The election of the president caused even more discussion, but was finally decided by having the people choose electors who should choose the president. (For the working of this, see ELECTORAL COLLEGE.) The chief matters which, as national, were entrusted to the federal government were:

The conduct of the national defense, and the making of treaties.
The maintenance of federal courts.
Commerce, foreign and domestic.
Currency.
Copyrights and patents.
The post-office.
Taxation for general purposes.
Protection of citizens against unjust legislation by states (Amendments XIV., XV.).

The three branches of government established by the Constitution were the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. It was attempted to make these independent of each other and coordinate, with such a balance of powers that no branch could wield too much power.

The President

To the PRESIDENT is given the supreme executive power. He has command of the army and navy, he can make treaties and appoint ambassadors and consuls, but must have the advice and consent of the Senate. He appoints the judges of the supreme court and all high federal officers, but again must have the consent of the Senate. He can grant reprieves and powers except in cases of impeachment. He can summon both Houses on occasion. He can veto any bill or resolution of Congress. He must inform Congress of the state of the union, and recommend legislation. He must see that the laws be executed. He is prevented from exerting too much power, because he can raise no money to pay an army; he can appoint no officers unless the Senate approves; he cannot prevent legislation passed over his veto; he can be impeached for faithlessness in office. The legislative power is given to the Senate and House of Representatives. No federal officer can be a member of Congress. This is an attempt to preserve the independence of the legislature. It has the power to enact all federal laws, to vote taxes and appropriations, to borrow money, to regulate commerce, to coin money, to establish post-offices and roads, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to determine the certificates and to count the votes of the presidential electors, to impeach and to try the president, to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members. Congress is limited in the exercise of its power, because it cannot change the Constitution, it can pass no bill unapproved by the president except by a two-thirds vote, and no bill of Congress is valid if declared to be unconstitutional by the supreme court. The members of the House of Representatives must be elected every second year by the people of their several states, and all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments. To the Senate is given the power of approving or advising in the matter of executive appointments and treaties.

Congress

To the federal judiciary is given the power of interpretation of the Constitution, and the trial of all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, U. S. treaties, controversies between states, controversies to which the U. S. is a party, and controversies between a state and citizens of another state, or between citizens claiming lands under grants of different states, and between states or citizens and foreign states or subjects. (For the working of the federal judiciary, see JUDICIARY.) Its power is limited simply to the interpretation of the Constitution and of the law. Trials of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, must be by jury. (See INJUNCTION.) All federal judges have a life tenure, subject to impeachment by the House of Representatives, and trial by the Senate. Such are the main features of the American Constitution. Certain actions are expressly forbidden. A writ of habeas corpus may not be suspended save in cases of rebellion or invasion. No *ex post facto* or bill of attainder may be passed. No tax or duty may be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference by regulation of commerce may be given to one state over another. No money may be drawn from the treasury save in consequence of appropriation made by law. No title of nobility may be granted, and no person holding office under the U. S. may receive a present or title from any king, prince, or foreign state. All duties, imposts, and excises must be uniform through the states. Amendments to the Constitution forbid any law respecting an establishment of religion, or curtailing the free exercise of religion, free speech, freedom of the press, the right to peaceable assembly, to petition government, to keep and bear arms, to trial by jury on indictment by a grand jury for capital or infamous crime, and trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions. By other amendments, the powers not delegated by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states or the people. No state may enact or enforce any law abridging the privileges or immunities of any citizen. The right of citizens to vote shall not be abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment upon conviction for crime, shall be allowed.

Judiciary

Such is a general account of the Constitution of the United States. Its practical working, while open to not a few serious criticisms, has undoubtedly been a success. Even its most serious defect may be said to be the result of it virtues. At the present time, when conditions are so different from those under which it was drafted, the Constitution, with its slow process for amendment, seems to bind the nation against its will and unduly check wise action. But this defect, if defect it be, is assuredly the result of the strength of the Constitution, and a strength absolutely needed both in the days of weakness when the nation was young, and in the days of strength when the nation was rocked with discussions over the question of state rights.

Successes

De Tocqueville, sixty years ago, was more hopeful of the future of the separate states than of the union. He believed that with the first serious difference in views the union would be dissolved. At the time of the Rebellion most Europeans and some Americans believed that the end of the union was come. A strong Constitution was needed. To-day the union exists more firmly knit than ever, and no small part of this must be attributed to the wisdom and strength of

the Constitution. Perhaps, too, the greatest triumph of the Constitution has been that it has so marvelously succeeded in its compromise between federal and state powers. This was the greatest difficulty presented to the framers of the Constitution; it has been till now the burning question of American politics. The Constitution has weathered the storm. A small republic is comparatively easy to conduct. In the United States alone are giant states confederated in one republic.

Again, the Constitution, for the first time in history, has enabled a great nation without radical constitutional changes to preserve popular liberties. In the late election of 1896 a people numbering ever 70,000,000 went into an intense and even passionate contest, one in which the numbers on each side were about equal, which raised issues of section and still more issues of class—an election in which each party believed it stood for the preservation of liberty and for the defeat of principles subversive of honest and free government, and yet under a Constitution framed a century ago, the nation has come out of the conflict whole and unharmed. Surely such a Constitution has stood the test of time. It has succeeded, too, in the main in realizing that division of powers which its authors thought so necessary. The president has not been able to defy Congress; Congress has not been able to ignore the president. If the supreme court has been able to exert at times enormous power, it has, after all, usually but recorded the popular verdict. If, as a large majority believe, in 1876 a president duly elected was set aside for his rival candidate, the claims of the two were nearly equal, so that gross injustice was not done. If, more recently, a decision of the supreme court prevented an income tax which a large majority of the people desired, there can be no doubt that the decision will ultimately be reversed, provided the people continue to demand such a tax. No constitution can work without favor. Considering the vigor with which the nation has acted in emergencies and the moderation and freedom of its general policy, the experience of the century must be thought to bear out the verdict of Mr. Gladstone, that "as the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

There have been, however, notable failures in the working of the Constitution. Some of these we consider elsewhere. Perhaps the best brief discussion of the defects in the Constitution has been written by the Hon. Walter Clark, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, author of many volumes of history and law, and one of the most careful and earnest students of constitutional law. He says, in an article in *The Independent*:

Defects in the Constitution

As a product of its time, the Constitution of the United States was and is without counterpart. Gladstone gave words their way in praising it. Too much has not and cannot be said of the wisdom of the fathers who framed it. But idolatry is dangerous. Blind faith ought not to be a part of our national characteristics, and when from the cradle up—even from the halls of Congress—we hear that the "Great Instrument" stands beside the Bible, inviolate, that the Constitution of the United States is for this nation, to-day, all that the anxious fathers wished that it might be 120 years ago we are being brought too far. It is giving the framers of the instrument credit for being inspired prophets of greater wisdom for the future than they possest for their own day and generation.

They were not satisfied with the Constitution when it left their hands, as properly meeting the demands which immediately faced them. Neither were they satisfied with the Constitution itself. In short it was a compromise between many contending factions. It was simply the best that could be obtained at the time, under the widely separated conditions and expectations of the detached elements working up in the struggling states. There were grave detects in the Constitution then, there are graver defects to-day, calling for careful revision.

There was a great difference between the two conventions. That which met in 1776 was frankly democratic. Success in its great and perilous undertaking was possible only with the support of the people; it must be with the people. The Great Declaration was an appeal to the masses.

Never was the right of revolution more clearly asserted, or that government existed for the sole benefit of the people who were declared to be equal and endowed with the right to change their government at will when it did not subserve their welfare or obey their wishes. Not a word was there about property. Everything was about the people. The man was more than the dollar then, and the convention was in earnest. Every member signed the declaration, which was unanimously voted; according to Dr. Franklin's pertinent remark that it behooved them "to hang together or they would hang separately."

The convention which met in 1787 was as reactionary as the other had been revolutionary and democratic. It had its beginning in commercial negotiations between the states, when they were weary with a long war, and when the fierce enthusiasm for liberty was somewhat relaxed by the pressing need to earn the comforts and necessities of life, and when oppress by the ban upon prosperity caused by the uncertainties and impotence of the existing government they were thoroughly exhausted. Under these conditions and with as many minds as there were men, the convention of 1787 came together.

Ignoring the vital maxim that government should exist only by the consent of the governed, it sat behind closed doors that no breath of popular will should affect its decisions. To free the members from any future responsibility, all were prohibited from making copies of any kind of the resolutions or to correspond with constituents or others about matters pending before the convention. Any record of yeas and nays, even, was forbidden; but one copy was kept without the knowledge of the convention. It was kept by the one member best able to grasp each situation and make fair note of it. The journal was kept secret at the time, and later a vote to destroy it fortunately failed. Mr. Madison's copy was finally published after the lapse of forty-nine years, when every member had passed beyond human accountability. Only twelve states were ever represented. One of these withdrew before the final result was reached. Of the sixty-five members, only fifty-five ever attended, and so far from being unanimous only thirty-nine signed the Constitution, and some of them actively opposed its ratification by their own states, later.

That the Constitution thus framed was reactionary was a matter of course. There was grave consideration, at the time, of a royal government with Frederick, Duke of York, second son of George III., as king. Alexander Hamilton, whose wonderful work as Secretary of the Treasury, crowned him with a halo, and whose tragic death obliterated the memory of his faults, declared himself in favor of the English form of government, which he denominated a "most notable institution." Failing in that, he advocated an executive elected by Congress for life, senators and judges for life, and governors for states to be appointed by the president. Of these he secured, as it has proved, one most important item, from his standpoint, the creation of the judges for life. The convention was aware that a constitution on Hamilton's lines could not secure ratification by the several states. But the Constitution adopted was as undemocratic as possible, and was very far from responding to the conditions laid down in the declaration of 1776, that all governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed. In his speech to the convention, Hamilton stated that the members were agreed that "we need to be rescued from the Democracy." They were rescued. Thomas Jefferson, unfortunately, was absent as our Minister to France, and took no part in the convention, tho we owe to him very largely the compromise by which the first ten amendments were agreed to, in exchange for ratification by several states which otherwise would have been withheld.

The consent of the governed was not to be asked. In the new government the will of the people was not to control and little to be consulted. Of the three great departments of government—legislative, executive and judiciary—the people were entrusted with the election of only the House of Representatives—one sixth of the government at most, even if the House had been endowed with equal authority and power with the Senate. The declaration of 1776 was concerned with the rights of man. The convention of 1787 entirely ignored them. The guarantees of the great rights of freedom of speech and press, freedom of religion, liberty to assemble, right of petition, exemption from general warrants, the right of trial by jury and by grand jury, protection of the law of the

land, and protection from seizure of private property for other than public use, and then only upon just compensation —matters of the utmost importance to the rights of the people were entirely omitted. They were added in the first ten amendments by preliminary agreement, while the Constitution was still in controversy in the several states, only because it was necessary to give assurance that such amendments would be adopted in order to secure the ratification at all.

The Constitution was so far from being satisfactory, even in the circumstances of the time for which it was framed, that only eleven states voted for its adoption in the convention. Its ratification by the conventions in the several states was carried with the greatest difficulty, and in no separate state was it ever submitted to a vote of the people themselves. Massachusetts only ratified after a close vote and a demand for amendments. South Carolina and New Hampshire demanded amendments, as did Virginia and New York, both of which agreed to ratification by the narrowest of votes, reserving for themselves still the right to withdraw, and two states rejected the Constitution and subsequently ratified only after Washington had been elected and inaugurated—matters in which they had no share.

George Washington was president of the convention, but as such was debarred from sharing in its debates. He left no impress upon the instrument so far as is known. Yet it was freely admitted that but for his popularity and influence the Constitution would have failed of ratification by the several states, especially Virginia. Indeed, but for his influence the convention would have adjourned without putting its final hand to the Constitution at all—it came very near doing so. Even his great influence would not have availed but for the overwhelming necessity for some form of government, with imperative haste, as a substitute for the rickety "Articles of Confederation," which were utterly inefficient.

An instrument so framed, adopted with such difficulty and ratified after such efforts, and by such narrow margins, could not have been a fair and full expression of the consent of the governed. The men that made it did not deem it perfect. Its friends agreed to sundry amendments which were adopted by the First Congress, as a preliminary necessity. The assumption by the new supreme court of a power not contemplated by the framers caused the enactment of the eleventh amendment. The unfortunate method prescribed for the election of the president, which nearly caused a civil war in 1801, forced the adoption of the twelfth amendment, and three others were brought about as the result of the great Civil War. The convention of 1787 recognized, itself, that defects innate in the Constitution and developed by experience and the lapse of time would require amendments, and the instrument prescribed two different methods by which amendments could be made.

Our federal Constitution was adopted 120 years ago. In that time every state has radically revised its own Constitution—most of them several times. The Constitution of New York requires that the question of a constitutional convention shall be submitted to its people at least once every twenty years, in order that organic law shall keep abreast of the needs and wants of the people and represent the will and progress of to-day, instead of being hampered by provisions deemed best by the divided counsels of a handful of men in providing for the wants of the government of over a century ago.

When the Constitution was adopted in 1787 it was intended for 3,000,000 people, scattered along the coast from Massachusetts to southern Georgia. Now we are trying to make it do duty for 100,000,000 from Maine to Manila, from Panama to Porto Rico and the Pole. Then the population was rural. At the census of 1790 we had but five towns in the whole union which had 6,500 inhabitants each, and only two others had over 4,000. Now we have the second largest city on the globe, with over 4,000,000 inhabitants, and many that have passed the half-million mark. In 1790 we had seventy-five post-offices, with $37,000 annual post-office expenditures. Now we have 75,000 post-offices, 35,000 rural delivery routes, and a post-office appropriation of nearly $200,000,000. During the first ten years the total expenditures of the federal government, including the payment of revolutionary debts, including pensions, averaged $10,000,000 annually. Our expenditures now are more than seventy-five times as much. When the Constitution was adopted Virginia was easily the first state in influence, population and wealth, having one fourth of the population of the entire union. New York, which then stood fifth, now has double the population of the whole country at that time, and several other states have a population greater than the original union—states whose very names were then unheard of. Steamboats, railroads, gas, electricity—except as a toy in Franklin's hands—coal mines, petroleum and a thousand other things which are a part of our very lives to-day, were undiscovered. Corporations, which now control the country and its government, were then so few that not till four years later, in 1791, was the first bank incorporated; the charter for the second bank was only obtained by the subtlety of Aaron Burr, who concealed the banking privileges in an act incorporating a water company. Corporations have had an affinity for water ever since.

Time has revealed flaws in that original instrument, as well as developed new necessities. The glaring defect in the Constitution was that it was not democratic. The only voice of the people was in the election of one sixth of the government, one half—by far the weaker half—of the legislative department. The other half, the Senate, was made elective at second hand, by the state legislature. The president was to be elected at third hand. In fact, until after the memorable contest between Adams, Clay, Crawford and Jackson, in 1824, in the majority of the states, the presidential electors were chosen by the state legislatures. They were so chosen by South Carolina until after the Civil War, and in Colorado in 1876. The intention was that the electors should make independent choice, but public opinion forced the transfer of the choice of electors from the legislatures to the ballot-box, and then made of them the figureheads which they are, thus capturing the executive department, and that department, with the House of Representatives, mark to-day the extent of the share of the people in this government.

The judiciary were placed a step further removed. The judges were to be selected at fourth hand, by the president—who was intended to be selected at third hand—and subjected to confirmation by the Senate chosen at second hand. And to make the judiciary absolutely impervious to any consideration of the "consent of the governed" they were appointed for life.

A constitution so devised was not intended to express but to suppress or at least disregard the wish and consent of the governed. It was admirably adapted for what has come to pass—the domination of the government by "The Interests." Should the president favor legislation and the House of Representatives pass a bill, the Senate can defeat it; and if by chance it yield to the popular will and pass the bill, as was the case with the "Income Tax," there remains the judiciary, who have assumed, without any warrant exprest or implied in the Constitution, the power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional at their own will and without responsibility to any one.

The people's part in the government, in the choice of a House of Representatives, even when reenforced by the executive, is still nullity in the face of the senate and judiciary in whose selection the people have no direct voice.

The government of the United States is a government by Senate and judges—by whatever power can control the selection of senators and judges. What is that power? We know that it is not the American people.

Let us not be deceived by forms. Government rests not upon forms, but upon a true reply to the question, "Where does the governing power rest?"

In England to-day, there is a monarchy in form, but the real government of England is vested in a single House of Parliament elected by the people. The executive is not the king, but the prime minister and his cabinet, practically elected by the House of Commons, and holding office at the will of the majority in that house. The king has not even the veto power except nominally, since it has not been exercised in a single instance for more than 200 years; and the sole function of the House of Lords—a club of rich men representing great vested interests—is in the exercise of a suspensive veto—exercised only till the Commons make up their mind that the bill shall pass, when the House of Lords always give way as the condition upon which their continued existence rests.

In this country we retain the form of a republic, we choose our president and House of Representatives, but the real power does not reside in them or in the people. It rests with those great "interests" which select the majority of the Senate and the judges.

The sole remedy for this is by amendment of the Constitution that shall make it democratic; in other words, counteract the effects of the reactionary influence following the strenuous patriotism of the declaration, which was so strong during the framing of the Constitution.

In the convention of 1787, Pennsylvania voted for the election of senators by the people. A strong argument used against this was that the farming interests, being the largest, would control the House, and that the Senate could only be given to the commercial interests by making its members elected by the legislatures—which proved prophetic—tho the deciding influence was the fear of the small states, that if the Senate was elected by the people, its membership would be based on population. The same argument would still resist the call for a reviewing convention to-day, and be aided by "the interests," with the press which they control; but in truth and justice it may be that some modification now in that respect would be efficacious. There may no longer be good reason why Delaware, Nevada, Rhode Island, should have as many senators as New York, Pennsylvania or Illinois. It might better serve the interests of the whole country to grant to every state having 1,000,000 inhabitants or less one senator, and to allot to each state having over 1,000,000 of inhabitants an additional senator for every additional million. This would not change the number of senators, but while not putting the Senate frankly on a basis of population, would remove the present unjust ratio and the opposition to the admission of new states, whose area and development entitle them to self-government, but whose population does not entitle them to two senators.

The election of president, too, even as it has been improved still leaves much to be desired. It readily lends itself to the

choice of a minority candidate. It is an anomaly that 1,100 votes—as in New York in 1884—should swing seventy electoral votes, thirty-five from one candidate to another, and thus decide an election. But preserving the electoral vote system as now, and giving the smaller states still the advantage, it might yet be possible to divide the electoral vote of each state, according to the popular vote for each candidate, giving each his pro rata of the electoral vote on that basis, the odd elector being apportioned to the candidate having the largest fraction; so that in New York Mr. Blaine would have had seventeen electoral votes and Mr. Cleveland eighteen. Other states would also have been more or less evenly divided, but the result would be that the choice of president would no longer be restricted to two or three states as in our past history, and as is likely always to be the case as long at the whole electoral vote of two or three large pivotal states must swing to one side or the other and determine the result. This change would avoid the present evil of large sums of money being spent to carry the solid electoral vote of a large pivotal state; for there would cease to be "pivotal" states. At the same time, it would avoid the open gulf into which a per capita ballot by the whole union would lead us.

By the convention of 1787 the term of the president was originally fixt at seven years, and he was made ineligible for reelection. This was reduced to four years by a compromise that he could be reelected without limitation. It was in the interest of those who favored a strong government and a long tenure. Washington imposed a limitation by example, but it will not always be binding. An amendment making the term six years and the president ineligible to reelection has long been desired by a large portion of the public. Indeed, when the constitutional convention of the union shall assemble, as it must some day, to remodel our Constitution, it is more than probable that the powers of the executive will also be restricted. His powers are now greater than those of any sovereign of Europe except Russia, and the real restrictions upon him at present are not constitutional provisions at all, but the Senate and judiciary.

But by far the most serious defect and danger in the Constitution is the appointment of judges for life, subject to confirmation by the Senate. It is far more serious to-day than it was when the convention of 1787 framed the Constitution. It is too serious a matter to be considered in this article, which has already gone beyond desirable length. I only suggest it, as one of the greatest defects in our present Constitution.

CONSTITUTIONALISM: Most civilized states are governed under constitutions varying in form and precision.

The utility of a constitution for any given people must, of course, depend very greatly upon the nature and traditions of that people. There may be but a brief framework stating the trend of governmental authority and functions, or a definite plan of organization of the various departments. The constitution may be to guard the masses from the tyrannical power of an executive or despot, or to protect the people from themselves—i. e., from the turbulent and ambitious elements and from the rash and hasty expression of popular feeling.

It is important, however, that a distinction be made between simple charters and bills of rights, and a form of government crystallized into a document which defines the scope and functions of departments and officers. The former long antedate the latter.

"A constitution is a system of principles, laws, and rules combined in a written document or established by prescriptive usage, for the government of a nation or state" ("Century Dictionary"). In strong contrast are the unwritten British constitution, composed of charters, traditions, and usages, and the recent state constitutions, which closely define the duties of officers and rigidly prescribe the limits of the several departments.

Altho writers upon the history of constitutions usually trace their origin to Magna Charta, or to the Roman laws of the twelve tables, or possibly even to the Ten Commandments, written constitutions, in the present understanding of the terms, have nearly all been made since the United States Constitution of 1787, and all have been greatly influenced by, if not mostly founded upon it.

History

The French people, in the years between 1789–91, framed a constitution to effect the change from an absolute monarchy to a limited monarchy. It was not modeled upon that of the United States or directly upon any other, yet the U. S. and English constitutions were strong influences. The Massachusetts Constitution, mentioned below, was carried to France by John Adams and circulated to a limited extent in 1780; and Benjamin Franklin had already discust with the French philosophers the Pennsylvania Constitution.

In 1783 Franklin published in the French language all the constitutions of the thirteen states of the new republic, with notes. These publications, with a vast array of historical causes, contributed to the form and matter of the Constitution of 1791. Ten other constitutions have been made by or for the French since that date—five of them republican and five monarchical. The organic law of the present republic, formed since the overthrow of Napoleon III., in 1870, was adopted by the National Assembly at Versailles in 1875. It is the shortest of the written constitutions of important nations or states. The provisions are few and simple. The outlines of organization are given, and the remainder is to be provided for by ordinary statutes of the chambers. Precedents established in former constitutions and such provisions of earlier laws as are not incompatible with the new republican law still remain in force. The influence of the series of revolutions in France and elsewhere brought about constitutions in many of the smaller German states between 1820 and 1836. The general political upheaval in Europe in 1848 and the few years following resulted in many more, the characters of which cannot be examined in a brief article.

Switzerland deserves notice, however, for one feature connected with its latest constitution. The first one formed in Switzerland was in 1798, on the pattern of that of the French republic. A civil war gave birth to the constitution of 1848, and in 1874 the present one was adopted by a popular vote. In all but one (Freiburg) of the cantonal constitutions based upon and guaranteed by the federal constitution, the people have the right to demand that all important legislation be referred directly to them. "It may even be said that in some cantons the councils merely formulate the laws, while the people pass them" (Woodrow Wilson, "The State," § 519). In general, however, the laws are submitted to popular vote only upon demand by petition of a specified number of voters.

The English Constitution is of another type, and yet, directly or remotely, has influenced nearly all others. It is a collective name for the principles of public policy on which the government is based. It embraces statutory law, custom, tradition, and precedent. No one document outlines the whole system of government. "The British Constitution is a barrier which yields under the pressure of circumstances as often as that pressure reaches a certain degree of intensity, but a barrier which never breaks, being steady and firm despite, or rather on account of its flexibility" (C. Borgeaud, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. vii., p. 613). It is maintained not by safeguards formulated within itself, but because it has the sanction of time and the protection of a conservative privileged class and the loyalty of the people.

The British colonies in North America, Australasia, and elsewhere have written constitutions in general features conforming to the practises and precedents of the English Government, the most noteworthy being the responsible ministry.

The most recent government on earth (1894), organized under a written constitution, is the republic of Hawaii. Its fundamental law embraces provisions similar to parts of those of Great Britain and of the United States.

The South American States and Mexico, which achieved their independence of Spain in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, are all now living under formal republican constitutions. The limits of this article will not permit of an examination of either these or the afore-mentioned English colonial constitutions. Sufficient to say, however, in all the recent ones the tendencies are markedly in the same directions as in those which will be considered more closely.

A constitution comes from a sovereign power, and its nature must depend, then, upon what power is recognized as sovereign. It may come from a king in the form of a charter or grant while he is absolute, and in order to get a recompense of some kind; later he may grant it because the people are so far recognized as the source of power that he is forced to a compact, and so one is agreed upon by the ruler and the representatives of the people. Later, when the people are acknowledged as sovereign, the constitution proceeds from them—i. e., they, by representatives, draw it up and then ratify it by a stipulated majority. The theory of the constitution is really far to seek. It is found directly connected with the origin of a state. Three theories are proposed for the origin of a state—the theological, the historical, and the contract theory. The contract theory, the work of J. J. Rousseau, is interesting in this connection as a curiosity, and because so many of its expressions have crept into constitutions. The theory, in brief, is that a state originates in the agreement of individuals to establish it. The theory itself has often been refuted by showing that men have always been associated in groups, larger or smaller, and that society in this sense needs no definite agreement, but rather is a state of nature. It is certain that the idea of a contract only entered the comprehension of men ages after they had already well-established forms of society, ruler and ruled, law trials and judges.

Theory

The preamble of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 is so much like a quotation from Rousseau's "Contrat Social," that the framers of that instrument must either have believed in Rousseau or have interpreted him in another manner than the common one—that is, instead of understanding his contract to be the basis of association, it may have been only a philosophical device for explaining the relations of the independent members of an already free state. Tho professing itself to be a contract between individuals, such a contract is really, by the ratification of the citizens of the state, the fundamental law, and not a mere contract and equalizer of rights.

We shall make no effort to detail the probable steps between the recognition of binding contracts as in practise by the Romans, charters of medieval towns and monasteries, and the nineteenth century state and national written instruments. All medieval charters, especially the Magna Charta, signed by King John in 1215, and early colonial charters have their place in the order of development of constitutions; but the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1639) is the first document which created a complete form under which a government was organized. This document, which was not superseded by a constitution till 1818, must be taken as the real and immediate origin of the present constitutions of Christendom. The Puritan is to be credited with the introduction of the written constitution into political life. The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut was the first, and there were two others emanating from the Puritans in England in 1647 and 1653.

Whether a constitution, after it is ratified, shall be effective or not depends entirely upon how firmly its principles are already an accepted part of the national consciousness, and hence how far it faithfully reflects the national will.

Numerous instances might be cited where constitutions have either been imposed upon a people who did not thus already experience the sentiments contained in them, or where people themselves, having overturned an existing government, have framed a constitution containing principles which call forth no patriotic response from the mass of the people. Constitutions, like poets, are not made. A constitution, to be at all effective, must be an evolution. No wonder that the new states of the United States should find their constitutions to work fairly well, and the numerous states nominally set free by France in her revolutionary period should find almost the exact opposite. In one case the whole experience of the past two or three generations has been in a constitutional atmosphere and in contact with the much praised and almost worshiped United States Constitution, while in the other a newly prepared paper constitution was presented to those who were almost totally unfitted for it by their previous political experience. It is not at all uncommon to find Americans and others who are such worshipers of their constitutions that they believe their principles to be of universal application, amazed to find that these constitutions, when imposed on people of different training, do not work satisfactorily.

Authority

In a period of eighty-four years, France has had eleven constitutions. The abandonment of one and the adoption of another has in each instance been accompanied by a revolution or a *coup d'état*, or a national calamity.

The history of the South American constitutions is almost a continuous tale of adoption, revolution, and a new instrument. May it not be a pertinent question whether even a sovereign people have authority over the next and succeeding generations.

The authority of a constitution is certainly not sufficient to prevent revolution, yet often it has taken revolution to amend a constitution. Those who make a constitution, appreciating their own necessity for altering the form of government, should also appreciate that others may wish to modify theirs without the accompaniment of revolution.

The most important feature of American constitutions is the division of governmental powers into the three heads —legislative, executive, and judicial —and the definition of the powers of each. The main difficulties that have arisen

Principles

among these departments have been from the encroachment of one department upon another. The numerous alterations in the state constitutions during the last 100 years have mostly been in the direction of limiting the functions of legislatures and enlarging the power of the executive. Possibly this has grown from observing that in the Federal Government during the same period Congress has been encroaching on the executive, and it has been easier to modify the state constitutions than that of the United States. In both state and national government the judicial department has been steadily gaining in importance.

It is rather a disappointment to those who, in idolizing the Constitution, think that its framers were so inspired that they could strike off at once such a remarkable instrument, to learn that the Constitution is not nearly so much the result of inspiration and foresight as it is the result of a series of compromises. The compromises were the result of the collision in the convention of two forces which are present in all political bodies—viz., the centralizing and decentralizing, otherwise the aristocratic and democratic forces. The first class is fearful of the power of the masses, and the second of the tyranny of officeholders. The aristocratic faction, fearing the thoughtless despotism of majority rule, endeavored to make a government popular in form, yet of such a nature that it could be controlled by a minority which would presumably be from the better side of society, and to so plan that amendments could with great difficulty be made and no radical change adopted as the result of popular clamor. With one party, then, in the convention fearing the masses, and the other a possible tyrant, the resulting constitution was reasonably satisfactory to both, but for different reasons. John Adams, in a private letter, recapitulates the arrangements whereby one department acts as a check upon another: "First, the states are balanced against the general government. Second, the House of Representatives is balanced against the Senate and the Senate against the House. Third, the executive authority is in some degree balanced against the legislature. Fourth, the judiciary is balanced against the legislature, the executive, and state governments. Fifth, the Senate is balanced against the president in all appointments to office and treaties. Sixth, the people hold in their own hands the balance against their own representatives by periodical elections. Seventh, the legislatures of the several states are balanced against the Senate by sexennial elections. Eighth, the electors are balanced against the people in their choice of president and vice-president" ("Works," vol. vi., p. 467). If these checks were all operative now, just as was expected by those who placed them in the Constitution, the work of the government would be even slower to express the real feeling of the nation than now. But even with the last-mentioned check entirely nullified, and some of the others not fully operative, through certain practises that have grown up, the work of government has in several instances been so clogged as to have well-nigh stopt.

It is very doubtful whether, in the development of society along the lines which are apparent, one generation ought to legislate for another. Each generation, perceiving its own needs and difficulties, and devising some means of satisfying and obviating them, also feels that if the arrangements by which they have surmounted difficulties can be made into fixt laws, then difficulties of the same kind will not occur in the future. Thus those who planned the Constitution of 1787 intended to guard against innumerable possible dangers. One evidence that they cannot prepare for changed conditions is that the method planned for the election of president, when tried, worked successfully for only four elections. An amendment was made and put into effect in 1804, so modifying the mode of election as to vote by the electors for president and vice-president separately. This portion of the provision is still operative, but the whole aim of separating the choice of president from the necessary excitement of popular election has been defeated, and the electors have become mere machines, to cast ballots according to instructions. This would be no calamity, but rather in accord with the growing tendency to elect all officers if the real voice of the people were heard, or even the voice of the majority. This, however, has not been the case. In several elections the successful candidates have not received a majority of the votes cast, and in two elections not even as many popular votes as the defeated candidates; but the only way in which the people have been able to express their dissatisfaction with the prescribed form in the Constitution has been by an evasion of the real intent in Article XII. of amendments in such a manner that the article is nullified without being violated in the letter. After the twelfth amendment, in 1804, no amendment was possible until the social upheaval caused by the Civil War, and it seems indeed apparent that no amendment further is possible without revolutionary proceedings and excitement.

United States

In the absence of ability to amend there must be some way of permitting government authorities to act according to the exigencies of the occasion, where there is no provision for or against, or where a literal reading would seem to obstruct. This way has been through the right of interpretation. Instead of seeking the probable intent of the writers of the document, there should rather be sought the view of the present political power —i. e., the people. Under a government where the constitution is established and ordained by the people it is absurd to consider the people ruled by the thoughts or intents of a past generation. Their utterances, even tho they be in the form of a fundamental law, can really be binding only when they are the reflection of the will of the living power. Hence in a government which rests ultimately for its support upon the whole people, or that portion of the people which molds public opinion, the interpretation of a constitution must be that which best reflects the "prevalent sense of right," or that which is the interpretation of the present possessors of political power. "The cases are not rare in which forced construction has been resorted to in order to justify the exercise of powers which are deemed necessary by public opinion. Nor can we expect to prevent altogether this tendency to strain and force the literal meaning of the Constitution in order to bring it into conformity with that unwritten constitution which is the real constitution, and which embodies the living rules of conduct; for the unwritten constitution is steadily but slowly changing under the pressure of popular opinion and public necessities, checked only by the popular reverence for the written word" (C. G.

Tiedeman, "The Unwritten Constitution," p. 136).

The following table of facts, obtained from the constitutions of all the states in the union, will partially illustrate the tendencies of the present in constitution-making. The constitutions called "earliest" are those which were first actually put into practise in the government of each state, and were mostly adopted between 1776 and 1850, and the "latest" are mostly those which have been adopted since the Civil War. The earliest and latest of each state are the ones meant:

In the earliest constitutions seven states had a four-year term for governor.
In the latest constitutions twenty states have a four-year term for governor.
In the earliest constitutions twelve states had a two-year term for governor.
In the latest constitutions eighteen states have a two-year term for governor.
Two states have decreased the term of governor.
Five states have increased the term of governor from one to four years.
In latest constitutions four have term of governor one year.
In latest constitutions two have term of governor three years.
In earliest constitutions nine elected governor by legislature or by assembly and council.
In latest constitutions all elect governor by all voters.
In earliest eight executives had a veto to be overruled by a majority.
In earliest thirteen executives had a veto to be overruled by a two-third majority.
In earliest ten constitutions had no provision on subject of veto.
In latest four constitutions have no provision on subject of veto.
No constitution before 1845 (Texas) gave the executive authority to veto items in a bill, and with this exception none till after the Civil War.
In latest constitutions five pass a bill over veto by a mere majority.
In latest constitutions twenty-four pass a bill over veto by a two-third majority.
In latest constitutions sixteen allowed items in bills to be vetoed. (Some confined to appropriations.)
In latest constitutions thirty have biennial sessions of the legislature.
Fourteen of this thirty have been changed from annual to biennial.
One of this thirty has been changed from semiannual to biennial.
One has changed from semiannual to annual.
Fifteen legislatures have always been biennial.
In earliest constitutions four have members of Lower House hold two sessions.
In latest constitutions six have members of Lower House hold two sessions.

Tho the people themselves are responsible for the legislators whom they are unwilling to trust, they have in all the more recent constitutions so shown their distrust as to make the constitution in length more like a code of laws, and have imposed restrictions of various kinds upon the legislative power. Several causes may be assigned for this untrustworthiness in legislatures, such as the spoils system, the political boss system, small salaries, suggesting dishonest dealings with public money, etc.; hence special legislation in certain enumerated cases is prohibited. These prohibitions amount, in the Constitution of Montana, to thirty-five, and in that of North Dakota to 100.

Another method which legislators have used for making questionable laws is by means of riders to appropriation bills, and by introducing doubtful appropriations into general appropriation bills. The people have guarded against this to a certain extent by giving to the governor in at least sixteen of the states the right to veto particular items in a bill, while indorsing the remainder and causing it to become a law.

All the later constitutions are really of a different class from the older ones, and represent new tendencies in the people. This is especially apparent in the development of the fourth department of government—viz., the administrative. In a few states this is made a distinct department of government, but in general it has not yet been separated from the executive. Certain bureaus and officers, such as those of agriculture, railroads, land, and insurance commissioners, indicate direct connection of the economic interests of the people with the administration of the states. The people in the early days of the republic knew nothing of these interests, and were quite content to leave them all to the legislature. But now the skill of experts to collect and classify information in these various fields is demanded in order that legislation may be intelligent rather than experimental, and to the immediate welfare of the whole people. These officers are now in every state chosen by the qualified electors instead of by the legislatures, and indeed nearly all officers which were in the earlier constitutions appointed by the legislature are now chosen at a general election. The state judiciary is also now elective.

In addition to reducing the frequency of legislative sessions, the length of session in many of the states is limited to a period of from forty days (the briefest) to (in general) ninety days, or by prescribing a definite salary for the whole period, thus offering an incentive to briefness; or a per diem compensation, to be stopped after a specified number of days. The multitudinous restrictions placed in all the more recent constitutions on legislative, executive, and other state officers shows clearly the desire of the voters to retain power in their own hands.

While the great length of the later instruments would seem to indicate a crystallization of the governmental powers, and hence the removal of them from the people, in truth the opposite of this is the case. The ease of amendment by general vote, the checks put on the officers, the change in several instances of the impeaching power from the Senate to the Assembly—these and other considerations point rather toward a retaining of the powers of the government in the hands of the people.

In the preamble or bills of rights introducing most of the constitutions, the statement is curtly made that all political power is inherent in the people.

A feature of the Constitution of Washington of 1889 is the provision for home rule in the cities —i. e., the charters, instead of being granted by the legislature, as in other states, are to be framed by the inhabitants—a noticeable step in the direction of real democracy.

Trusts and monopolies, developments of the last few decades, are not left open to arrangements by and with the legislatures, but are regulated by a code of laws enacted by all electors and embodied in the constitution under the head of provisions for "Corporations other than Municipal."

Between 1776 and 1894, 111 constitutions have been adopted in the United States. This, of course, means that many of the states have remodeled or made anew their constitutions, as well as that territories have made constitutions and become states. One state only (Massachusetts) has lived the whole time under one constitution, while Kansas has changed her constitution oftener than any other state. Only fourteen of the states retain their original constitutions, and

six of these are the recently admitted ones—Montana, Washington, the two Dakotas, Idaho, and Wyoming.

The United States Constitution, lacking flexibility, has failed to allow for changed conditions, and has been modified only by the effects of war, by nullifying portions in spirit, if not in letter, and by forced construction. According to the apparent trend of present national life, amendments would seem to be demanded for the election of United States Senate, president, and vice-president by direct vote.

Summary

The modifications of state constitutions—viz., increasing power of executive, curtailing power of legislative departments, shortening legislative sessions in length and frequency, election of many officers formerly otherwise chosen, embodying in the Constitution laws concerning tendencies regarded as dangerous—all are indications of the sovereign people's determination to retain in their own hands the actual management of government, and to delegate power solely for purposes of administration, and that in such a manner that all responsibility can be located.

The reforms which are next likely to be proposed are the referendum and proportional representation. (See REFERENDUM; PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.)

GEORGE EMORY FELLOWS.

CONSUMERS' LEAGUE, THE: The first Consumers' League was that of New York City, founded in 1890 and incorporated in 1898. It defines its aims as follows: "By the exercise of the combined influence of its members, to ameliorate the condition of working women and other employees in and about shops, stores, and workrooms in the City of New York, and to secure conditions which shall conduce to the physical and moral well-being of all such employees."

For sixteen years, the league has promulgated the following "Standard of a Fair House":

Wages: A Fair House is one in which equal pay is given for work of equal value, irrespective of sex, and in which no saleswoman who is eighteen years of age or over—and who has had one year's experience as saleswoman—receives less than $6 per week.

In which wages are paid by the week.

In which the minimum wages of cash children are $2.50 per week, with the same conditions regarding weekly payments.

Hours: A Fair House is one in which the hours from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. (with three quarters of an hour for lunch) constitute the working-day, and a general half-holiday is given on one day of each week during at least two summer months.

In which a vacation of not less than one week is given with pay during the summer season.

In which all overtime is compensated for.

In which wages are paid and the premises closed for the five principal legal holidays, viz., Thanksgiving Day, Christmas and New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July.

Physical Conditions: A Fair House is one in which work, lunch, and retiring rooms are apart from each other, and conform in all respects to the present sanitary laws.

In which the present law regarding the providing of seats for saleswomen is observed, and the use of seats permitted.

Other Conditions: A Fair House is one in which humane and considerate behavior toward employees is the rule.

In which fidelity and length of service meet with the consideration which is their due.

In which no children under fourteen years of age are employed.

In which no child under the age of sixteen years shall work for more than nine hours a day.

In which no such child shall work, unless an employment certificate issued by the Board of Health be first filed with the employer and the name, etc., of the child be entered on a register kept by the employer.

In which the ordinances of the city and the laws of the state are obeyed in all particulars.

The stores which approach nearest to the standard of the league are printed in the "White List" which has been distributed in a million copies by the Consumers' League of New York City. Philadelphia and Cleveland have had "White Lists" for several years.

The Consumers' League of New York City has brought to light the level of wages in the retail trade by establishing its minimum at $6 a week for girls over eighteen years of age who have had a year's experience. This keeps so many merchants off the "White Lists," and requires such constant supervision of those who are on it, that there must obviously be a mass of workers who are ready to take this pittance, less than unskilled, inexperienced washerwomen and scrubwomen receive.

The National Consumers' League (founded 1899, incorporated 1902) states as its object and principles:

To secure adequate investigation of the conditions under which goods are made, in order to enable purchasers to distinguish in favor of goods made in the well-ordered factory. The majority of employers are virtually helpless to maintain a high standard as to hours, wages and working conditions under the stress of competition, unless sustained by the cooperation of consumers; therefore, the National Consumers' League also proposes to educate public opinion and to endeavor so to direct its force as to promote better conditions among the workers, while securing to the consumer exemption from the dangers attending unwholesome conditions. It further proposes to promote legislation, either state or federal, whenever it may appear expedient. The National Consumers' League further recognizes and declares the following:

That the interests of the community demand that all workers shall receive fair living-wages, and that goods shall be produced under sanitary conditions.

That the responsibility for some of the worst evils from which producers suffer rests with the consumers who seek the cheapest markets, regardless how cheapness is brought about.

That it is, therefore, the duty of consumers to find out under what conditions the articles they purchase are produced and distributed, and insist that these conditions shall be wholesome and consistent with a respectable existence on the part of the workers.

The president of the National Consumers' League is John Graham Brooks; secretary, Mrs. Florence Kelley, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

There are now sixty-five leagues in twenty states, each electing its own officers and adopting its own constitution, and all cooperating with the national organization.

During 1906 the Consumers' League has extended the field of its activities in two important directions. It has undertaken to investigate the conditions of food production, and has started a movement among its members and others for the purchase of stock in cotton-mills for the purpose of voting for humane and enlightened conditions in such mills, particularly for abolishing the employment of young children.

The "Handbook of Child Labor Legislation," compiled by Miss Josephine C. Goldmark, is issued annually in January. It contains accurate schedules showing the legislation of each state, and a compilation of the best provisions of the most advanced statutes under the title, "The Standard Child Labor Law." It is one means of promoting uniform child labor laws throughout the republic.

The National Consumers' League awards the use of its label to manufacturers of stitched white muslin underwear who meet its conditions, as follows: "Goods bearing the label are made in factories in which (1) the state factory law is obeyed; (2) all the goods are made on the premises; (3) overtime is not worked; (4) children under sixteen years of age are not employed.

This guaranty is based upon the following procedure: Before the use of the label is awarded to a manufacturer, his factory is visited by an agent of the league, who also asks both the local Board of Health and the state factory inspector for a report on the establishment. When this is satisfactory, the manufacturer signs a penalty contract embodying the four points guaranteed. After the use of the label has been awarded, the factory is visited from time to time by the agent of the league, and the local committee of the league reports upon it to the national secretary.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

CONSUMPTION: In social science consumption may be defined as the use of commodities or of anything having exchange value.

"Consumption," says Adam Smith, "is the sole end and purpose of all production, and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer." "Later criticism," says Professor Nicholson (in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy") "has thrown doubt on the possibility of making such a sharp distinction between the interests of producers and consumers. Apart from women, who are largely employed in domestic duties, and old men, invalids, and children, the number of those returned in the census of any civilized country as 'unoccupied' is extremely small, and thus the great majority of the adult males are both producers and consumers. Accordingly the conditions as regards health, variety, moral and intellectual effects on the worker of the work done, etc., are of coordinate importance with the amount and quality of the definite commodities consumed."

J. S. Mill ("Polit. Economy," bk. 1, chap. iii., sec. 5) makes the important distinction between productive and unproductive consumers. He says: "All the members of the community are not laborers, but all are consumers, and consume either unproductively or productively. Whoever contributes nothing directly or indirectly to production is an unproductive consumer. The only productive consumers are productive laborers; the labor of direction being, of course, included, as well as that of execution. But the consumption even of productive laborers is not all of it productive consumption. There is unproductive consumption by productive consumers. What they consume in keeping up or improving their health, strength, and capacities of work, or in rearing other productive laborers to succeed them, is productive consumption. But consumption on pleasures or luxuries, whether by the idle or by the industrious, since production is neither its object nor is in any way advanced by it, must be reckoned unproductive; with a reservation, perhaps, of a certain quantum of enjoyment which may be classed among necessaries, since anything short of it would not be consistent with the greatest efficiency of labor. That alone is productive consumption which goes to maintain and increase the productive powers of the community; either those residing in its soil, in its materials, in the number and efficiency of its instruments of production, or in its people."

The subject of consumption is specially treated in Roscher's "Political Economy" and in Schönberg's "Handbook," by Professor Lexis.

CONTRACT LABOR: When a government—national, municipal, county, or otherwise—individual, or corporation of individuals desires to erect a building or undertake any other work of magnitude, the custom has grown of giving out the work to be done by some contractor or contractors, who usually sign an agreement to do the work or furnish the required supplies for a certain sum, taking the responsibility of purchasing the material, hiring the workmen, and concluding the whole work. Business done on contract forms a very large proportion, particularly of the building, constructing, and furnishing trades. This method of business has grown up mainly for two reasons: Firstly—and this reason applies particularly to private corporations and individuals—because it is usually the easiest method. An individual or a corporation, and to a less extent government, has not often either the time or the ability to conduct an operation apart from his, her, or its own line of industry, and it is therefore much easier and sometimes the only possible way to give the whole job to some contractor, whose exact business it is to do the kind of work that may be required, leaving to him all responsibility for details, and paying him a lump sum for the completed work, usually with certain specified requirements and by a specified time. Secondly, it is usually claimed—and this reason is applied particularly to governments—that it is cheaper to let out the work than for the government or individual to do it for himself or itself.

Arguments for

This reason springs in part from the first reason. What we know little about we cannot do cheaply. A contractor whose special business it is to undertake a work can naturally do it more cheaply. This, it is true, might be obviated, especially on the part of governments that are always having such works performed, by hiring paid specialists, not to take a contract for the work, but to conduct it for the government itself; but this, it is usually said, is expensive. It is a common opinion in business and public circles that public work is never as cheaply done as private work. Public work, carried out by paid officials and employees, it is said, is always comparatively expensive, because it is no one person's interest to see that the work is cheaply done. The only party that suffers if it is not cheaply done is the general public, and the public often knows little about it, and when it does know is often unable speedily and readily to act in the matter. Consequently, it is said, government work is usually carried out by corrupt officials and lazy, inefficient employees. Contract labor is cheaper, it is argued, because rival contractors will bid against each other to do a job as cheaply as possible in order to get the job, and will then see for the advantage of their own pockets that their men work cheaply. To insure this, legislation, and often the special legislation authorizing the undertaking, requires that the work be bidden for in the open market, and the job be given to the contractor agreeing to do it for the lowest figure. Therefore exact specifications of what is wanted are usually advertised by the government, and sealed bids from various contractors are received for doing the work, and at a certain time the bids are opened and the contract awarded to the contractor offering the best terms. This, until recently at least, has been almost universally regarded as the best way of getting work done.

But three main difficulties have resulted from this system. In the first place, it has developed some of the greatest political scandals of modern times. It being, of course, for the interest of the contractor to get all he can from the government for doing the job, it has repeatedly happened that contractors in some way bribe the administration or the officials in charge of the works to award them the job, even when they do not offer the lowest price. So frequently does this happen, that public officials expect, as a matter of course, to be bought in this way, and a job is created simply to afford a chance to the officials to sell the contract. Sometimes contractors seem all but compelled to bribe their way to receiving a contract. Not infrequently officials will form bogus companies of their own, and award a contract to themselves at exorbitant rates, and then secretly sublet the contract to some company or contractor, pocketing themselves the enormous difference. "Jobs" of this kind, especially in municipal governments, have at times been al-

Arguments against

most the rule in America. Secondly, it being the interest of the contractor not only to get a high price for his work, but having gotten a high price, to perform it as cheaply as possible, he often defrauds the public, and sometimes with the connivance of public officials, by furnishing anything but the specified quality of material and the specified quality of work. Jobs that have been thus put upon the people disgrace almost all American cities, and exist wherever the contract system is found. Thirdly, it being the interest of the contractor to pay low wages to his men, the contract system has often become synonymous with the employment of the lowest forms of imported labor, to the exclusion of the more educated workmen of the country. Roads are built and dwellings put up by contractors who employ imported Italian and Hungarian labor, while American workmen go idle for lack of employment. This, not unnaturally, has greatly incensed trade-unionists, and they continually urge, and occasionally succeed in compelling municipal governments to give the preference to workmen resident in the city; but more and more are they agitating for the abolition of the whole contract system, which has proved itself fruitful of such corruption, and is built often upon the low wages of working men. They argue that it is the first duty of a government to be just to its own citizens, and that it has no right to leave the management of public works to irresponsible contractors. They would have government employ its own workmen at fair prices, for fair hours, and avoid the costs of paying middlemen and contractors. They claim, too, that this will really give the public both better and cheaper work. They do not, of course, claim that all corruption will disappear, but that work conducted by public officials can be more easily investigated and watched than work given out to private contractors. Such are the general arguments on both sides.

We give two quotations, one from a believer and the other from a disbeliever in the contract system, which, tho now ten years old, are still classics for their respective views. For the contract system the Hon. Nathan Matthews, Jr., the Mayor of Boston, said in his valedictory address, Jan. 5, 1895:

> One of the chief difficulties in municipal government under democratic institutions is the treatment of the labor problem in its various aspects. The relations between the municipal corporation and its employees engaged in manual labor are everywhere the cause of unceasing agitation and discussion; and this is particularly the case in Boston, where from the earliest times a larger proportion of the public work has been done by day labor than in the other large cities of the country. The collection of garbage, at first let out to contractors, was entrusted to a department of the city government to be handled directly by its employees, as early as 1824; and in the same year a street-cleaning service was inaugurated upon the day-labor plan. The lighting of the public lamps, which prior to 1868 had been done by the gas companies or other contractors, was at various times between that year and 1870 handed over to the lamp department, and has since been attended to by the employees of that department. Work upon the streets was done very largely by day labor as early as 1850; sewers have been built by day labor from an early period; the laying of pipes for our water-works has almost always been done by the day; since 1865 the construction of the great basins has frequently been attempted by day labor; and a large part of the work of park constructions since 1882 has been done by the day.
>
> The present practise is to do all the work of maintenance, repairing, jobbing, pipe-laying, and all matters the proper execution of which is a question of opinion, and therefore difficult to secure through written specifications, by day labor employed directly by the city departments, and to let all works of large construction out by contract.
>
> The day-labor system, even if excluded entirely from works of large construction, costs the city very much more than contract work, as, owing to the higher rate of wages paid, the smaller number of hours, and the large number of holidays and half-holidays without loss of pay, the city pays about sixty per cent more than the market rate of wages.* A further loss is experienced through the necessity of furnishing, so far as practicable, permanent employment throughout the year, and also by the continued employment of men who have grown old in the service of the city. On the other hand, a good deal of the city's work could not be done by contract without constant complaints from the citizens that it was not properly done. This applies to the collection of garbage, the cleaning of streets, the lighting of lamps, and other work of the sort, the proper execution of which is in the nature of things a matter of opinion and therefore incapable of accurate specification in a written contract. In the next place, work in the nature of jobbing—of which there is a great deal in the street department—probably costs no more under this system than if let out by contract, for the reason that the profits of the middleman in small jobs are necessarily large. Then there is a class of work difficult of inspection, such as the laying of water-pipes, which it is for the interest of the city to have done by day labor, even if it costs more, in order that the city authorities may be certain that it is well done.

Day Labor

Notwithstanding all that can be said against the execution of public works by day labor, I am satisfied that it is on the whole for the advantage of the city that work of the character mentioned should be done in this way; and as to the high rate of wages, shorter hours of work, and other privileges which swell the cost, it may be said that the wages paid to the city laborers have not been increased since 1882†; that the hours of labor are regulated by statute; and that if the city is to employ day labor at all, it has been found practically necessary that the laborers should receive high wages, permanent employment so far as practicable, and generally a more liberal treatment than in private work. Whether city laborers work as faithfully as those employed by contractors depends on circumstances, principally on the discipline of the department and the energy of its foremen.

Passing now to the consideration of works of construction, we find wholly different conditions. Here the cost of the day-labor system is very much greater than contract work, and the results are in no respect more satisfactory.

While there are opportunities for collusion and corruption in the contract system, still these opportunities can be and, so far as my experience goes, are avoided with comparative case. Contracts for work of this character can be so drawn as to permit of accurate inspection, and with upright and watchful heads of departments there is no reason why public work of this sort cannot be carried on fully as cheaply and quickly as private work.

I have been at some pains to secure accurate comparisons of the cost of works of large construction done by day labor and by contract, and the following instances are given by way of illustration: At Lake Cochituate, in 1887, about 50,000 cubic feet of shallow flowage work was done by day labor, at a cost of $28,837.16; while the following year about 57,000 cubic yards of similar work was done by contract for $16,202.25. Stripping 54 000 cubic yards of loam from the bottom of Basin 6 cost by day labor seventy-one cents per cubic yard; while the average of five sections let out by contract, involving the removal of about 400,000 cubic yards, cost about forty and a half cents a cubic yard. Rubble masonry was built on Basin 6 by day labor at a cost of $12.50 per cubic yard, and by contract for $7.50 per cubic yard. The work on Basin No. 5 (that now under construction, estimated to cost $2,500,000 for land and construction) is being done by contract; while the greater part of the work at Basin 6 was done by day labor; and the following table shows a comparison of the results obtained.‡

* The cost in the street department alone of holidays and half-holidays amounts to nearly $75,000 per annum. A city laborer (unskilled) receives about twenty-four cents per hour of actual work, while the contractors pay about fifteen cents.

† When they were fixed by vote of the city council at not less than $2 per day.

‡ The city engineer, from whom these figures are obtained, makes the following explanation:

In the item of 496,007 cubic yards of stripping is included one section of 90,810 cubic yards, which was very difficult. Excluding that section, the average cost of stripping 405,197 cubic yards was thirty-five and a half cents per cubic yard. The city work necessarily costs more than that done by contract for the reason that the city pays in the country $2 for nine hours' work, gives one half-day per week during four months, all holidays, and two days for voting. The men work from eight to nine months per year. This makes the price paid for one hour of actual work about twenty-four cents, while the contractor pays in ordinary years, in the country, fifteen cents per hour.

The division of cost of building the dams is about as follows: Labor, 67 per cent; teaming, 13 per cent; tools, etc., 20 per cent; and on this basis the city must pay 1.42 times as much as the contractor for the same effort. For stripping, the division of cost would be for labor, 75 per cent; teaming, 20 per cent; tools, etc., 5 per cent; and the city must pay 1.49 times as much as the contractor.

	Dam No. 5	Dam No. 6	
	Contract	Contract	City
Stripping of basin and dam	0.24	.....	0.57
Sodding embankment	0.28	.....	0.90
Concrete core-wall	4.70	.....	6.61
Plastering Portland cement	0.67	.....	0.99
Delivering gravel on embankment	0.206 (est.)	0.206	....
Spreading and rolling	0.119 (est.)	.....	0.226
Stripping 496,207 cubic yards	.....	0.405	0.64
Stripping 110,232 cubic yards	.....	.....	....

The plan now being prest by certain labor organizations (not composed of city employees) for the construction of public buildings by day labor employed directly by the city is too preposterous for discussion. The city has no opportunity to give constant employment to the skilled labor required in building operations, and would, therefore, be unable to secure the best workmen; it has no plant; the administration of such work would greatly enlarge the scope of political patronage; the cost may be safely set down as two or three times that of the present system; and all the advantages to be gained from competition under our present admirable contract law would be lost.

Between the demands of the taxpayer for the execution of all public works by contract, and the demands of the labor organizations that all public works should be done by the day, I believe that the safe, reasonable, and prudent course to follow in the public interest is the system now and for some time past in operation. According to this, all work of large construction is done by contract, through competition, except, perhaps, in certain special cases of peculiar difficulty; while jobbing, maintenance, repairs, and other work of the kind, including all that cannot be accurately specified and inspected, is done by day labor employed directly by the city departments upon liberal terms, in respect to wages, hours, holidays, and length of employment.

To this it may be said that even if contract labor be cheaper, it is at least questionable if a city should seek cheapness by importing or encouraging the importation of cheap, ignorant laborers, who are often a danger and a burden to the community, and who prevent its own citizens from earning a fair living; but it is even argued that experience shows that contract labor is not cheaper. Mr. Sydney Webb, in a paper read before the Economic Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1894, relates the experience of the London Council. He says:

We come to an altogether different range of criticism when we consider the council's determination to dispense, wherever possible, with the contractor, and execute its works by engaging a staff of workmen under the supervision of its own salaried officers. This has been fiercely attacked as being palpably and obviously opposed to political economy and business experience. It is worth while to place on record the facts. The first case is that of watering and cleaning the bridges over the Thames, a service which the Metropolitan Board of Works let out to a contractor. The new council perversely went into calculations which led the members to believe that the contractor was making a very good thing out of the job, and finally to decide upon engaging labor direct. There have now been over three years' experience of the new system, with the result that, whereas the contractor charged 4*s.* 7½*d.* to 4*s.* 10½*d.* per square yard, the work is now done at an average cost of 3*s.* 2*d.* a square yard, everything included.

In July, 1892, it was necessary to do the annual cleaning and repairing of the council's offices. The architect's estimate for the work as executed was £740. Instead of giving this work to a contractor, the architect was asked to engage a foreman and artizans, and have it done under his own supervision. The result of the experiment was that the total cost was £686, an apparent saving of £54.

This, however, was merely a matter of hiring labor, no constructive work being involved. It is interesting to trace the stages by which the council was driven, by force of circumstances, to its present position of builder. The first piece of actual building executed by the council was a schoolhouse at Crossness. The architect's estimate was £1,800, and tenders were invited in due course. The lowest tender proved to be £2,300. After considerable hesitation the Main Drainage Committee resolved to try to save this large excess over the estimate, and set to work to do the job under its own officers. Certain items which had been put down at £112 were omitted, reducing the estimate to £1,688, and the lowest tender to $2,188. The actual cost proved to be £1,652 only, a saving of £536. But the case which finally convinced three out of every four members of the council of the desirability of executing their own works was the York Road sewer. The engineer estimated the cost at £7,000, and tenders were invited in the usual manner. Only two were sent in, one for £11,588, and the other for $11,608. The council determined to do the work itself, with the result that a net saving of £4,477 was made.

Remarkable Results

This remarkable result naturally created a sensation among the contracting world, and attempts were made to impugn the engineer's figures. In his crushing reply he pointed out that the contractors had reckoned out their tenders at absurdly high prices in nearly every detail, charging, for instance, 60*s.* and 70*s.* per cubic yard for brickwork and cement, whereas the work was done at 39*s.* It is clear from the particulars given, and from facts notorious at the time, that an agreement had been come to by the contractors not to compete with one another for this job, in order to induce the council to abandon its fair wages clause. The council preferred to abandon the contractor.

The outcome was the establishment, in the spring of 1893, of a Works Committee, to execute works required by the other committees in precisely the same manner as a contractor. The Works Committee has an entirely distinct staff, and keeps its own separate accounts. The committee requiring any work prepares its own estimate, as if tenders were going to be invited, and the Works Committee is asked whether it is prepared to undertake the work upon that estimate. Up to the present date sixteen separate works, varying in amount from £100 to £4,094, have been completed, and the accounts settled and checked by the controller. The result shows an aggregate net saving of £2,420, or over 8 per cent.

Now, it is obvious that, incomplete as statistics necessarily are, and difficult as it must always be to decide a question of policy upon mere statistical results, the figures, as far as they go, afford no assistance to those who denounce the council's action, and are distinctly encouraging to its progressive members. No sound induction on such a matter can, however, be made upon mere statements of profit and loss, extending, too, over a very brief period.

When we thus find even the county councils in rural districts giving up the contractor, it ceases to be surprising that the town council of Manchester, in the city of Cobden and Bright, now manufactures its own bass-brooms, or even that the ultra-conservative commissioners of sewers of the city of London actually set the county council an example by manufacturing their own carts. The superiority of direct municipal employment, under salaried supervision, to the system of letting out works to contractors has, in fact, been slowly borne in on the best municipal authorities all over the country by their own administrative experience, quite irrespective of social or political theories.

Comparing the present cooperative system in New Zealand with the former contract system, the Under Secretary for Public Works in that colony says: "The contract system had many disadvantages. It gave rise to a class of middlemen, in the shape of contractors, who often made large profits out of their undertakings. Under this cooperative system works are carried out for their actual value—no more and no less. . . . Work also is better done under the cooperative than under the contract system." (See New Zealand.)

References: *Municipal Affairs*, June, 1897, and September and December, 1898; *Cassier's Magazine*, February, 1900; *Gunter's Magazine*, January, 1902; *The Arena*, April, 1904.

CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY: There are few monetary questions more important than that of the contraction and expansion of currency. We consider: (1) The economic principles involved; (2) the practical importance of the subject; (3) the facts as to the United States.

I. The Economic Principles Involved.

These are not in debate. Upon them all economists are more agreed than upon almost any other principles in economic science. They are:

(*a*) That a contraction of the currency tends to lower prices, and, vice versa, that an expansion of the currency tends to raise prices. Says Ricardo:

"That commodities will rise and fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible. That such would be the case the most celebrated writers on political economy are agreed."

Says President Walker: "That prices will fall or rise as the volume of money be increased or diminished is a law that is as unalterable as any law of nature."

The reason for this is simple. When a currency expands there is more money to meet the demands of trade. People are able to give more to purchase what they desire; hence the seller can raise his prices. It is, of course, implied that the currency has expanded *more than the demand for it*. If, as is often the case, a slight expansion of currency is accompanied by a greater expansion in the volume of exchanging, so that more currency is needed, the slight absolute expansion of the currency is more than counterbalanced by the greater expansion of the need or demand for it, and there is, therefore, virtually not an expansion, but a contraction of the currency, and prices fall instead of rising. Of course also, by expansion of currency is meant currency *in circulation* actually available for making exchanges. If in any country currency is coined or issued, no matter in how great quantities, and is locked up either in government vaults or withdrawn from active circulation by private or other cornering of the money market, there is no real expansion of the currency.

(*b*) Economists are agreed that it follows from the above that a contraction of the currency tends to benefit the credit class, and that, vice versa, an expansion of the currency tends to benefit the debtor class. Says President Andrews ("An Honest Dollar," p. 8): "Increase in the value of money robs debtors. It forces every one of them to pay more than he covenanted—not more dollars, but more value, the given number of dollars embodying at date of payment greater value than at date of contract. Decrease in the value of money robs creditors, necessitating each to put up, in payment of what is due to him, with a smaller modicum of value than was agreed upon."

Contraction Tends to Benefit Credit Class

So substantially say Jevons, Walker, Chevallier, and all authorities, altho all have not realized the importance of the subject. It should, however, be realized what this means. The credit class is, generally speaking, the small class who live directly or indirectly upon investments. The debtor class is the large class of producers in any nation.

(*c*) Economists are agreed that what is wanted is an "elastic currency"—that is, a currency that can decrease in volume when prices go up and increase when prices go down, thus operating to check the increase and decrease. Exactly on what basis this should be done there is, however, disagreement.

II. The Practical Importance of the Subject.

This is also admitted by all thinkers, altho it has not always been sufficiently realized. Says President Andrews ("An Honest Dollar," p. 13): "Jevons, at any rate, is too moderate. After enormous admissions touching the ravages of changing currency values, he almost apologizes for the change in money value, on the ground that the sorrows springing from it are mostly occult, and that the people habitually refer them to other causes. The question is not whether the infelicities accompanying these monetary vicissitudes are appreciated or not, but whether they are real and serious. That they are both will be the conviction of every student in proportion to his acquaintance with them. . . . It is certain that none who have not made the subject a study at all adequately conceive the magnitude of the evil."

Says Professor Commons (*The Voice*, Sept. 14, 1893):

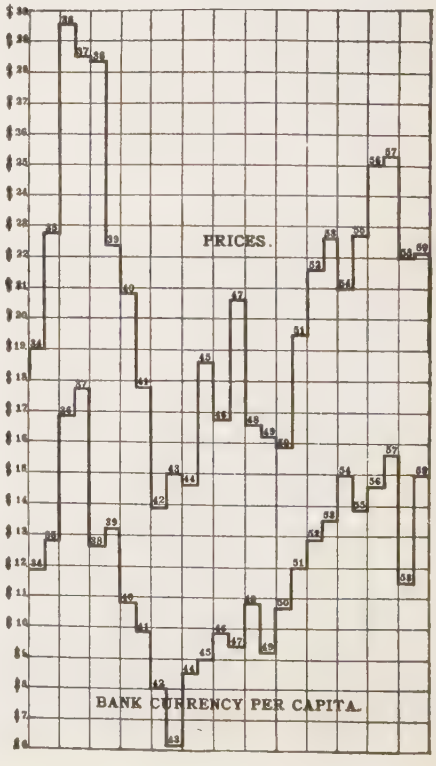
> What is the significance of price fluctuations? Nothing less than the very essence of modern industry. . . . It is estimated that the debts of the world are $100,000,000,000. Every nation, state, county, city, and township is a debtor. These debts run from three months to three decades. All business and productive enterprises are a speculation. The farmer borrows money expecting to sell wheat at a certain price and pay his debt in money. Meanwhile, the price of wheat falls 50 per cent. Where one bushel would have paid his debt when contracted, it now requires two bushels, and the burden of the debt has grown 100 per cent. During the past twenty years this is exactly what has occurred. . . . When we consider that the private debts of the country are one half the value of the country, it is no wonder that panic depression, idleness, and despair are upon us.

III.—The Facts as to the United States.

These can be fully studied only in a complete review of the currency of the United States. (For this, see CURRENCY.) We here consider only such facts as are in dispute, and mainly those which have arisen since the war. For the ante-bellum period we present the following chart from Amasa Walker's "Science of Wealth":

DIAGRAM.

Showing the Corresponding Fluctuations in Currency and Prices for 26 years, 1834–1850.



This diagram shows at once how closely prices follow fluctuations in currency, and also the vast importance of the subject to the general prosperity of the nation.

For the period since the war we ask:

(*a*) *Has there been contraction or expansion of our currency since the war?*

This is a disputed point. According to authorities at Washington, no contraction has taken place. In the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, that official gets the per capita circulation by dividing the total amount in circulation by the total population; but during the war millions of people in the South were not using United States money—at least not entirely. They had a currency of their own. The secretary should either have divided the currency only by the Northern population, or have added the Southern currency to the Northern and have divided by the total population. Either process would show a larger per capita circulation during the war days.

This assuredly seems to show that our currency in the United States has not been contracting, but steadily expanding. Equally assuredly, however, vast portions of currency are not available for the common people, and some portion is not available for any one.

According to the treasurer's report for 1892, for example, of the $1,601,347,187 reported in circulation on July 1, 1892, $408,568,824 was in gold coin. Now, except on the Pacific slope, the common people do not see gold from year's end to year's end. All moneys coined since 1872 in the case of gold, and since 1878 for silver, are considered by the treasurer as in circulation. That this is not the case; that large amounts have been hoarded, lost, or taken from the country is notoriously true, tho statistics of the amounts may not be available.

Since 1878 there has been expansion, but this does not take into account the increase of business over the increase of population. We shall consider this more fully, but must first note an objection that seems to vitiate our argument. It is said that the amount of currency really makes very little difference, because the vast majority of our monetary transactions are done, not by money, but by instruments of credit for which money merely furnishes the basis. The one thing we are told is to have this basis reliable and trustworthy; its amount matters little. Professor Commons (in the article above mentioned in *The Voice*) has well stated the objection and well answered it:

> There is a current statement emanating from the reports of the Controller of the Currency, and based on the statements of bank officers throughout the union to the effect that only 7 per cent of the business of the country is paid for in cash; the other 93 per cent is represented by credit instruments, such as checks and drafts. From this statement it is sought to minimize the share of money in influencing the range of prices. The conclusion is reached that 93 per cent of general prices is based on credit and only 7 per cent on money, and therefore that the question of the volume of money in a country has very little significance compared with the importance of a good credit system.
>
> **Use of Credit**
>
> But there are two objections to this conclusion. What would be thought of the sanity and the conclusions of a man who should gather statistics only from the meat markets in the land and then should expound the statement that 95 per cent of all the industry of the country consisted of fresh meat and only 5 per cent of the country's industry consisted of all other kinds of commodities? The conclusion is no less credible than is the aforesaid statement regarding credits. The statistics are gathered only from enterprises whose sole business almost is dealing in credits. But if you go to the retail merchant he will say 25 per cent to 75 per cent, and even 100 per cent, of his business is paid for in cash. The farmer uses very few checks and drafts. The millions of day laborers use none at all. Taking the country as a whole, perhaps not 50 per cent of all transactions are settled by credit instruments, while the cash of the country must be actually transferred in settling the other 50 per cent.

Until recently, however, prices have notoriously fallen; in other words, *money has appreciated*. How much this is the case is well illustrated by President Andrews ("An Honest Dollar," p. 13):

> Our national debt on Sept. 1, 1865, was about $2,750,000,000. It could then have been paid off with 18,000,000 bales of cotton or 25,000,000 tons of bar iron. When it had been reduced to $1,250,000, 30,000,000 bales of cotton or 32,000,000 tons of iron would have been required to pay it. In other words, while a nominal shrinkage of about 55 per cent had taken place in the debt, it had, as measured in either of these two world-staples, actually been enlarged by some 50 per cent. . . . Between 1870 and 1884 the debt of the United States decreased not very far from $750,000,000. Yet if we take beef, corn, wheat, oats, pork, coal, cotton, and bar iron together as the standard—assuredly not a bad one—the debt not only did not decrease at all, but actually increased by not less than 50 per cent.

Now, it can be seen what expansion and contraction of the currency means to the producing and debtor class of this country. As with public debts, so with private debts. Measured by what a dollar will buy from 1870–84, every debt increased, according to President Andrews' statement, threefold. Immediately after the war American enterprise filled the West with new farms. The farmers borrowed money, and mortgaged their farms to get stock and "plant." But their unpaid debt increased threefold in value. It is plain what made the battle for more currency (silver especially) of such vital moment to the West until very recent times. For proposed remedies, see BANKING; BIMETALLISM.

CONVICT LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES: Labor of some kind is required of all persons convicted of crime and sentenced to penal institutions in the several states of the United States. In most cases the sentence of the court itself requires that "hard labor" be added to the penalty of confinement in prison. In order to preserve the health and sanity of the prisoner, it is necessary that exercise at least, if not actual toil, be provided. It is only when the cupidity of the "taxpayer" enters so far into the management of prisons, and so far dictates the policy of prison management as to make it imperative that prisons be made "to pay," that convict labor becomes a serious moral and industrial question.

There are six general systems under which convicts are found at work in the United States: (1) Lease system; (2) contract system; (3) piece-price system; (4) public-account system; (5) state-use system; and (6) public works and ways system.

1. *The Lease System*: Under this system the state enters into a contract with a lessee, who agrees to receive the convict, to feed, clothe, house, and guard him, to keep him at work, and to pay the state a specified amount for his labor. The state reserves the right to make rules for the care of the convict and to inspect the convict's quarters and place of work. No institution is maintained by the state other than a place of detention, where the convicts can be held until placed in the hands of the lessee, and in which to confine convicts who are unable to work.

2. *Contract System*: Under this system the state feeds, clothes, houses, and guards the convict, and maintains an institution and a force of

guards and other employees. A contractor engages with the state for the labor of the convicts, which is performed in or near the institution. The contractor pays the state a stipulated amount for the services of each convict, supplies his own raw material, and superintends the work.

3. *Piece-Price System*: This system differs from the contract system only as to superintending the work and determining the speed at which convicts must work. The state maintains the institution, and feeds, clothes, and guards the convicts. The contractor supplies the raw material and pays the state an agreed amount for the work done on each piece or article manufactured by the convicts. The officials of the prison not only maintain discipline, but dictate the quantity of work required.

4. *Public-Account System*: In the public-account system the state enters the field of manufacturing on its own account. It buys the raw material, manufactures and puts the product on the market, and assumes all the risk of conducting a manufacturing business. The state has the entire care and control of the convicts, and with them conducts an ordinary factory.

5. *State-Use System*: Under this system the state conducts a business of manufacture or production, as in the public-account system, but the use or sale of the goods produced is limited to the same institution or to other state institutions. The principle of the system is that the state shall produce for its own consumption only.

6. *Public Works and Ways System*: This system is very nearly like the state-use system. It might not improperly be included therewith. Under this system the labor is not applied to the manufacture of the common marketable articles of merchandise, but to the construction and repair of prison or other public buildings, public roads, parks, breakwaters, etc.

The contract system obtains in twenty-seven states and in fifty-four institutions producing over $1,000 worth of goods in a year. The lease system is confined to the five states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, and Wyoming. The piece-price system has been partially adopted in seventeen states and in thirty institutions. The public-account system is to be found in ninety-nine institutions, located in forty states. The state-use system is found in 149 institutions in forty-seven states, counting the two U. S. prisons as a separate state. The system designated as public works and ways is to be found in 166 institutions located in thirty-eight states.

The report of the U. S. Bureau of Labor for 1905 deals exclusively with the subject of convict labor, and contains the best information on the subject yet published. Quoting from that report:

Statistics

It will be necessary to wait until the report of the United States Census Bureau is published to ascertain the total number of convicts in the U. S. The present report shows only the total number of convicts in those institutions in which convicts are engaged in productive labor. This number was 86,036.4 in the year covered. Possibly a few hundred should be added to this number to cover the convicts who may have been at work in the institutions that produce so little as not to be included in this report. The number is believed to be so small, however, as to be of little consequence in an industrial sense.

Of the 86,036.4 convicts in the institutions covered, 80,426.3, or 93.5 per cent, were males, and 5,610.1, or 6.5 per cent, were females. In the penal institutions 70,069.0, or 93.7 per cent, of the convicts were males, and 4,702.7, or 6.3 per cent, were females; and in the juvenile reformatories 10,357.3, or 91.9 per cent, were males, and 907.4, or 8.1 per cent, were females.

While 86,036.4 convicts were in the institutions in which productive labor was performed, the number actually engaged at productive labor was only 51,172.2, or 59.5 per cent of the total number of convicts. Of the remainder, 21,403.3, or 24.9 per cent of the total, were engaged in prison duties, such as cooking, washing, cleaning, and other domestic service, 2,774.0, or 3.2 per cent, on an average, were sick or invalid, and 10,686.9, or 12.4 per cent, were idle because no work was provided for them or because they were purposely kept in confinement without labor. Those reported idle in juvenile reformatories include also inmates who were in school and were not engaged in productive labor.

The report covers 296 institutions of which 257 were penal and 39 juvenile reformatory; 103 were under state or territorial control, 139 under county control, 25 under city control, 1 under township control, 2 under federal control, 17 under the control of lessees, 1 under private control with assistance from the county, and 7 under mixt control. The value of goods produced under each of the systems of convict labor, and the number of convicts working under each system are shown in the following table:

VALUE OF GOODS PRODUCED AND OF LABOR ON THE SAME, NUMBER OF CONVICTS EMPLOYED, AND NUMBER OF FREE LABORERS THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN REQUIRED TO PERFORM THE SAME WORK

System of Work	Institutions	Market value of goods produced	Value of labor on goods produced	Number of convicts employed			Free laborers necessary to perform same work		
				Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Lease	20	$3,093,764	$1,355,796	3,644.2	7.5	3,651.7	4,183.7	7.5	4,191.2
Contract	54	16,642,234	4,535,089	16,563.9	352.0	16,915.9	10,845.7	514.5	11,360.2
Public-account	99	4,748,749	1,616,758	8,228.4	302.0	8,530.4	4,183.6	355.5	4,539.1
Piece-price	30	3,239,450	858,764	3,809.6	76.1	3,885.7	1,291.9	747.5	2,039.4
State-use	159	3,665,121	1,836,801	11,067.9	976.6	12,044.5	5,081.9	626.9	5,708.8
Public works and ways	166	2,886,887	1,712,221	6,142.0	2.0	6,144.0	4,960.4	2.0	4,962.4
Total	296	$34,276,205	$11,915,429	49,456.0	1,716.2	51,172.2	30,547.2	2,253.9	32,801.1

While it is necessary in this article to follow the figures presented by the Federal Bureau of Labor in all phases of the subject, because they are the best obtainable, it must nevertheless be borne in mind that upon certain points the bureau itself is wholly dependent upon the contractors for information as to the value of goods produced by convicts under the contract plan, and also for its estimates of the number of free laborers required to perform the same amount of labor outside of prison walls. Upon these two points, therefore, the figures given by the bureau are not entirely convincing. Many persons who have had prison contracts and also operated free factories in the North, testify that with the use of machinery, and the enforcement of the task system, the output per convict in the prisons is nearly equal to that of free labor; while in the South the statement that one negro in prison will do as

much work as two or three on the outside is not regarded as a uniform experience. Bearing in mind, however, that the value of goods made under contract in a prison may be considerably understated, and that the numerical displacement of free laborers by convicts is at best but an estimate, the statistical data in this report must guide the student in any study of convict labor.

Opposition

The organized opposition to convict labor, especially under the contract system, was for many years led by the trade-unions. The trade-union objection is not primarily to the labor of convicts, but to the use of the products of that labor to reduce prices, and hence ultimately the wages of free labor. It is conceded that if the convict were not a convict he would labor; but in that case he must work for "a living-wage" and would enter the industry most in need of his service. As a convict he works at a fixt task, the state selling his labor to a contractor at a rate which would not support him, much less his family, on the outside, the contractor using the product of the labor of convicts thus secured to cut prices, and terrorize other manufacturers into cutting wages in the hope of being able to meet the prices of these competitors. It is simply the application of the economic theory that competition will eventually reduce all to the level of the lowest price and lowest wages prevailing in a given industry. The trade-unionist replies that if this is true, the massing of convict labor into special occupations will reduce all labor in those occupations to wages no higher than the contract price of convicts.

As a matter of fact, the opposition to contract convict labor has been as great and as persistent among employers as among members of labor-unions. At present the Free Labor Association is the principal opponent of convict labor, and is a national organization composed for the most part of manufacturers whose business is being menaced by the output of prisons. For many years the fight was upon the contract and lease systems only. Later experience has shown that the public-account system is even worse, as the state agents really sell for less and demoralize the markets more than do contractors. State-use is the system sometimes favored by trade-unionists and manufacturers, for while this eliminates a large customer (the state) from the market for free-made goods, it does not demoralize prices in the market that is left. Public works and ways, however, is the system that seems most in favor, except among those who, pretending to speak in the interest of the "taxpayer," demand that the state shall "make money" out of the crime committed within its borders; and who hope to make the criminals a source of revenue by farming out their labor, or by selling the products of that labor in competition with free industries.

For the first time an intelligent general investigation of the commercial effect of prison-made goods was made by the United States Bureau of Labor, and is contained in chapter 2 of its report for 1905. The Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics dealt with this phase in 1886. Summarizing the results of its work in 1905, the U. S. Bureau says, under the heading "Commercial Effect of the Competition of Convict-made Goods":

Supplementary to this general investigation, a special investigation was made in the principal lines of convict-made goods to ascertain the effect of the competition of convict-made goods. The industries selected for such investigation were boots and shoes, clothing (working-shirts, pants, and overalls), chairs, tables, etc., brooms and brushes, binding-twine, stove hollow-ware, stoves, harness, saddletrees, whips, cooperage (in the Chicago market), farm wagons, and stone-work. In each of these industries statements were secured from leading manufacturers, covering their experience and expressing their opinions of the effect of convict-labor competition.

Reviewing the general question of convict labor as a competitive factor, it may be said that manufacturers consider such competition unfair and ruinous, demoralizing to markets and business stability, compelling the reduction of prices below a fair margin of profit and often even below the cost of production. Wages are forced to the lowest limit in a vain effort to lower the cost of production to that of the prison contractor. In some cases a deterioration of quality of material used and in others an entire abandonment to the prisons of the manufacture of certain grades of goods has become necessary.

In the boot and shoe industry the testimony of manufacturers is that the low cost of production of prison-made goods—a cost decreasing steadily with the increasing efficiency of the convict through the equipment of prisons with improved machinery—has enabled the prison manufacturer to drive the employer of free labor out of the market or force on him a reduction in the regular prices of many lines of goods.

In furniture the character of work done in prisons has changed entirely in recent years. The high grade of work now being done in prisons, together with the increased use of machinery (in use in six prisons in 1885 and in sixteen prisons in 1903–4) and the low prison cost of production, have made it impossible for the product of factories employing free labor to compete with it. Prison-made furniture has compelled the abandonment to the prisons of some lines, the reduction of prices in others, and a cutting of wages in an effort to keep pace with the reduction of prices. The competitive power of the prison product is greatly increased by the fact that the output of seven prisons in five states is controlled by one contractor.

In brushes the volume of prison-made brushes (scrubbing, shoe, etc.) has been so great and the wholesale and jobbing prices so low that a large number of the factories formerly making this class of goods on a large scale have entirely abandoned that grade of product, and many of them now purchase the prison goods to sell with the higher grade of their own manufacture. Those still engaged in direct competition with prison-made brushes can compete only by giving a better finish to the brushes, or by selling them at cost and relying for their profit on their better grades.

In broom- and whisk-making manufacturers employing free labor have been subject to the greatest price-depressing competition. It is a favorite prison product, the authorities turning to it as an occupation for convicts which can be followed with the smallest outlay of materials and machinery, and one in which unskilled labor can be used to make a crude product at a cost far below the cost of a similar product of free labor.

The investigation has also brought out the tendency of prisons to absorb the entire production of goods on a declining market where the articles are being substituted, either by changes in style or character of goods, or shrinkage in the market from any cause. For instance, in stove hollow-ware the substitution of stamped enameled cooking-utensils for the cast-iron articles has taken from the manufacturer of such cast-iron stove hollow-ware all of the market that would come from increased population, and probably more. The result has been the absorption of all the market left for these goods by the prison-made product.

In like manner the Chicago stock-yards market for wood-bound cooperage has been practically abandoned to the prisons. Owing to the use of refrigerator cars, iron-bound cooperage, tubs, lard pails, both wooden and tin, the demand for wood-bound lard tierces and pork barrels has not expanded with the packing business—indeed is not holding its own—and what market is left is practically absorbed by the prison-labor contractors.

In the making of saddletrees a similar condition appears. Horseback riding has given way to other forms of conveyance. The saddle market is a shrinking one. Hence, by a slight expansion and combination of the prison industry in this article, the market is practically absorbed, 90 per cent of all saddletrees being made in prison.

In blacksnake whips the prisons have been able, first, to drive out of existence practically all the factories employing free labor, and then to expand to supply the demand of the market. This is also essentially true of whip-lashes, quirts, and other small articles.

In binding-twine the effect has been to cause an accurate measurement to be taken of both the entire market and prison output, thus enabling the manufacturers employing free labor to ignore for the most part the prices made by the prisons. That is to say, when the annual consumption of binding-twine was practically 110,000 tons, the prison output was approximately 11,000 tons; this sold at a price which would have ruined the factories employing free labor had not they, figuratively, stepped aside until the prison product was absorbed and then sold their 99,000 tons at a profit.

The competition of prison-made products, in some instances, forces the weaker manufacturers to deteriorate the quality of their goods in order to meet prison prices. In this way

the price-breaking power of the prison output is augmented by the output of those manufacturers who have had to debase the quality of their wares to meet the prison competition. This will be found true to a certain extent in boots and shoes, binding-twine, whips, and some other lines.

The concentration of the product of the prisons in a number of states under the control of a single contractor renders the competition of the prison-made goods more powerful and more aggressive. In stove hollow-ware one firm (under various names) has the contract for three prisons; another controls two prisons. In furniture one company controls the product of seven prisons in five states, and in clothing one contractor controls the product of eight prisons in six states.

It is the settled policy of prison contractors and prisons operated on public account, as far as possible, to sell their prison-made goods outside the state in which they are manufactured. There are local manufacturing and political reasons for doing this. It has been repeatedly pointed out by manufacturers, and their statements are reenforced by specific detail, that when this is done it is clearly an act of one state to injure the manufacturing and labor interests of another.

It is to be noted that this entirely reverses the position taken by the former Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, not only in his public addresses, articles, and books, but in his official reports. Ignoring the concentration of convict labor in a few simple industries, the former reports have compared the whole prison population and output with the total industrial population and total manufactured products, to show that the percentage of convict labor was too small to be worthy of notice. A very significant indication of modern tendency is the fact that one contractor making workmen's shirts has the control of eight prisons in six states, while one furniture company controls the furniture product of seven prisons in five states.

References: The *Twentieth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Labor* (1905), by Charles P. Neill, Commissioner; the second chapter shows the commercial effects of the system, and the report contains the convict-labor laws of all the states. The *Second Annual Report of the Department of Labor*, by Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner, is valuable for its survey of the subject in other countries of the world. *Bulletin 5 of the Department of Labor* should be consulted. Nearly every state labor-bureau has published from time to time something on the subject. The best of these publications is the *Fourth Illinois Report* (1886) and the *First New York Report* (1883). An index to state labor-bureau reports was published by the U. S. Labor Bureau in 1902, and this gives nearly four pages (67–70) of references to state reports, most of which should be consulted in any thorough study. The chapter on the *Convict Lease System* in Geo. W. Cable's *Silent South* should be read, also chapter 22 of *Practical Sociology*, by Carroll D. Wright. Vol. iii. of the *Report of the United States Industrial Commission* is devoted to prison labor.

Ethelbert Stewart.

COOKING-SCHOOLS: Schools for teaching the art of cooking have been established many years. As early as 1863 such a school was opened at 111 Great Portland Street, London, by Mrs. Mitchell. In 1876 there were many training-schools in England, sending out teachers all over the world, those of Glasgow, Liverpool, and South Kensington taking the lead. There are similar schools in France and Belgium. The Young Women's Association in the United States have taken up the instruction of public-school children. Juliet Corson, in 1872, then secretary of the Free Training-School for Women, devoted herself to the study of cooking with respect both to health and economy. In 1876 she established the New York School of Cookery. Maria Parloa opened a school in Boston in 1876, and lectured there, as well as in various seminaries and evening-schools. She began a school of her own in New York in 1882. A school of cookery for the teaching of the public-school children was begun in Boston in 1883 at the North Bennet Street Industrial School. In 1885 Mrs. Hemenway established a vacation cookery school, which was accepted later by the school committee as Boston School Kitchen No. 1, they assuming the charge of it and establishing other like schools. It is required that students have a grammar-school education and knowledge of household matters, with respect to cooking and the principles thereof, and also of the chemistry of food materials.

In the New England Kitchen Mrs. Ellen H. Richards and Mrs. Mary H. Abel have worked out valuable experiments. Similar experiment stations have been started in other places in the U. S. for the purpose of studying the theories of nutrition and food value as exprest by the Munich physiologists. The most of the women's colleges, many Western agricultural colleges, the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, give courses in domestic science.

COOPERATION (see also Cooperative Agriculture; Cooperative Banks; Building and Loan Associations; Cooperative Stores in the United States; Cooperative Union, etc.): We consider cooperation in this article under four heads: I. Definitions and kinds. II. History. III. Statistics and development in all countries. IV. Arguments pro and con.

I. Definitions and Kinds

Cooperation (from Latin *co* and *operare*, to work together) is used specifically in social science for the voluntary union of persons, in joint production, distribution, purchase, or consumption, apart from government, on equitable principles and for their mutual benefit. Such is, perhaps, a rightly exclusive and inclusive definition. Yet it must be admitted that the word is used by good authority both in a larger and a narrower sense.

George J. Holyoake, for example, defines it as "the concert of many for compassing advantages impossible to be reached by one, in order that the gain may be fairly shared by all concerned in its attainment" ("History of Cooperation," vol. i., p. 68). But this definition is obviously too broad. This definition would include the State, socialism, communism, every trade-union, almost every church, society, trust, monopoly, or combination of any kind. To use words so loosely, is to misuse them, even tho it be admitted that the essence of the cooperative idea does often lie deep in all concerted life, especially in the true State, the true Church, the true trade-union. On the other hand, the word has been too narrowly used. It has been said to mean simply "the voluntary union of consumers or producers for the purchase or production of commodities and the division of profits on the basis of the amount purchased or produced by the cooperators." But this identifies one form of cooperation with cooperation itself. There are other forms. Each form of cooperation is claimed by some to be the true form.

Cooperation may be divided into at least three distinct kinds, and these, into an almost infinite number of methods and combinations of methods. The three main kinds are:

1. Societies of distribution or consumption, in which consumers unite to bring together or maintain stores of goods where members can buy at a cheaper rate, or with some advantage to themselves. Such are cooperative stores, wholesale, retail, etc.

2. Societies of production, where producers combine to gain the advantage of combination in production, and to sell the collective or individual work. Such cooperators are their own capitalists. They may cooperate in manufacturing, in agriculture, or in any department of production.

3. Societies of credit or banking, where accounts of credit are opened with the members, and loans advanced to the members at favorable terms on fair securities. Such societies, in numerous modifications, as cooperative banks, friendly societies, burial societies, building societies, etc., exist in most cities. Owing, however, to these societies being in many ways different from the other kinds of cooperation, we consider them under separate heads. (See BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS; COOPERATIVE BANKS, etc.)

Between these various classes of cooperation it is necessary carefully to distinguish, for one class is often perfectly practical when the other is not. Distributive cooperation has been very successful, but was not the first attempted, and is by many severely criticized. Productive cooperation was first attempted, and is unquestionably the highest kind, but not unnaturally has been the slowest to be developed. Credit cooperation has been the most successful, but as being nearest to ordinary business methods and least developing the principle of cooperation is by many not considered true cooperation.

Distributive cooperation is the easiest to establish, and the Rochdale plan (for this, see below) is considered by almost all the safest and best method. Many consider this the only form of distributive cooperation meriting the name of cooperation. According to this plan, membership is open to any one interested who will take one or two small shares (in England generally £1, with 1*s.* on entrance, and the remainder, if he chooses, out of his accumulating dividends). A maximum share of capital which one person can hold is fixed in England at £200. Goods are sold at ordinary retail prices, and each purchaser receives a check or voucher corresponding to the amount of purchases. These are paid into the store, and every quarter or every six months the surplus of receipts over cost is divided among the members at so much per pound of purchases. This is the rebate, or dividend as it is called. Anybody may deal at the stores, and receive discount as a rule at half the members' rate. In England the rate of dividend is usually between 2*s.* and 3*s.*, but runs up to 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.* Four or five per cent interest is generally paid on capital. The store is managed by a committee elected by the members, each member having one vote. The first department of a store is usually grocery and provisions. Many stores, even the smaller ones, bake their own bread, and find it most successful. Other industries are also frequently developed. Of this plan, Mr. N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, its leading American advocate, says:

Distributive Cooperation

The most feasible method of getting into cooperative manufacturing is through the cooperative store. Storekeeping takes less money to start with, is simpler in its operations, and when once under good headway easily accumulates capital for factory plants. . . . Working men who really want to better the condition of their class should get together, familiarize themselves with the working details, and make a beginning in a small way. The difficulties to be encountered are not so much the business itself as the people's indifference. Where as many as fifty can be gotten together and imbued with the proper spirit a safe start can be made. Some members can pay their shares in full, and others fifty cents or $1 a week. Some vacant room can be rented cheaply or obtained for nothing; the work can be done evenings by volunteers or by some one out of work for small pay. The beginning should be confined to staple articles of food, and books should be kept under advice of a friendly bookkeeper. Care should be taken to keep the expenses so proportioned to the business that a fair net profit will be made from the start. Purchases and sales should be rigidly cash, and prices should be the same as at the neighboring retail stores. Every one of the fifty should be a missionary to explain the plan to his friends and get them to join. Members should loyally do all their trading at the store, even at some inconvenience. Undertaken in this way, a cooperative store can be started anywhere and be assured of success.

On the other hand, many criticize distributive cooperation and say that productive cooperation, the original form, is the only true cooperation. Said Mr. E. V. Neale at the English Cooperative Congress of 1886:

Productive Cooperation

The original pioneers looked forward to self-employment and the many advantages that might thus be brought within their reach, as the goal to be attained through the accumulation of the profits on their own purchases. Their successors, to whom the idea of self-employment has melted into the haze of a distant future, have too commonly got to look on the profits on their purchases as so much addition to their ordinary income; and have even been disposed to measure the benefits of the store by the amount of this addition—the actual dividend on their purchases—without caring to inquire closely how much of it is legitimately earned in the ways as specified above, and how much has come out of their own pockets by arbitrary additions to the prices of the goods sold. These departures from the original idea have produced a reactionary movement, a tendency to place the benefits of the store not where they really lie in the collective action which they make possible, and the educational and recreative resources that the members may obtain by their union beyond what they could secure individually, but simply in the power of getting what they want at a cheaper rate, by selling to themselves as nearly as may be at cost price.

Productive cooperation therefore is being developed, and in spite of some failures with increasing success. Most thoughtful cooperators now find no contradiction between the two forms and believe that any form of cooperation should be favored which local conditions make possible and opportunity and need call for.

Cooperative credit societies have been largely developed, in the United States under the form of BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS, and in Germany under the Schulze-Delitzsch and the Raiffeisen systems (see Section III. of this article under Germany), from which they have spread into most European countries.

II. HISTORY

For the beginnings we quote from George J. Holyoake, the eminent author of the "History of Cooperation in England."

Writing in the *Fortnightly Review* (1887), he tells us that cooperation dates from the latter portion of the eighteenth century.

"Ambelakia," he says, "was almost a cooperative town. So vast a municipal partnership on industry has never existed since. The fishers on the Cornish coast carried out cooperation on the sea, and the miners of Cumberland dug ore on the principle of sharing the profits. The plan has been productive of contentment and advantage. Gruyère is a cooperative cheese, being formerly made in the Jura Mountains, where the profits were equally divided among the makers. In 1777, as Dr. Langford relates in his "Century of Birmingham Life," the tailors of that enterprising town set up a cooperative workshop, which is the earliest in English record. . . . Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, established at Mongewell, in Oxfordshire, the first known cooperative store; while Count Rumford and Sir Thomas Bernard published in 1795, and for many years after, plans of cooperative and social life, far exceeding in variety and thoroughness any in the minds of persons now living."

Early Cooperation

"The only apostle of the social state in England," continues Mr. Holyoake, "at the beginning of this century, was Robert Owen, and to him we owe the cooperation of to-day. With him it took the shape of a despotism of philanthropy. Lord Sidmouth and the Duke of Kent gave him their personal influence to advance his views. Mr. Owen carried into practical use his ideas in his New Lanark Mills for educating his workpeople, and with a success that has had no imitators except

Godin, of Guise, whose Palace of Industry is known throughout civilization. Jeremy Bentham, who held shares in New Lanark, said it was the only investment he had made that paid him. It was here that Mr. Owen set up a cooperative store on the primitive plan of buying goods and provisions at wholesale and selling them to the working men's families at cost price.

"The benefit which the Lanark weavers enjoyed was soon noised abroad, and clever workmen elsewhere began to form stores to supply their families in the same way. The earliest instance of this is the Economical Society of Sheerness, commenced in 1816, and which is still doing business in the same premises and also in adjacent ones lately erected. Its rules stated that its object was 'to supply the members with wheaten bread and flour and butchers' meat.' The great war had long deprived them of both, and this society was commenced by intelligent dockyard workmen, who, altho better paid than ordinary workmen, were yet subject to privations. . . .

"Cooperation was also put to use on the Sussex coast, where Lady Noel Byron aided it, in order that the savings of the store might assist poor men in the way of self-employment, by keeping market gardens, and setting up tailors', shoemakers', and carpenters' shops. The desire of workmen to become their own masters, and the double prospect of independence and profit, spread the idea over the country as a new religion of industry. The cooperative stores now changed their plan. They sold retail at shop charges, and saved the difference between retail and cost price as a fund with which to commence cooperative workshops. By 1830 from 300 to 400 cooperative stores had been set up in England. There are records of 250 societies, distributive and productive, existing at that period, cited in the 'History of Cooperation.'"

Yet the real history of cooperation does not commence until 1844 in

England

England is the classic home and birthplace of cooperation as a practical movement. Its beginnings we have seen. But the early movement died away.

It should not be forgotten that cooperation received its first practical solution at the hands of the few poor weavers of Rochdale, in North England, who saved up a few shillings, afterward investing them in a bag of flour, which they distributed among themselves at cost price. It was this humble enterprise which marked the beginning of the great Rochdale system, that now counts its establishments by thousands, its investments and profits by millions of pounds sterling, and takes its name from those poor weavers, the Rochdale Pioneers. April 25, 1844, the day when this society commenced work, is a red-letter day in the history of cooperation.

Rochdale Pioneers

When their society began it only had twenty-eight members—£28 of funds—and the first year made no profit. In its second year it had seventy-four members, £181 in funds, £710 of business, and made £22 profit, 2½ per cent of which was used as a fund for education. In 1876 its members were 8,892, its funds were £254,000, its year's business exceeded £305,000, its profits were more than £50,500.

The methods of the Rochdale and other early stores were very simple, as the following early account will show. "The societies have a public store, where goods are sold even to those who are not members. The condition of membership is the payment of a few pence. At certain intervals, further payments of a few pence are required from the new member (in most cases twopence and a half a week, or tenpence a month), until their aggregate, together with the interest and dividends placed to his credit, amount to the prescribed minimum share in the undertaking. The sum in Rochdale was at first £4 ($19.36), afterward £5 ($24.30); in Manchester, however, only £1 ($4.84). Each member has the privilege of letting his share increase to £100 ($484); altho, in case of an excess of capital, the society can diminish the amount. Each member can, after previous notice, demand that his share, over and above the minimum share, be paid back to him, after an interval varying according to the amount; the minimum share itself, however, is not paid back to the member when he resigns, but may, with the approval of the society, be carried over to the credit of another, who thus becomes himself a member.

"A distribution of the net profits is made quarterly. After an interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum has been deducted from the shares of the members, and 2½ per cent of the profits have been applied to the educational fund, the balance is placed to the credit of the members, in proportion to the purchases that each has made at the store during the preceding three months. The members are liable for no losses beyond the value of their respective shares. This right of allotment is governed by a special statute of Aug. 7, 1862, which secures to the companies the same legal rights possest by an individual.

"Every year there is a general meeting, in which every member has a vote. By this meeting, an executive committee of twelve is elected to manage the business of the society for one year, which holds a weekly session. This is the gist of the rules of the English societies, which differ only in minor particulars."

In 1849 commenced the Christian Socialist movement of the Rev. F. D. Maurice—the "Master," Charles Kingsley, Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, and, above all, J. M. Ludlow, the real founder of the movement. (For their general principles and the history of their movement, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) It is sufficient here to state that their efforts were important, not for the immediate results, since these were meager, but for the impetus they gave to the cooperative ideal, and to its ethical and enduring character. They started a society for aiding cooperative production, and as the result some cooperative tailor shops were begun. These, however, either did not live or were merged in the larger Rochdale movement. A more enduring result was the gaining by the Christian Socialist leaders successive improvements in laws which gave cooperative stores legal protection, and enabled cooperators to become bankers, to hold land, and to increase their savings to £200; which last provision led to some stores becoming rich, through the prospect it opened to members to acquire houses. This legislation with the ethical principles they so brilliantly advocated was the real contribution of the Christian Socialists to cooperation.

Christian Socialists

It is, however, in the Rochdale movement that we follow the real development of English cooperation. By 1856 the Pioneers had a capital of £12,900, and sold not only articles of grocery, but bread, meat, and clothing. In 1855 they commenced cooperative production, first hiring a small room, in which they placed a few looms, the beginning of their cooperative cotton mills.

It was a success and part of a mill was accordingly rented. Each laborer's share of the profits, after capital had received 5 per cent, was proportioned to the aggregate amount of wages he had earned, and as, in addition to this bonus, wages current in the trade were paid, it was natural that the best efforts of those employed were stimulated. The undertaking developed so rapidly that soon a larger mill was required than any that could be rented. It was resolved to build; a mill was commenced in 1856, and completed in 1860, at a cost of £45,000. A second mill was then commenced. These mills had scarcely time to get into full working when the breaking out of the Civil War in America brought the cotton trade of Lancashire into a state of unprecedented depression.

Growth of Cooperation

Meanwhile, the success of their movement had created efforts at cooperation all over England, particularly at Manchester, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Newcastle, and Oldham. The last named became a cooperative town. The "Oldham Building and Manufacturing Society," the first of its kind registered under the Joint-Stock Companies Act, was founded in 1858: capital, £1,000 in £5 shares.

The success of somewhat numerous stores led to united effort. In 1863 the present Cooperative Wholesale Society, Limited, was founded as the North of England Cooperative Wholesale Society, Limited. It confined itself at first to purchasing articles at wholesale price and selling them to cooperative societies and companies, whether members or not, at a small profit, which was divided half yearly among all customer societies in proportion to their purchases, mere customers receiving only half dividends, customer members whole. Its sales in 1865 (the first complete year of its working) were £120,754. In 1872 these had reached £1,153,132. In 1872, however, the society began production, purchasing some biscuit works, and starting in Leicester a boot factory in 1873, then soap works in 1874, other boot works at Heckmondwike in 1880. Leather-currying was entered on in 1886, a woolen mill taken over in 1887. Cocoa works were opened in 1887, a ready-made clothing department in 1888 (clothing having been already made up in two branches as an adjunct to the woolen cloth and drapery departments); a corn mill was opened in 1891, jam-making entered on in 1892, and a printing department undertaken, besides building departments in three English branches—Manchester, London, and Newcastle. In 1894 the society purchased a factory at Leeds for the manufacture of ready-made clothing.

The Wholesale Society

This society soon led to another. The Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society was established in 1868. It entered upon production in 1880 with a shirt factory, followed in the same year by a tailoring department (the two were united in 1888), by a cabinet factory in 1884, boot works in 1885, currying works in 1888, a soap factory in 1890, and a mantle factory in 1891. A printing-office opened in 1887 to which business ruling and bookbinding were afterward added. Preserve-making and tobacco-cutting were also entered on. Many of the productive departments have been grouped together on twelve acres of land at Shieldhall on the Clyde, about three miles from Glasgow. The requisite buildings have been put up by the building department of the society, as well as several of its warehouses; and a large flour mill at Chancelot, near Leith.

Scottish Wholesale

The Scottish Wholesale Society has paid bonus to labor since Nov., 1870. The principle on which such bonus has been granted has varied, but by an alteration of rules made in 1892 bonus is credited to all employed at the same rate on wages as on purchases, half the bonus remaining on loan at 4 per cent.

In 1869 the first annual cooperative congress was held, and congresses have been held annually since.

What has been done in the way of gaining legal advantages for cooperative societies may be summed up under two main heads.

1. The incorporation of the societies by which they have acquired the right of holding in their own name lands or buildings and property generally, and of suing and being sued in their own names, instead of being driven to employ trustees.

Legal Rights

2. The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876, which consolidated into one act the laws relating to these societies, and, among many smaller advantages too numerous to be mentioned in detail, gave them the right of carrying on banking business whenever they offer to the depositors the security of transferable share capital.

A Cooperative Union (q. v.) was formed in 1869, as a propagandist center.

The literature furnished by the union is varied and extensive. It publishes some hundreds of leaflets, pamphlets, and books for propaganda purposes. Lists and specimens may be had from the secretary. Among the writers are Messrs. Holyoake, Hughes, Kaufmann, Tom Mann, E. V. Neale, Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

Sept. 2, 1871, was published the first number of the *Cooperative News*, the recognized organ of English cooperators, a penny weekly published in Manchester by a federation of cooperative societies.

III. Statistics and Development

Great Britain

The following are the most recent figures for English cooperation. Distributive societies (1905), 1,457; members, 2,153,185; sales, £61,086,991; profits, £9,559,238; share capital, £26,077,174; employees, 72,712; assets, £35,249,964. The distributive societies also carry on various productive departments—e. g., baking, corn-milling, cabinet-making, boot-making, tailoring, dressmaking, etc.; the total output being more than £5,000,000 annually. Of these figures Mr. W. Henry Brown writes in "The Reformer's Year Book" for 1907:

> The decrease in the number of societies is due to the tendency for amalgamation that has lately been noted. Membership and sales have increased, but the difficulties of business are indicated in the lessened rate of advance, so far as profits are concerned. The assets include land, buildings, stocks, houses, investments, and £861,651 owing to societies for goods at the end of the year—representing a lapse from first principles to the tune of nearly a million, and proving the need for the anti-credit campaign of the Women's Guild. This growth of the credit system—the debts were only £771,778 in 1903—is a matter of regret. The salaries and wages paid by the distributive societies totaled £2,990,697 last year, and of the employees 19,456 were engaged in productive work, such as bread-making and the like; £81,747 were spent on educational purposes, and £39,084 went to charitable accounts.

The English Wholesale Society in 1905 had 1,138 members (its shareholders are the cooperative societies, none others being allowed to become shareholders or purchasers). Its share and loan capital was £3,301,429; its sales, £20,785,469; profit, £368,309. It manufactures boots, soap, candles, biscuits, sweets, preserves, pickles, lard, underclothing, corsets, furniture, cocoa, chocolate, woolens, clothing, flannels, tobacco, hosiery, brushes, starch, printing, corn-milling.

The capital it employs in production is £1,564,256, its output of manufactures £3,543,501, profit £98,543, persons employed 11,468. It owns four steamships, and has numerous creameries in Ireland, purchasing agencies in Canada, the United States, Denmark, Germany, France, Spain, Sweden, Greece, and Australia, and has its own tea plantations in Ceylon. Its banking department has a turnover of £90,000,000. In the first half of 1906 the Wholesale Society invoiced goods to the value of £10,720,966, and transferred from its own productive works a further value of £2,123,069 in the same period. Its capital rose to £4,705,688, and the membership of societies comprized in the federation was 1,693,684.

The most important of the society's operations is the boot and shoe branch, which turned out in the third quarter of 1906 1,119,304 pairs of boots at the three factories at Leicester, Rushden, and Heckmondwike, the total value of the production of boots, leather, etc., being £283,933. Of growing extent are brush factories at Leeds and Huddersfield, cabinet works at Newcastle and Manchester, clothing works at Manchester and Leeds, the weaving shed at Bury, the corset factory at Desborough, the printing works at Manchester, lard refinery at West Hartlepool, hosiery works at Leicester, preserve and pickle works at Middleton. From its tobacco factory nearly 50,000,000 cigarettes are sent out every year.

The greatest increases among recent efforts have been in the home coal trade, which has shown a rise of 50 per cent in 1906, and probably indicates the ownership of mines ere long.

The Leeds Industrial is the banner cooperative store of the world, and has 49,186 members. It operates its own flour mill, clothing, furniture, and other factories.

The Scottish Wholesale Society in 1905 had 281 society members and 528 shareholders among employees; share and loan capital £2,372,904, sales £6,939,738, profits £267,564. It manufactures boots, shoes, tweeds, blankets, drapery, shirts, furniture, preserves, sweets, chemical sundries, soap, tobacco, printing, and corn-milling. In 1905 its productive capital was £685,678, output of manufactures £1,942,321, profit thereon £72,982, and productive employees 4,599. There are also eight corn mills owned by federations of retail societies and consumers which in 1905 had a capital of £347,071, sales £1,364,527, and profit £80,563; and 17 baking societies (also consumers' federations) with a total capital of £417,249, sales £624,967, and profits £74,340.

Besides these wholesale societies, the English cooperative development has produced innumerable societies and organizations of different kinds. The Cooperative Congress of 1906 was attended by 1,329 members. These congresses are addrest by the most prominent statesmen, bishops, and sociologists, and have wide-spread influence and importance.

The line of demarcation between the two schools of productive cooperation may be so clearly drawn that no confusion need arise as to the principles of wholesale and those of the copartnership side of the movement. The Cooperative Wholesale Society is a distributor as well as a producer of goods, and is really a federation of the distributive societies of the country, of which 1,354 are in membership. No individuals are admitted as shareholders, and goods are sold only to societies. The profits are divided among the shareholding societies in proportion to their purchases. In the copartnership societies profits are distributed among capital, customers, and labor, the workmen generally having representation on the management committees—a system that cannot obtain in the wholesale society owing to the fact that all concerned act as delegates from societies, instead of being personal members.

Productive Societies

The following figures indicate the extent of cooperative product of all kinds in 1905, that being the latest period for which complete returns are available:

	No. of societies	No. of employees	Trade	Profit	Loss
			£	£	£
England and Wales	122	6,433	2,453,219	126,186	2,722
Scotland	17	1,864	722,840	78,383	246
C.W.S., England	1	11,468	3,543,501	98,543	2,594
C.W.S., Scotland	1	4,599	1,942,321	72,982	2,945
Total	141	24,364	8,661,881	376,094	8,507

France

France, while the classic home of profit-sharing (*q. v.*), has had until recently little development of cooperation. In the early half of the century, while there was much discussion of the principles of cooperation, it usually took the form of plans for cooperative communities or communism, and little resulted. What did result is best studied under COMMUNISM; FOURIERISM; ST. SIMON; BUCHEZ; GUISE, etc. Cooperation proper in France dates from the Revolution of 1848, when the National Assembly opened a credit of $600,000 to be loaned to cooperative societies. In six months there were 480 requests for loans, amounting to $5,400,000. Only 29 could be complied with, and that partially. Few of these efforts prospered, and on the establishment of the empire a decree of March 25, 1852, abolished all workmen's societies. The law of 1867 gave an opportunity for cooperation, but little was done. In 1888 certain privileges and exemptions from taxation were given to all cooperative societies in France. In spite of this little developed. The Socialists of France have till recently repudiated cooperation and profit-sharing as reactionary, and the attention of capitalists and of the well-to-do has been mainly called to profit-sharing (*q. v.*). Nevertheless cooperative societies developed.

According to the *Bulletin de l'Office du Trevail* there were in 1904 in France 1,101 cooperative distributive societies (stores), 765 cooperative bakeries, and 338 other cooperative productive societies (111 in the building trades). According to the *Annuaire des Syndicats Professionels* there were in 1905 3,116 cooperative agricultural associations with 659,953 members, with 47 federations of societies.

According to the returns to the Cooperative Congress at Budapest in 1904, there were, at the end of 1903, 328 productive societies, of which 123 were in Paris, 19 being among cabdrivers. Distributive societies numbered 1,880, of which only 64 have more than 1,000 members each, and only 3 have more than 10,000. Their sales only totaled £3,405,400; the aggregate profits are unobtainable—in many cases no surpluses were made. Cooperative building societies numbered 56, many having received advances from the savings-banks. Credit societies have risen from 873 in 1902 to 1,038 in 1903. Nearly one half are on the Raiffeisen principle. Two hundred and seventy-three are in touch with the agricultural syndicates—cooperative societies existing merely for the common purchase of agricultural requirements.

In Luxemburg there were in 1903 365 agricultural cooperative societies and 89 cooperative dairies.

Belgium

The beginning of the cooperative movement in Belgium was simultaneous with the formation in Paris, after the revolution of 1848, of a large number of productive cooperative societies. A considerable number of tailors', shoemakers', and printers' cooperative societies were established in Brussels and Ghent, but were with one exception, shortly afterward dissolved. The first distributive societies were the cooperative bakeries established in 1854 at Ghent and Antwerp, but these also enjoyed only a brief existence. A certain number of societies for the purchase of stores for the winter were established a little later, chiefly among the members of friendly societies; in 1865, 12 of these societies were in existence. Between 1864, when the first "people's bank" was instituted at Liège, and 1873, a large number of societies were established, mainly through the influence of the *Internationale*, but the lack of recognition and protection by the law, as well as of proper organization among the working classes, and in some cases the bad management and dishonesty on the part of the managers, brought about the dissolution, by 1873, of almost all the societies, with the exception of the various distributive societies established in 1869 at the Mariemont and Bascoup collieries. In 1867, M. Anspach, the burgomaster of Brussels, established cheap dining-rooms for working men.

Cooperation and Socialism

The real development of cooperation in Belgium has been in connection with the Belgium Socialist movement. (See BELGIUM.) In 1879, largely under the lead of the Socialist Anseele, a cooperative bakery was begun in Ghent. This movement has given cooperation in Belgium a firm hold. Agricultural cooperative societies were commenced in 1885. There are also cooperative dairies, drug stores, insurance societies, banks, and distributive societies of many kinds.

There were in 1904 some 238 of these Socialist cooperative societies, several of them of very great strength. Most of these are organized into the "Federation of Socialist Cooperative Societies," which is also a wholesale society. It does a business of about 1,500,000 francs, while the collective sales of the individual Belgian societies reach 40,000,000 fr. annually.

The most important societies are those at Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, Louvain, Charleroi, Namur, Verviers, La Louvière, and "*Le Progrès*" at Jolimont. In industrial centers such as Charleroi, Borinage, and the Center of Hainault, the cooperative society began by selling flour and butter, but it was soon found that a cooperative bakery could produce bread far more cheaply than it could be produced by each family for their own consumption. With the exception of the cooperative society at Jolimont, where bread is sold at the lowest possible price, these societies have almost all adopted the system of the Pioneers of Rochdale, selling at the current trade prices, and dividing the profits realized at the end of a certain period, generally a year or six months.

The movement, however, is wholly in the hands of the (Socialist) *Parti ouvrier*, and no small portion of the profits are spent for Socialist

education, literature, and propaganda. The club houses are centers of socialism, and usually one must belong to the party to have the benefits of the society.

The great society "*La Maison du Peuple*," at Brussels, begun 1882, is representative, with its large central store, selling almost all kinds of goods, its restaurant, café, magnificent hall, and cooperative features of every kind.

Other cooperative societies are, however, also numerous in Belgium. There are numerous agricultural cooperative societies, largely "savings and credit societies" of the Raiffeisen type. These are mainly Catholic societies of the *Boerenbond* or Peasants' League, formed by Abbé Mellaerts of Louvain. There were in name at least 313 of these in 1904. They loaned 1,256,562 fr. to small agricultural cultivators in 1903, and 544,440 fr. to others.

People's banks do a much larger business in Belgium, and are organized into a federation. According to the *Revue du Travail*, of the Belgium Labor Department, there were Jan. 1, 1905, 17 people's banks making returns, with 15,721 members, and a loan of some 11,600,000 fr. There were 884 agricultural supply societies with 51,451 members; 496 cooperative dairies with 53,922 members.

The Netherlands

Cooperation in the Netherlands is somewhat advanced, tho largely in the form of cooperative dairies and rural societies. According to the Netherlands Cooperative Association there were in 1904 174 cooperative stores, 227 societies for the purchasers of fertilizers, seeds, etc., 30 for the sale of produce, 70 cooperative bakeries, 584 dairies, 76 other productive societies, 309 savings and loan associations, 143 building associations, 26 insurance associations—1,639. These figures include two societies in Batavia. The figures are also stated to be too high, as the law compels the registration of the formation but not of the dissolution of societies. The formation of 6 printing societies and 6 dressmaking societies indicates some tendency to cooperative production.

Denmark

Here cooperative development has been mainly on the Rochdale system, and on the authority of M. P. Blem, the chairman of the Danish Cooperative Committee, it can be said that there are now 1,000 societies with about 150,000 members, and an annual collective turnover of about £2,000,000. The Cooperative Wholesale Society of Copenhagen sells to 915 distributive stores. Cooperative creameries number 1,057, and the butter produced from milk delivered therefrom, during the last fiscal year, was valued at £8,400,000. The bulk of the agricultural exports from Denmark are of cooperative origin, the total production of the butter, bacon, and egg societies for export in 1903 being £11,414,000, while the total exports from the whole of the country were under £20,000,000.

Germany

The cooperative movement as a whole began much later in Germany than in England or France, and took a different form. The first attempts in Germany arose from the desire on the part of the artizan class to relieve the distress due to factory competition, by obtaining credit and the raw material necessary for their work at a more reasonable cost. In 1848 certain loan associations, or people's banks (*Darlehnskassenvereine*), were established, but as they lent money without interest, and were subsidized by philanthropic outsiders, they came to be regarded by the artizans as mere charitable associations, and were held in small esteem. In 1849 Herr Schulze-Delitzsch, who for years was the life and soul of the cooperative movement in Germany, founded the first cooperative society for the purchase of raw material among thirteen cabinetmakers in Delitzsch, his native town. A shoemakers' cooperative society followed, and the results were so favorable that during the next few years a considerable number of such societies were formed in the neighboring towns. In 1850 Herr Schulze founded the first of his loan associations (*Vorschussvereine*), which differed from the earlier banks in that the persons to whom loans could be granted must themselves be members of the association paying regular monthly contributions. They thus themselves indirectly furnished the security for the credit afforded them. After a time both the societies for procuring raw material and the loan associations federated, and the security thus afforded by the unlimited liability of all the members of all the associations for the obligations of any one association rendered it easy to procure the necessary capital. Tho the societies for procuring raw material form the necessary basis for productive cooperation, their expansion was less rapid than that of the loan associations founded later. Productive cooperation has at no time been able to show a very successful record in Germany. Between 1860 and 1870 a movement was set on foot for the establishment of retail distributive societies (*Konsumvereine*), and the attention of the working classes was attracted to these stores by the quarrel which resulted between Schulze and Lassalle. The history of cooperation in Germany has since been a continuous progress. The movement has spread from industry to agriculture. In 1859 a congress of members of loan associations was summoned by Herr Schulze at Weimar; a central committee was appointed, with Herr Schulze at the head, which in 1864 developed into the General Association of German Cooperative Societies (*Allgemeiner Verband Deutscher Erwerbs und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften*), including all forms of cooperation within its limits.

Schulze-Delitzsch

Meanwhile another cooperative system had arisen in Germany. In 1849 F. W. R. Raiffeisen in Westerwald established a cooperative bakery, and then a cooperative bank. This had a capital of only £300. Contesting against great odds, his system was little known till 1874, but before his death, in 1888, "Father Raiffeisen," as he was called, saw his system a distinguished success.

The following gives the essential points of difference in the two systems:

The Schulze-Delitzsch credit associations put the *lender's* interest foremost; Raiffeisen, on the contrary, places the *borrower's* interest as the keystone of his system. He aims at social benefit, not at business profits. Every member joining one of the Schulze associations is expected to take one share valued at from $40 to $125

(each association determining the value of its shares). This share may be paid for in small instalments. The shares draw dividends ranging from 1 to 30 per cent. Some associations have declared dividends of nearly 60 per cent. This is gained by charging a somewhat high rate of interest. Loans are only made to members and are for short periods, never more than ninety days. As security, mortgages, pledges, bills, and sureties are taken. These associations are managed by a well-paid committee whose salaries are increased by commissions based on the amount of business done. In order to increase their commissions, a committee often takes bad securities.

Raiffeisen System

The Raiffeisen loan banks were established to assist borrowers, and at the same time to free the small agriculturists from the merciless grasp of usurers. Raiffeisen offered to supply the peasantry with money if they would subscribe to his rules. As his aim was to benefit the poorest classes he exacted nothing from those joining, and as most members were agriculturists, he made long credits the rule. Each bank membership is confined to a small district. Within this district members are elected with great care and discrimination. No difference is recognized between the poor and rich except that the latter are allowed to take the brunt in the administration. No officers receive a cent of remuneration. Only one man connected with a bank is paid, viz., the cashier, and he has no say whatever in the employment and the distribution of the money. Banking in the ordinary sense is strictly forbidden. The banks are *loan* banks and their sole instrument is credit. No dividends are paid. All profits go into a reserve fund, which is used to meet deficiencies or losses, or it is voted to some public work or charity. Money is loaned only to members, and no request for a loan is granted until after a careful examination is made into the object of the loan, whether it is economically justified, and if found to be so the applicant for a loan is never refused. When the money is granted it must be used for the specific object for which it was requested. The rate of interest usually charged is 5 per cent. The banks obtain their money from various sources, paying from 3½ to 4 per cent. They have more money than they can use, as their reputation is excellent. The lending is on character, no pledges or mortgages are taken as security, but simply a note of hand backed by one or two other members. It is thought by many that one of the strong points of these *loan* banks is that they are based on the *unlimited liability* of members.

Before the passing of the law of 1889, loans were made to non-members, but the law forbade this extension of the business of the associations on the ground that it destroyed their cooperative character. Since 1889 also the liability of the members has been no longer universally unlimited; but according to Dr. Crüger experience has shown that associations with limited liability have not always proved able to procure the necessary capital. Tho agreeing in their main object, the Schulze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen banks differ considerably in other details. The former admit members of every class, and think this safer, since it is improbable that a demand on the bank will occur in every industry at once; the latter limit their advantages to agriculturists. The former charge high interest (8 to 12 per cent), and pay high dividends, with salaried officers. The latter charge low rates and have no salaried officers, and claim to be more ethical, while the former they consider merely commercial.

A connection between the associations, however, is maintained by means of the Central Agricultural Bank for Germany. The General Secretary's Union, presided over by Dr. Raiffeisen until his death, and since then by his son, aims to extend the system. The firm of Raiffeisen & Co. has been founded to supplement the funds of the association, and render them independent of subsidies hitherto granted by the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture. The firm publishes a journal, *The Cooperative News* (*Genossenschaftsblatt*).

In 1889 a general German agricultural cooperative union was established, and gave a great impetus to agricultural cooperation.

According to the Prussian *Central Genossenschaftkasse*, there were Jan. 1, 1906, in Germany 15,108 cooperative credit societies of one kind or another, with 2,018,821 members. The largest number of these belonged to the Reichsverband of Agricultural Societies, of which Dr. Haas is president. At the Budapest International Cooperative Congress in 1904, there were reported from Germany 7,008 credit societies of Dr. Haas's union; 3,982 societies of the Raffeisen type, and 960 of the Schulze-Delitzsch type. The peasant cooperative societies established by the Roman Catholic Church are also numerous. A German Cooperative Wholesale Society, somewhat on the lines of the English wholesale, transacts business with 1,400 cooperative societies.

Present Statistics

According to statistics published by the Prussian Government there were in the empire Jan. 1, 1905, the following cooperative societies: 14,272 credit societies with 1,901,122 members; 1,833 stores with 897,092 members; 3,062 agricultural productive societies with 218,863 members; 199 other productive societies with 23,153 members; 1,806 associations for the purchase of raw materials with 139,426 members; 452 societies for the purchase of instruments of production, with 22,984 members; 295 societies for the sale of members' products with 33,231 members; 142 societies for purchase and sale with 6,392 members, 652 building associations with 120,954 members, 425 other societies with 42,979 members, a total of 23,221 societies with 3,409,871 members.

Switzerland

Cooperative distributive societies formed on the English pattern were founded in Switzerland at an earlier date than in any other continental country and took firm root. The most usual form of the distributive society is an association for the wholesale purchase of food and household commodities. The articles bought at wholesale prices are sold to customers at prices varying from five to seven per cent below those of ordinary retail dealers. Some societies have also undertaken the management of restaurants, where a meal of soup, meat, and vegetables can be had for about 40 c. (eight cents).

The capital is formed either by weekly subscriptions or by the issue of small interest-bearing notes for sums as low as three frs. The net

profits go to form a reserve fund or to extend the operations of the society. Most of these societies enjoy a high degree of prosperity. One of the oldest and most important associations is the Consumverein of Zurich. This society was founded in Oct., 1853, by eight members of the Grütliverein, with a joint capital of 75 frs., which they employed in the purchase and sale of cigars.

Cooperative banking in Switzerland has had large success. The Schweizerische Volksbank has branches in almost every Swiss trading center.

In all there are said to be 4,400 cooperative societies in Switzerland, altho this large number is partly due to the fact that Swiss law makes it easy for almost any kind of common action to be registered under the name of a cooperative society. Of these, in 1903, some 1,800 were agricultural societies, including 1,536 cheeseries, which practically monopolize the cheese industry. There are some 1,200 societies for cooperative purchase. The 204 Swiss distributive societies are organized into a *Verband der Schweizerischen Konsumvereine*, which publishes an organ, the *Schweizerische Konsumvereine*. The agricultural cooperative supply societies are organized in a *Verband Ostschweizerische Konsumvereine*. In 1899 these two combined in a general union.

Italy

Cooperation in Italy connects itself with the past, yet has only recently been thoroughly organized. In 1886 and 1887 the first and second congresses of Italian cooperators met at Milan, and the Federation of Italian Cooperative Societies was constituted, and a journal, *La Cooperazione Italiana*, established.

Day Laborers' Unions

The most unique success of cooperation in Italy has been of cooperative societies of day-laborers. The origin of day-laborers' associations has been traced back to the companies of Lombard masons who, in the Middle Ages, wandered through Europe building cathedrals and palaces.

In Oct., 1888, Signor Marin opened a "cooperative campaign," which lasted for a whole year. The first conference was held at Contarina on Nov. 24th, and soon afterward a day-laborers' cooperative society was formed. Other conferences followed, and fresh associations were constituted. In all fifteen day-laborers' societies were established, besides four associations of day-laborers and builders. These nineteen unions had almost 8,000 members, drawn from the ranks of the poorest peasants in Italy.

The organization of these societies and the system of payment to members which is observed are very simple. The society makes a contract for a given piece of work at a given price, and then sublets the work by the piece to gangs (*squadre*) of its members. It provides the necessary tools if the workmen do not possess them, and gives a price equal to that which it has received, minus the expenses of administration. While the work goes on the members receive instalments of pay for their immediate maintenance. When the work is finished the quantity done by each man is estimated, and he is paid a proportionate share of the profits.

In 1902 there were 270 cooperative Labor Societies in Italy (not all day-labor) and they received 132 contracts at 3,293,705 lire.

Distributive

The first distributive societies in Italy were founded early in the second half of last century. A cooperative store was started in 1853 by the General Society of the Working Men of Turin, followed by another at Alessandria, which was opened in 1854. The capital of many of these original societies was obtained by means of subscriptions from wealthy persons, and in some places they were even organized by the municipal authorities. To this form of distribution others opposed the more purely cooperative English type based upon the scheme of the Rochdale Pioneers. They believe that the consumers would benefit more by receiving the profits of the society in the form of dividends than by a constant diminution of retail prices. The Italian Industrial Association was formed at Milan, to promote the development of industry in Italy, by the foundation of people's banks, benefit societies, and strictly cooperative societies of consumption and production. In 1865 there appear to have been about fifty-two such societies in Italy, and by the end of 1873 this number had risen to eighty-five, including sixteen associations on the English system. Unfortunately the hopes raised by this brilliant beginning were destined to disappointment. The Italian distributive societies were a foreign importation and lacked unity in direction, in form, and in aims. The severe English type, with its complicated system of reckoning, could not be maintained, for the consumers, urged by necessity, preferred a great immediate fall of prices to the slow accumulation of profits.

Bakehouses

The question of improving the dietary of the peasantry is one of great and increasing importance in Italy. Since 1860 the question of establishing cooperative and other bakehouses in the rural districts has been before the public. Don Rinaldo Anelli started a small cooperative bakehouse at Bernate, which proved a great success. In 1884 the government offered to pay half the expense of starting new establishments, and by 1885 the total number of cooperative bakehouses in Italy had risen to thirty-eight.

In 1863–64 Signor Luzzatti, in a series of lectures delivered at Milan, recommended the establishment of people's banks on the Schulze-Delitzsch system.

The movement quickly spread through Lombardy, Tuscany, Emilia, Romagna, and Venetia, and finally into the southern provinces. By the end of 1890 the total number of Italian cooperative credit societies was 738, with a paid-up capital of 92,000,000 li., and a nominal capital of about 100,000,000 li.

In 1887 there was, on an average, one people's bank for every 46,809 inhabitants in the kingdom, and these banks were most numerous, relatively to the population, in Apulia and Basilicata, a fact which is the more striking when it is considered that the means of obtaining credit were formerly in a most primitive state in these southern districts, where the peasantry were completely in the power of the local usurers.

The people's banks have been to some extent transformed, or rather they have been supplemented by the institution of other popular credit societies, based generally on the same principle, and organized on similar lines, but differing in their character and in their aims from the original associations. Some of these societies are called "workmen's banks" (*banche Operaie, casse*

operaie), "workmen's credit banks" (*banche di credito per gli Operai*), "popular banks" (*casse popolari*), names which show the predominance of working men in the new associations.

Another form of credit cooperation has been introduced into Italy by rural loan banks on the Raiffeisen system. These banks were first started in 1883 by Signor Leone Wollemborg, to protect the rural laborers and small landed proprietors of Venetia and Friuli against the exorbitant demands of money-lenders, by making it possible for them to borrow capital at a moderate rate of interest.

According to the *Liga Nazionale* (*National Union of Cooperative Societies*), the total number of Italian cooperative societies (including 322 outside of Italy) was 4,371 on Jan. 1, 1903. Of these some 1,500 were people's banks, 948 were distributive societies, 471 industrial productive societies, 396 credit societies, 175 societies for common labor and enterprise, 186 agricultural societies (besides banks and 99 dairies), 28 bakeries. The number of societies of the Wollemborg Union is given at 148. The "Catholic" cooperative societies number 1,039.

Austria

The first cooperative societies in Austria were loan societies modeled after the German, and came into existence between 1850 and 1860. There were in 1903 in Austria (not including Hungary) 9,713 cooperative societies. Of these 6,445 were credit associations, of which 2,320 were of the Schulze-Delitzsch and 4,125 of the Raiffeisen type, 814 distributive societies, 2,459 other societies. Of the credit societies those of the Schulze-Delitzsch type had in 1901 1,063,505 members, with a share capital of 102,066,000 kronen. The agricultural credit associations of the Raiffeisen type had 261,026 members, and dealt out credit of 938,435,000 kr. The societies of the Raiffeisen type, tho by far the most numerous, have developed almost wholly within the last fifteen years. Of agricultural cooperative societies of all kinds in Austria there are almost 5,000. The Allgemeiner Verband Landwirthschaftlicher Genossenschaften in Oesterreich included 14 unions in 1904 with 3,549 societies.

Hungary

Cooperation in Hungary began about 1850. The first society, the Beszterce Savings Bank and Aid Society was formed in 1851. The movement slowly grew. The (National Cooperative) Hungarian Land Credit Bank was formed in 1862, and up to 1903 had loaned 662,500,000 crowns on mortgage and 74,000,000 more for improvements. For long, however, credit societies were the only cooperative efforts in Hungary. Only in 1883 was the Budapest Central Cooperative Creamery formed. In 1886, however, Count Alexander Karolyi, sometimes called "the father of Hungarian cooperation," gave a new impetus to the movement. In 1896 the Central Credit Bank of the Hungarian cooperative societies was formed, and in 1898 established societies in 465 localities. Other central institutions appeared. In Transylvania a Raiffeisen movement was developed. In 1898 a national central credit cooperative association (Raiffeisen) was formed, with capital to which the government largely contributed, and which it controls. Jan. 1, 1904, there were affiliated with this association 1,653 societies, with 366,721 members, organized in 5 446 distinct communes, with a collective saving deposit of 21,000,000 crowns, and a credit of 39,000,000 cr. The chief business of these societies is to supply credit,but agricultural supply societies are not a few, and some productive societies exist. Distributive cooperative societies in Hungary came later, but now have a central distributive society, the "Hangya," with 267 societies in 1902. There were also, at that date, 150 so-called Christian cooperative societies with a central organization of their own. Cooperative insurance began 1894. The government in 1904 granted 12,000,000 cr. to promote the cooperative sale of farm produce.

Russia

Russia has some 1,320 cooperative societies with 450,000 members. There were in 1904 926 cooperative distributive societies; in 1903 there were 801 with 146,550 members in the 248 societies making returns, with a collective share capital of 3,174,940 rubles, and sales of 25,958,508 ru. during the year. The Moscow Union of Cooperative Distributive Societies had 131 societies in 1903, and the Cooperative Wholesale Society in St. Petersburg had 15. There were also in Russia 7,809 cooperative credit societies in 1902 (including 4,568 savings and provident societies).

Finland

Finland has a very active cooperative movement.

Two hundred and sixty cooperative stores have 35,000 members and annual sales of $2,400,000. The wholesale sold $300,000 in the last six months. One retail store sold $140,000 in the past year. There are 144 cooperative banks, 238 cooperative creameries, a total of 700 cooperative associations. The weekly *News* has a circulation of 7,000. The movement is comparatively new, the wholesale being only in its second year. Rochdale lines are strictly followed and a vigorous growth is assured.

Scandinavia

Cooperation in the modern sense began in Norway in 1866, when a cooperative canvas manufactory was begun at Christiania. By 1875 there were 290 cooperative societies with 33,000 members. Many of these, however, did not endure. In 1896 the government employed Mr. Dehli to study cooperation in other countries, and his lectures and writing on his return produced a new interest. In 1900 there were 260 societies with 28,000 members, and a "turnover" of about 12,250,000 kroner. The movement has been largely agricultural. There are now some 830 cooperative dairies and cheeseries, and as many more for the improved breeding of cattle. There are central unions for northern, eastern, and western Norway. Sweden had in 1906, 2524 registered cooperative societies, besides many not registered, and the movement is growing fast. Of the registered, 903 were building societies, 410 agricultural, 382 retail, 338 dairies, 155 productive.

Other European Countries

Poland has 160 cooperative societies, including 34 Polish societies in western Prussia, for the most part cooperative banks. Servia has 788 (including 100 provident and friendly societies). They are almost all agricultural; 416 are Raiffeisen banks. Rumania has 1,121 rural people's banks. Bulgaria has an agricultural bank with 25 societies and there are 47 other cooperative societies. Greece has only 10 societies. Spain has 140 small societies, of which 50 are in Barcelona and 40 in Catelonia. In Portugal cooperation is said to have existed for centuries among her agricultural and fisher folk, and to-day cooperative agricultural societies and cooperative pharmacies are numerous, while in Lisbon there are several strong distributive societies. The Portuguese Socialist movement is somewhat cooperative.

Other Continents

In Japan cooperation of some form has come down from ancient times. There are said to be cooperative silk stores which can trace their existence 230 years. In 1903 there were reported 583 cooperative societies in Japan, 357 being credit societies. In India modern cooperative ideas are spreading, but as yet with small actual results. South Africa has a cluster of cooperative distributive societies growing in strength. In Australia cooperation seems to have made less headway. Iceland has a cooperative movement begun in 1844, and now with some strength, including 15 dairies.

United States

Cooperation in the United States is hard to summarize. The word has been used, even by responsible writers, in such a loose way and to cover such a variety of forms, as often to make the word cooperation almost meaningless unless the sense in which it is used be stated. Even the most purely mercenary, unfraternal, and, occasionally, even fraudulent schemes are sometimes masked under the fair name of cooperation. Statistics therefore greatly vary.

Professor Parsons finds (*Arena*, July and Aug., 1903) 8,500 societies in the U. S. for cooperative production and distribution. Mr. N. O. Nelson, on the other hand, using the word in a more guarded sense, reported to the International Alliance in 1902 only 558 societies with 89,447 members, a capital of $3,203,520, and sales of $22,705,645. Of these, 283 were creameries, 192 stores, 38 selling associations, 45 factories.

Nevertheless cooperation in the U. S. has had a very much longer and fuller history than is usually realized. It has reached very large proportions. In cooperative credit associations it is scarcely equaled; in attempts in cooperative communities it has led the world. It is, however, except in the cooperative bank movement almost utterly unorganized as a national movement, and most of its early attempts have proved of short duration. Dr. R. Heber Newton, in his "Social Studies" (1887), gives the following interesting table of the main events in the history of American cooperation:

1730 (*about*).—Share system introduced into New England fisheries.

1752.—Fire-assurance introduced in Philadelphia.

"The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire." Benjamin Franklin, first director. Corporation still prospering.

1767.—Life-insurance introduced in Philadelphia.

"The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America." Composed of clergymen. Still flourishing.

1819.—Mutual assurance bodied in a national order—the Odd Fellows.

1820–30.—Owen's movement; socialistic.

1830–40.—Loan and building societies formed in Philadelphia.

New England Association of Farmers and Mechanics agitate the formation of stores.

Labor organizations in New England open some stores.

1840–50.—Brook Farm, Hopedale, etc

Fourierite phalanxes.

New England Protective Union builds up a system of stores; which at their height did a business of about $2,000,000 per annum.

The earliest essay in cooperative production—Tailors' Association in Boston (1849).

1850–60.—Loan associations arise in Massachusetts. Associate dairies started in New York. Anaheim.

1860–70.—Stores started in several states.

Productive societies also.

Revival of building and loan associations in Pennsylvania.

Mutual assurance assumes business forms.

Renewed attempts at cooperative production.

Shipyard in Baltimore (1865), in Boston (1866); machine shop in Philadelphia (1866); foundries in various cities; shoe manufactory in Lynn and in North Adams (about 1868); cigar manufactory in Westfield, Mass. (1869).

1870–80.—Knights of St. Crispin agitate cooperation.

Founding and growth and decline of the Patrons of Husbandry; which order claimed to save in one year (1874) $12,000,000 to its members, through its cooperative agencies.

Founding and growth of the Knights of Honor—a great mutual assurance association. Still flourishing.

Founding, growth and dissolution of the Sovereigns of Industry; which order did a cooperative business in one year (1877) of $3,000,000; representing a saving to its members of $420,000; all of its stores being on the Rochdale plan; some of which are still prosperous.

Scattered stores in many states; Massachusetts reporting fifteen independent stores organized since 1870.

Philadelphia Industrial Cooperative Society organized (1875).

Independent productive societies in many states.

Rapid growth of associate dairies, of which there are now 5,000 in the U. S.

Rapid growth of mutual assurance companies; the Patrons of Husbandry having at one time in one state alone thirty-eight fire-insurance companies; three companies in one county carrying over $1,000,000 of risks; New York State claiming 300,000 members of various mutual assurance societies at end of decade.

Rapid growth of building and loan societies in Pennsylvania, which now number over 600 in Philadelphia, with a membership of 75,000 and a capital of $80,000,000; which number in Pennsylvania from 1,500 to 1,800; which have led to investment of $100,000,000 in real estate in Philadelphia alone.

Revival of loan associations in Massachusetts; where are now over twenty-two societies incorporated, having a total membership of over 6,000.

Institution of loan associations in New Jersey, Ohio, California, etc.; New Jersey reporting 106 associations in 1880; Ohio reporting the incorporation of 307 associations during the seven years preceding the report (1880); total estimated societies (1880), 3,000 in U. S., with membership of 450,000; and aggregate capital of $75,000,000.

Experiments in colonization.

1880–90.—Formation of the New England Cooperative Association.

Revival of the Patrons of Husbandry.

Greatly quickened growth of cooperation in all lines.

Development of the Knights of Labor.

The more recent developments may be thus summarized (for Cooperative Distribution see especial article Cooperative Stores in the U. S.):

Productive Cooperation

The first productive association of which we have any record was that of the Boston Tailors' Associative Union, which was formed in 1844, but did not endure long. Dr. Newton in his article (see above) mentions similar attempts at shipyards in Baltimore (1865); in Boston (1866); a machine-shop in Philadelphia (1866); foundries in various cities—Troy, Albany, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis (1865–68); shoe manufactories in Lynn and North Adams, Mass. (*cir.* 1868); a cigar manufactory in Westfield, Mass. (1869); a machine-shop in Greenfield, Mass. (1870). Says Dr. Newton:

The most promising of these early experiments was the stove foundry of the Iron Molders' International Union. This was started in 1867, in Allegheny County, Pa., the 10,000

members of the union having been expected to become stockholders. The paid-up capital, however, proved insufficient in a critical moment—the oft-repeated experience—and the enterprise failed.

The decade 1870–80 experienced a marked increase in the number of productive societies. In the mid-year of this decade Massachusetts had sixteen productive societies reporting to the State, and nine not reporting, tho duly chartered. All but one of these had been organized since 1870. The sixteen societies reporting gave an aggregate paid-in capital of $114,210. The nine not reporting were incorporated for $47,110. Other societies were known to exist.

Ohio had a number of associations for manufacturing, but the cooperative feature did not long survive in the few societies that were successful. One of these associations had a capital, in 1877, of $100,000, but lapsed into a joint-stock concern, votes counting not by persons, but by shares. . . .

A number of these societies were the results of strikes. The strike at North Adams, e. g., on the introduction of Chinese labor, led to the establishment of a cooperative shoe factory. A report says: "The men speak with pride of their new feelings of self-reliance and freedom, as well as of the quality of their work." . . . The Patrons of Husbandry were reported in the *Economist* of Nov. 8, 1876, as having "thirty manufacturing associations, whose capital ranges from $200,000 to $500,000; . . . sixteen grist-mills, one of which produces 100 barrels of flour per day; . . . three tanneries, and six smitheries."

The Sovereigns of Industry contemplated entering upon this field, and made some essays in it, e. g., the Kingston Cooperative Foundry Company, in Kingston, Mass. Its members consisted chiefly of picked men from other foundries. It organized with a capital of $8,000. Details of the experience of this and other societies have vanished with the order.

This brings us down to the attempts of the Knights of Labor. The attempts of the Knights were most various and most wide-spread, including boot and shoe companies in Massachusetts, painters and decorators' associations in Minneapolis, clothing companies, tobacco factories, plumbers' associations, printing companies, mining associations, etc. All these, however, as Knights of Labor organizations have come to grief. Nevertheless, not a few strong productive cooperative enterprises have secured enduring form.

"Among the most successful cooperative enterprises of a productive character were those existing among the coopers of Minneapolis. Between 1874 and 1886 no fewer than nine associations have been formed there which conduct business on cooperative principles. As early as 1868 the experiment of renting a small shop and selling the product direct to the mills was tried by a few journeymen coopers; they allowed themselves the ordinary rate of wages, calculated on the piece system, and then divided the profits in proportion to the work done. A suspension of trade in the flour-mills caused a discontinuance of the enterprise, and on its resumption in 1870 it proved a financial success, but a failure from the cooperative point of view, owing to the determination of the treasurer, who had secured a large contract for himself instead of for the firm, to set up as a master cooper. The rapid increase of the milling industry and the consequent influx of coopers to supply the demand for barrels caused the labor market in Minneapolis to become overstocked; the wages of coopers fell so low that the former cooperators decided in 1874 to renew their experiment. Having obtained the promise of a contract, the Cooperative Barrel Company was formally incorporated under the laws of Minnesota, and entered upon a prosperous career." This, however, has not seemed permanent. By 1896 the nine shops had dwindled to four, and in 1907 to three.

Minneapolis Coopers

Cooperative production in some forms, however, has grown in the U. S., and of late years very rapidly. Mr. J. M. C. Hampson, editor of *The National Cooperator*, Chicago, reported to the International Cooperative Congress in 1902 that there are something like 50,000 cooperative societies in the U. S. He included in this 5,000 building and loan associations (*q. v.*), which he adds, however, are scarcely of the true cooperative kind, 2,000 mutual fire-insurance companies, 5,000 cooperative creameries and cheese factories, about 3,000 cooperative telephone companies (particularly in the rural districts of Michigan), hundreds of cooperative elevator associations (particularly in Minnesota). He also refers to thousands of cooperative irrigation associations.

According to Professor Parsons (see above), the U. S. leads the world in cooperative insurance, with 3,800 associations, more than 8,000,000 members, and $100,000,000 premium receipt. In cooperative banking, he puts Germany first, with 12,083 banks, and a business of $850,000,000 or $900,000,000, and the U. S. second, with 5,302 loan associations, having over 1,500,000 members and $330,000,000 of business. Professor Parsons estimates in the U. S. 8,500 societies of production and distribution, with nearly 1,000,000 members and a business of some $150,000,000 per year. Professor Parsons tells us, that there are 3,800 cooperative creameries with 300,000 members and a production of about $80,000,000 per annum. In Minnesota, through the work of one professor in the University of Minnesota, 600 cooperative creameries were started in ten years, with a membership of 50,000 farmers. There are about 4,000 farmers' purchasing and distributing societies with 500,000 members. Fruit-growers' cooperative organizations have been formed in nine states with about 100,000 members. It is estimated that there are more than 20,000 cooperators in California and that one third of the whole fruit business of the state is handled cooperatively. The cooperative Southern California Fruit Exchange handles more than half of the orange business of the state. In five states the milk producers have cooperative associations for selling wholesale to city dealers. Six or seven states have cooperative grain elevators. Near Solomon, Kan., in 1901, some fifty farmers established a cooperative grain elevator. The railways and the Grain Trust tried to break it down by buying grain above the market price. The farmers sold to the trust, but paid over a cent a bushel to the cooperative on their sales and the trust gave up the fight. There are also cooperative bee-keepers, sheepherders, basket-makers, sawmills, grist-mills, wood-yards, starch factories, canning factories, dealers in poultry, eggs, cattle, horses, and cotton. Outside of the creameries and butter and cheese factories, there are, however, only some sixty cooperative factories. There are in the U. S. 5,302 cooperative credit societies. Cooperative life-insurance alone exceeds $7,000,000,000 on 5,500,000 lives. There are mutual fire, hail, and live-stock insurance companies. The "Insurance Year Book" reports only 179 such mutual companies, but George K. Holmes, studying the subject for the U. S. Agricultural Department, says there were 3,000 of them among the farmers alone in 1899, with a membership of 2,700,000, or about half the farmers in the U. S. There are also thousands of cooperative irrigation societies in the West, and some 1,000 cooperative farmers' telephone companies.

Such are Professor Parsons's figures, but the round numbers indicate that they are not based on exact returns, and while suggestive include many movements not cooperative except in a very general sense of the word. For a careful study of productive distribution in the U. S., see especial article, Cooperative Stores in the United States.

IV. Arguments For and Against Cooperation

The argument against cooperation is never against cooperation as an ideal, but simply against it as a practical method of social reform. On this line the opposition to cooperation has been varied and often strong; the answer, however, being probably stronger.

1. Against distributive cooperation it has been

claimed that it enables the cooperative *consumer* to obtain lower prices and save some of the profits that would otherwise go to middlemen, but does not tend to raise wages, and may even tend to lower wages through the interest the purchasing cooperators have in purchasing as cheaply as possible.

As a matter of fact, however, cooperation has not lowered wages. The cooperative wholesale society in England pays union wages; so, with the rarest exceptions, do all cooperators.

2. On the other hand, it is claimed that productive cooperation tends either to develop little companies or groups of producers competing against each other, or, if these little companies combine into one whole, to develop a monopoly which is either against the community, or, if large enough to include the whole community, is socialism and not cooperation.

But this, again, is argument not against cooperation, but against its misuse, not against cooperation, but for the necessity of combining trade-unionism with cooperation—a combination which is, fortunately, rapidly on the increase in England and in most countries.

3. A stronger argument against cooperation is that it so fixes the mind of investors and cooperators on saving or earning a few cents that they forget questions of much larger economic importance. Says Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb):

> It would be a fatal error if the million members of cooperative societies allowed their comparatively small interests as dividend receivers for one moment to divert their attention from their much vaster interests as wage-earners and citizens. The dividends of a cooperator amount on an average to about £3 a year, or just about a farthing per hour on his wages. A "good" cooperator, dealing pretty constantly at the store, will make perhaps double this amount, or a halfpenny per hour of his working-time. Now I need not remind you how very easy it is to lose a halfpenny per hour in wages for the want of a strong trade-union. Take, for instance, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, with its 500 branches all over the kingdom. Their standard rates of wages vary from 5*d.* per hour in some towns up to 9½*d.* per hour in others—a difference equal to no less than eighteen times as much as the average cooperator makes out of his store. . . . It will hardly be maintained that the £5 a year dividend of the Keighley "good cooperator" is equivalent to the £26 a year additional wages earned by the Manchester "good trade-unionist."

Yet this, again, is no argument against cooperation, but simply an argument (as, indeed, Mrs. Webb uses it) for a combination of cooperation *with* trade-unionism. Cooperation may not accomplish all things, but a penny saved is a penny earned, and trade-unionists in England have learned that they cannot afford to sneer at the millions of pounds in the English cooperative movement, gained by saving pennies.

4. The main argument against cooperation, as applied to the U. S. at least, is the difficulty of successfully conducting it. Nowhere is monopoly so entrenched as in the U. S., and nowhere is competition when there is competition so keen. With mills, stores, and all forms of business carried on by these gigantic corporations and monopolies, it is almost impossible for the small cooperative store to successfully compete. Against corporations able to run a year or more at a loss, in order to run out the small venture, small cooperation is often helpless. Too often, too, these corporations do not need to run out the small venture. Small cooperative ventures too often run themselves out. They can rarely be well managed, because good managers can get larger salaries than the small venture can afford to pay, and even when well managed the small venture cannot buy or manufacture or sell on a small scale so cheaply as the corporation on a large scale. Small cooperation is, thus, often hopeless, swallowing up the hard-earned money invested in it, and sometimes, in spite of the best intentions, becoming a veritable sweating-den, simply because of the inability of the small venture to compete with large stores and yet pay living wages.

One must not be misled for the U. S. by the success of the English movement. In the first place, the foundations of that success were laid before business was so monopolized as it is today, even in England. Secondly, it must be remembered that most English cooperation is consumptive, not productive—in other words, the least beneficial form of cooperation to the producer.

Yet all this is not an argument against cooperation, only a statement of actual difficulties, and against attempting cooperation except under the right conditions of management, capital, and support.

Where a small cooperative venture is fortunate enough to secure a good manager, where it can secure some capital, where there is a community or a body of working men willing to support it, where there is willingness and determination to carry it through, then in trades and under circumstances where the competition is not too intense the cooperation may succeed. Such cases are by no means wanting in the U. S., tho exceptional. See COOPERATIVE STORES IN THE UNITED STATES.

REFERENCES: *Reports of Cooperative Congress* (Great Britain); *Annual* Cooperative Union, Manchester, England; *Reports of International Cooperative Alliance*, 19 Southampton Row, London, W. C., England; Prof. Frank Parsons, in *The Arena*, July, Aug. (1903); G. J. Holyoake, *Self Help by the People*. A history of cooperation in Rochdale (1893); Benjamin Jones, *Cooperative Production*, 2 vols. (1894); H. D. Lloyd, *Labor Copartnership in Great Britain and Ireland* (1898); Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb), *Cooperative Movement in Great Britain* (1899); Catherine Webb. *Industrial Cooperation.*

COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURE: Cooperation in agriculture in Great Britain has had a varied career, and has hitherto been mainly associated with the sympathetic work of some leading landowners. Here and there distributive stores have managed farms, but the losses have been greater than the profits. In 1905, 8,706 acres were thus farmed by sixty-eight societies, the results giving an aggregate profit of £4,075, and an aggregate loss of £7,889. The farms range in size from ten acres of the Middlesbrough Society, upon which a loss of £1 was made, to the 449 acres of the Hucknall Torkard Cooperators, who lost £177. The Chester-le-Street had the largest deficit, £256 on 212 acres; and the Sunderland society made the most notable profit, viz., £632 on 420 acres, followed by the £515 of the Newcastle-on-Tyne society secured on an acreage of 122. Neither of the great wholesale societies made profits, and the aggregate loss on the two farms at Lancaster and Lanark was £6,455. Rather better returns were furnished by the three farming societies, two of which made profits of £4,203, the other having a small deficit of £7.

The most hopeful aspect of associated farming, however, is that directed by the AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, which is working in loyal cooperation with the Cooperative Union, altho quite a distinct body with definite constitution and aims. At the beginning of Nov., 1906,

there were 136 societies affiliated to the Agricultural Organization Society, being classified as follows:

Societies for the supply of requirements and sale of produce	97
Dairy, bottled milk, and cheese-making societies	12
Rural Industries Societies	4
Allotments and small holdings societies	4
Agricultural credit societies	11
Auction market	1
Fruit grading society	1
Motor service societies	3
County Pig Insurance Association (which already includes fifty-five branches)	1
Agricultural Cooperative Federation, Ltd	1
Scottish Agricultural Organization Society	1
	136

Five years ago the combined trade of the agricultural societies thus united for mutual action was £10,000; in 1906 it was over £300,000 and some of the societies have grown important enough to secure substantial concessions from railway companies. At Hereford, the Great Western Company has built a depot for the Hereford Cooperative Fruit Grading Society, and the L. & N. W. R. has been similarly well disposed toward another society at Newport (Salop). Latterly a system of interchange of produce and commodities has been developed, with the result that dwellers in rural districts have been brought into direct contact with the advantages of distributive as well as agricultural cooperation. Thus the Forest Supply Society of Worcester is supplying bottled milk to the Kidderminster Society; the Eastern Counties Dairy Farmers' Society sends a large supply of milk to the Stratford Society, which has a milk trade of £40,000 a year; the Framlingham Agricultural Society sends eggs to the Lowestoft and Penge societies, while other societies are arranging to take meat and poultry.

This practical trade development is being carried out by means of the Agricultural Cooperative Federation, which arose out of the Advisory Department of the Agricultural Organization Society and was formed toward the end of 1905. This is doing useful work in assisting the agricultural cooperators to dispose of their produce to the best advantage.

Associated with this work is the Central Cooperative Agricultural Bank, which was formed in July last to provide a central bank from which to supply capital to the local agricultural societies. W. Henry Brown.

COOPERATIVE ALLIANCE (INTERNATIONAL). See International Cooperative Alliance.

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE: Organized at Lewiston, Me., in 1900, by Mr. Bradford Peck, author of "The World, a Department Store," and Rev. Hiram Vrooman. Mr. Peck was the owner of a department store in Lewiston, one of the largest in New England outside of Boston; and this business, which was earning large profits, he turned over to the association, taking three per cent ten-year bonds in payment. The association also started a cooperative café and a large grocery store patterned after the Rochdale stores in England; but these enterprises have been abandoned.

The present condition of the department store in Lewiston is prosperous and encouraging. The employees are organized into a club which, together with a managing board of three, which is appointed by the association's board of directors, has the entire management of the store. During the past two years these coworkers have voted to themselves vacations of two weeks in the summer and two weeks in the winter on pay, and five per cent dividends on their salaries. The directors of the association require the management to lay aside adequate sinking- and reserve-funds. The business of the store is on the increase, and the enthusiasm and loyalty of the coworkers speak eloquently in favor of their organization. The last general statement of the association (May, 1906) shows assets of $226,182 and liabilities of $168,333. Ralph Albertson.

COOPERATIVE BANKS: Organizations formed to enable members, while carefully practising thrift, to make the small amount of security which each may have available, as a rule in a form not readily accepted by ordinary banks, effective for purposes of credit. The practise of thrift is essential, not merely as a means of obtaining funds, but also as contributing to the steady creation of capital. The credit societies organized by Schulze-Delitzsch, the earliest formed, have come to be popularly known as "compulsory savings-banks." M. Luzzatti, who introduced the banks into Italy, calls them "perfected savings-banks." There is no doubt, however, that the most powerful attraction offered is credit, which is, or should be, limited to useful purposes, as not covering deficit but producing new value. M. d'Andrimont, who introduced cooperative banks into Belgium, rightly christened their credit "democratized credit," and Schulze-Delitzsch called his banks "people's banks." They are to enable the small man or small society, to whom or which credit is not accessible under ordinary circumstances, to obtain such for productive purposes, or purposes insuring economy, however poor he or it may be.

The means by which this is done is by the grouping together of either liabilities or else small pecuniary resources, so as to make them tell as security. And in doing this an intermediate body is necessarily formed, composed of all the members of the cooperative bank which, while securing the original lender or depositor by collective liability and funds, and so providing for the borrower access to capital, at the same time prevents waste or abuse by, in its own interest, holding the borrower to his duty. Members collectively would suffer if the individual borrower were to make default. So they see that he does not. Security may be said to be created by the substitution of careful selection of members and of vigilance, quickened by a keen sense of responsibility, for the more or less real security accepted by ordinary banks.

Cooperative banks, by providing such credit, have greatly added to the current resources of the countries in which they are established; they have substantially cheapened the use of money; and they have brought the world nearer to the ideal stage in which credit is to become accessible to all, rich and poor alike, who can make out a good claim, and in which money becomes a mere commodity, purchasable by any one at the price of security.

The security provided by combination may be made effective in two distinct ways, or by a combination of the two: either by the creation of a share capital, which forms the first stake and

which accordingly shareholders are not likely to jeopardize, or else by the unlimited liability of all members pledged for any debt contracted.

The latter method, which may be combined with a levy of small shares, is practicable only in small country districts, where there is a steady and unshifting population, mutually acquainted and capable of watching one another. In such districts, however, it has been found exceedingly beneficial because it quickens the necessary sense of responsibility more effectively than anything else, and therefore makes members very careful in the selection of other members and in the granting and watching of loans. By such means it has had a very powerful educational effect, economically and morally. To produce such, however, it must make services gratuitous, forbid dividends or any other distinctly personal benefit, and make the money accumulated indivisible common property.

The method of providing for security by shares is applicable in populous districts as well as in the country, for industrial as well as for agricultural purposes; but it does not dive down equally low in the social scale or bring the same help to the very poor. In such banks, tho there may be dividend, it ought to be strictly limited, or the interest of the shareholders will be placed in opposition to that of the borrowers for whose use the bank was really formed.

The credit given by cooperative banks is, generally speaking, personal; and in its general aspect it is better the more personal it is. In Germany and in the Scandinavian kingdoms there are, however, excellent cooperative mortgage banks, which have raised enormous sums of money, and cheapened and facilitated mortgage credit materially. They make the loans repayable by terminable annuities carried over a long period of time, and protect the borrower against any danger of notice or raising of interest so long as he pays his instalments punctually.

Various Countries

Altho cooperative banks are generally supposed to be distinctly European, there are known to have been exceedingly useful cooperative banks in existence in New York before the Civil War. The well-known loan and building associations of the United States, which in some states pass by the name of "people's banks," are in a manner cognate institutions, but only in one particular aspect.

The most serious obstacle at present in the way of the formation of cooperative banks in the U. S. is the law which allows no bank to be opened with a capital of less than $10,000.

In Europe cooperative banks have become numerous and as a collective body very powerful. In Germany some 950 cooperative banks of the Schulze-Delitzsch type alone—but these are by far the largest—keep about $500,000,000 steadily in circulation in credits fructifying in the country. Germany has about 12,000 such banks in all, and the larger number of these, tho least powerful individually, are employed in financing agriculture. Grown numerous, banks have combined to unions and formed central banks, which have added to their financial power. In Austria, Italy, and Belgium cooperative banks are less numerous but equally useful. In Russia there are a large number of cooperative banks, but their cooperation is not everywhere perfect. France is making great headway, more specifically in the formation of agricultural banks. Several cooperative banks have been formed in Canada, and succeed well. The best known and oldest is that of Lévis near Quebec. Cooperative banks are now also forming in India; there is one in Barbados and one recently formed in Jamaica.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

REFERENCES: *People's Banks* (1896) and *Cooperative Banking* (1906), by H. W. Wolff.

COOPERATIVE BROTHERHOOD, THE: Incorporated under the laws of the State of Washington, Sept. 20, 1898, at Burley, Kilsap County, Washington. As originally organized, it endeavored to carry out the provisions of a deed of trust which secured for its members certain privileges, including guaranty of home and employment; to establish a socialistic commonwealth; "to organize persons for the cooperative production of wealth; to secure the equitable distribution thereof among those producing it, thereby dispensing with the wage system; to provide for the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution; and to make it possible for those so organized to recognize in a practical way the brotherhood of humanity."

Seven years after its establishment the capital stock was increased from $5,000 to $50,000, and a reorganization, involving the setting aside of the deed of trust, was undertaken. Under the new by-laws neither home nor employment are guaranteed to members. With the exception of its printing department, the brotherhood has ceased to manage any industries. The company leases its property, as its board of directors sees fit, giving preference to members. Still, recognizing that "one of the principal purposes for which the C. B. was organized was to provide a permanent home for its members," it is sought to do this by a plan of long leases at a nominal rent.

A member who was in good standing Jan. 1, 1905, is "entitled to the lease of a home-lot consisting of one acre, more or less, for fifty years, without allowing more than one lot to a family, for the payment of the taxes plus $1 per annum, to be placed in a common fund to cover necessary expenses, and the remainder to be used for keeping roads."

Any new member (that is to say, one who joins after the reorganization) can secure a home-lot just as soon as he holds "paid-up shares of stock amounting to $200." The new by-laws of the C. B. are modeled after the "Standard Rochdale By-Laws."

Financially, the organization is strong. Its surplus, at a conservative estimate, is between $19,000 and $20,000, and its liabilities less than $2,500. It holds, under an agreement for purchase, nearly 300 acres of fine land fronting on tide-water, of which thirty acres are partially cleared, while twenty acres are under cultivation with fruit-trees and crops. Its income from leases of real estate during 1906 is estimated at $650 for the year. The brotherhood owns a sawmill, shingle-mill, and planer which, at present, are leased to an outsider who holds, at the same time, a contract to cut timber.

The total membership of the Cooperative Brotherhood is about 150, of whom twenty are resident at Burley. The total population of Burley, not including outsiders, is thirty-four. Including outsiders who are connected with its leased industries and in other ways, Burley has a population of seventy or more.

Aside from the printing department, the only

industry which is managed by members of the brotherhood is the Fruit and Dairy Company, incorporated under the laws of the state. The right to engage in any industry is not restricted to members, altho at present the two industries mentioned are under their control.

The provision of the original by-laws, providing for "the free exercise of the individual preferences, convictions, or desires in religious, political, or domestic affairs," has been carefully observed. The denominational religious services, attended by Roman Catholics as well as by Protestants, have been held from an early date, almost continuously, the endeavor having been made to set forth the practical teachings of Christ; to indicate a working method of Christian socialism.

A. B. Ellis.

COOPERATIVE GILD, THE WOMEN'S: An organization of women connected with the industrial cooperative societies of Great Britain. It was founded in Oxford in 1883, and has now 400 branches attached to industrial cooperative societies throughout England and Wales. These branches, with a membership of 22,000 women, are all federalized in the one cooperative gild. The purpose and spirit of the movement are well set forth in the words of Miss Reddish, a former president of the gild: "I believe that all the physical, social, and moral evils have their source for the most part in a bad economic and industrial system, and therefore I would have society and the industry of the kingdom (that is, England) established and worked on new lines—on the lines of true and universal cooperation, on the principle of equal efforts in producing and equal participation in results. . . . When we have done our best to bring about this great and desired end of universal cooperation, we shall feel that we have done our duty to our fellows in the endeavor to realize the hopes and wishes of the great founders of the cooperative movement, that poverty and idleness should disappear from the land; that idleness should cease to revel in luxury, and labor pine in want; that vice should no longer glitter in the palace, and virtue droop in the hovel; that man's inhumanity to man may be a thing only of the past." The principle underlying the whole organization of the gild is that of self-government, that is, it is a democracy of working women, banded together not simply to increase the benefits and to share in the material advantages of cooperative stores and societies, but to take a place and to have a share in the great social, industrial, moral, and political movements that are making for the welfare and advance of the great common people of England. The gild takes its part when factory bills are up before Parliament, forwarding memorials, and in other ways bringing its influence to bear and making it felt for better legislation in the interests of labor and economic and social reform. The secretary is Miss M. Llewelyn Davies. *Address*: Kirkby-Lonsdale, England.

COOPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION. See Labor Copartnership.

COOPERATIVE STORES IN THE UNITED STATES: No trace of the establishment of cooperative stores in the United States is to be found prior to the organization of the New England Association of Farmers and Mechanics in 1831. This was composed of many of the local labor organizations formed at that time, and at its first convention it enthusiastically indorsed the application of cooperative principles. Other organizations took part in the agitation for the establishment of cooperative stores, with the result that several short-lived attempts were made in different parts of the New England States.

Out of the Boston division of this association grew what was later known as The Workingmen's Protective Union of America, organized for the collective buying and selling of merchandise. The association spread rapidly, and 106 divisions were in existence in 1850.

Early Attempts

A purchasing agent was located in Boston, and to him were sent orders to be filled and produce to be sold. The business of the union amounted to $112,507 in 1848, $220,801 in 1849, and $535,338 in 1850. In 1849 its name was changed to The New England Protective Union. Eighty-three of the 106 divisions had in 1850 a membership of 5,109, and eighty-four of them reported a capitalization of $71,890. During the last four months of that year, sixty-seven divisions purchased over $102,000 worth of goods, and in the first nine months of 1851 this amount was further increased to $620,000. In 1852 the number of divisions had grown to 413, with the sales of 167 amounting to $1,696,825. With the disruption of the organization in 1853, The American Protective Union was formed, and from 1853 to 1858 the latter society transacted an annual business varying in amounts from $1,000,000 to $1,536,000. With the approach of the Civil War, decay and disintegration set in, and within a short time the organization had disappeared.

During the next few years, altho cooperation as a movement was dead, nevertheless several stores existed and were fairly successful, while one or two new ones were organized in various parts of the Eastern states. Throughout the "sixties" trade magazines make mention of meetings held for the discussion of cooperation, and of calls being made for lectures and information. From 1863 to 1866 thirty-six stores were started in ten of the Eastern states. In 1864 the Rochdale methods were introduced into the U. S. by the members of a Philadelphia cooperative store who had obtained the constitution and by-laws of the original Rochdale association. The store was fairly prosperous for a time, but soon failed owing to lack of business knowledge on the part of the cooperators.

The first labor organization of national importance to declare itself as being favorable to the organization of cooperative stores and workshops was the National Labor Union organized in Baltimore in 1866. This association lived for but a few years and consequently had no effect whatsoever upon the cooperative movement.

The National Labor Union was followed in 1867 by the organization of the Patrons of Husbandry, or "The Grange," as it is often called, a secret order formed among the farmers for their mutual benefit. From the very nature of its conception, i. e., mutual helpfulness among the farmers, the Grange was a society based upon cooperation. According to its constitution it was organized for the establishment and extension of cooperative principles among the agricultural classes. One of the first methods which it adopted to carry out this policy was to have all the members of the Grange concentrate

Patrons of Husbandry

their orders upon a certain manufacturer or wholesaler, with the understanding that they were to receive a discount on their trade. The plan was comparatively successful for a time, but soon aroused the determined opposition of the local retail merchants, who often induced the manufacturers and wholesalers to cease trading with the Grangers. The local branches of the order then banded together and supported a state purchasing agent, to whom were sent all the orders of the subordinate associations, and who was thus enabled to buy in car-load lots and at greatly reduced prices. Confidential lists, bearing the names and prices of those firms from which discounts could be obtained, were sent to the local granges. Orders were then made up from these lists and were sent to the purchasing agent. The business of these agencies was enormous. Thus, in one year that of the Ohio Grange amounted to almost $1,000,000, and in Indiana it was no uncommon occurrence to have the day's receipts of the agency exceed $1,000. At one time the Grangers had five steamboat lines, thirty-two grain elevators, and twenty-two warehouses to assist in their system of cooperative buying and selling. Dissatisfaction with the state agencies arose, however, and in a short time many of them were abandoned.

But during the years just preceding the abolition of the agencies another form of cooperation began to attract the attention of the Grangers. This was the establishment of cooperative stores.

Grangers

As early as 1874 six granges in Wisconsin had united to form a mercantile association with $5,000 stock. During the first year of its existence it transacted a business of over $12,000. Stores sprang up in almost every city in which local granges were located. In Illinois at one time there were Grange stores in one half of the counties. In Massachusetts in 1875 there were fifteen associations with a capitalization of $75,000 and with assets valued at $140,000. The sales of eight of these amounted to about $500,000 a year. There were also thirty dividing stores in Fall River, Mass., with about 1,500 members and an annual trade of $300,000. During this year several stores were also started in California. However, the enthusiasm of the Grange for cooperative stores died away with returning prosperity following the panic of 1873, altho in Missouri in 1880 there were fifty-seven Grange stores together with a state purchasing agency, while in Texas in 1885 there still remained a Grange wholesale house run in connection with 150 cooperative stores. To-day only a few of the stores established by the Grange remain. Altho but temporarily successful, nevertheless the Grange stores did great and good work. They not only succeeded in saving the farmers millions of dollars on their purchases, but they were also greatly instrumental in lowering the prices of articles to those who were not members of the order.

Shortly after the reaction against the Grange had set in, another order came forward, having as its motto the word "Cooperation." This was the order of The Sovereigns of Industry, organized in 1874, with the purpose of doing for the factory-workers what the Grange had done for the farmers. At first it also pursued the methods followed by the Grange, and established state purchasing agencies, but these soon gave way to the formation of cooperative stores. The national council of the order, by printing and distributing thousands of pieces of literature dealing with cooperative matters, encouraged the local councils to undertake the work. Stores owned and operated by the "Sovereigns" sprang up throughout the Eastern and Central states, but with the subsequent disruption of the national order the greater number of these stores disappeared. In 1875 there were forty-eight stores in Massachusetts with a capitalization of $30,268, and an average monthly trade of $26,250. In 1876 this number had decreased to thirty-nine. Half of these were joint-stock companies, seventeen did not deliver goods, twenty sold only to "Sovereigns," and twenty-two sold below the regular market prices. In 1877 but thirty of these stores were in existence.

The Industrial Brotherhood, organized in the early "seventies" for the purpose of federating all unions into a national body, also declared itself favorable to "the establishment of cooperative institutions, both productive and distributive." It lived for but a few years, and was soon succeeded by the Knights of Labor which had been formed in 1868, but which ten years later adopted in toto the platform and purposes of the brotherhood. The members of the Knights of Labor entered enthusiastically into the work of establishing cooperative stores, workshops, foundries, and various other enterprises, their aim being the complete destruction of the competitive wage system, and the introduction of one based entirely on cooperation. Very few of the stores and cooperative establishments started by them are in existence at the present time.

Farmers' Alliance

From 1886 to 1892 the Farmers' Alliance was active in propagating cooperative doctrines among the Southern farmers. Its members attempted to eliminate the middleman in the buying and selling of products by the establishment of a system of trade discounts similar to that followed by the early Grangers and Sovereigns of Industry. In 1890 it was estimated that the alliance transacted a business of more than $10,000,000. In 1886 a very complete investigation under the supervision of Prof. R. T. Ely disclosed the existence of eighty cooperative stores in the United States. Thirty-two of the fifty-three associations in New England reported a capitalization of $187,466; twenty-two of these had 5,470 members, while the total trade of the New England stores was estimated at $2,000,000. Seven of the associations outside of the New England states reported aggregate sales amounting to $357,674.

It was in 1886 that the first attempt was made to form a federation of the stores in and around Boston, but to no avail. During the next ten years there was but little activity in the cooperative world. In 1894 an attempt was made by Messrs. Barlow, Rhodes, Peabody, and Ely of Massachusetts to form a federation of cooperative associations. The Cooperative Union of America resulted, and was composed of fourteen societies. It published a paper, *The American Cooperator*, for a short time, but both ventures were soon abandoned, only to be followed in 1896 by The American Cooperative Union, a national federation of cooperative enterprises. This association was organized in St. Louis, July 1, 1896, but scarcely lived long enough to receive its name.

As a result of an investigation which he had made for the U. S. Department of Labor, Dr.

States	Total number of cooperative stores	Number making report	Total capital stock		Total number stockholders		Total sales of all stores reporting		Total expenses		Average per cent of expenses of sales		Total number of employees		Average dividends on capital		Average dividends on purchases of members		Average dividends on purchases of non-members	
			*		*		*		*		*		*		*	Per cent	*	Per cent	*	Per cent
Group I.																				
Maine	9	3	3	$26,100.00	3	689	3	$98,398.20	3	$10,372.19	3	11	3	13	3	6	2	6	1	3
N. Hampshire	3	1	1	1,000.00	1	130	1	10,000.00	1	1,200.00	1	12	1	2	....	.....	1	2	....	.....
Vermont	2	....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Massachusetts	26	11	11	338,759.34	9	6,314	11	856,032.82	7	113,649.10	7	33	11	130	10	6	10	7	8	4
Connecticut	4	3	3	10,000.00	3	1,318	3	130,435.90	3	16,631.34	3	13	3	23	2	20	2	2	1	1
New York	16	8	7	53,464.00	7	1,837	8	325,276.35	6	38,427.97	6	11	8	42	5	9	5	6	3	4
Pennsylvania	14	3	3	15,360.00	3	413	3	40,267.72	1	30,867.61	1	93	3	11	2	6	2	4	2	2
New Jersey	1	....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Totals & av.	75	29	28	$414,683.34	26	10,701	29	$1,460,410.99	21	$211,148.21	21	25	29	221	22	9	22	5	15	3
Group II.																				
N. Carolina	1	1	1	$3,000.00	1	102	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	1	7	....	.....	1	5	....	.....
Tennessee	1	1	1	1,000.00	1	6	1	$6,800.00	1	$680.00	1	10	1	2	1	8	....	.....	....	.....
Arkansas	2	....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Texas	17	9	8	235,435.00	9	1,616	6	189,642.29	6	30,277.70	6	16	9	40	7	11	2	9	1	4
Oklahoma	1	....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Totals & av.	22	11	10	$239,435.00	11	1,724	7	$196,442.29	7	$30,957.70	7	13	11	49	8	10	3	7	1	4
Group III.																				
Ohio	13	6	6	$105,000.00	5	718	3	$66,000.00	3	$6,614.00	3	10	6	31	....	8	...	14	....	11
Michigan	18	11	11	342,990.00	10	3,059	11	1,176,301.31	10	91,546.56	10	11	10	151	8	7	5	5	1	2
Indiana	2	1	1	35,000.00	1	75	....	.....	....	.....	1	9	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Illinois	8	3	3	16,100.00	3	985	1	20,000.00	1	1,440.00	1	12	3	12	1	6	1	5	1	3
Wisconsin	30	15	15	351,200.00	15	4,404	11	690,081.20	10	54,044.23	10	8	14	88	10	13	4	5	....	.....
Minnesota	12	8	7	207,860.00	8	843	4	229,794.54	4	27,361.12	4	11	7	46	3	3	2	8	1	10
Iowa	17	7	7	36,920.00	7	839	5	176,341.57	5	13,238.84	5	7	7	26	5	16	3	6	1	2
Missouri	1	1	1	25,000.00	1	1,498	1	20,414.00	1	1,865.91	1	9	1	3	....	.....	1	10	....	.....
Kansas	34	19	19	407,185.40	18	4,399	15	1,047,799.72	14	66,010.85	14	7	18	154	13	9	11	6	5	4
Nebraska	1	....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
North Dakota	2	1	1	50,000.00	1	102	1	11,000.00	1	300.00	1	3	1	2	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Totals & av.	138	72	71	$1,577,255.40	69	16,922	52	$2,993,614.34	49	$262,421.51	49	9	67	513	40	9	27	7	9	5
Group IV.																				
Colorado	2	1	1	$6,200.00	1	208	1	$56,000.00	....	.....	....	.....	1	10	1	5	....	.....	....	.....
Montana	4	1	1	100,000.00	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Idaho	4	2	2	20,000.00	2	55	2	22,000.00	2	$2,400.00	2	11	2	4	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Utah	5	1	1	1,077,000.00	1	650	1	4,246,896.03	1	438,863.48	1	10	1	50	1	10	....	.....	....	.....
Arizona	1	1	1	150,000.00	1	72	1	36,000.00	1	7,000.00	1	20	1	5	1	6	1	1	1	1
California	68	36	36	334,379.00	36	4,701	27	1,330,867.80	27	196,697.20	27	15	35	168	23	8	15	4	....	.....
Oregon	2	1	1	2,000.00	1	75	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	1	8	....	.....	....	.....
Washington	22	15	13	138,980.00	15	1,178	10	294,728.15	10	30,477.29	10	10	13	40	6	10	4	5	1	5
Totals & av.	108	58	56	$1,837,559.00	57	6,939	42	$5,986,491.98	41	$675,437.97	41	11	53	727	32	8	20	3	2	3
Grand totals and averages	343	170	165	$4,098,932.74	166	36,286	130	$10,636,959.60	118	$1,179,965.39	118	12	160	1,060	102	9	72	6	27	4

E. W. Bemis announced in 1896 that there were some seventy cooperative stores in the U. S. at that time, with a possible membership of 19,000, and with the sales of forty-one of the societies amounting to $2,372,000 for their 15,707 members. The next few years saw a slow and steady increase in the number of cooperative stores, encouraged as it was by no central organization or national movement, but by the desire of the people for lower prices.

It was on the Pacific Coast that the first successful federation of cooperative stores, The Pacific Coast Cooperative Union, was begun (Nov. 7, 1899). It was here that such great activity had been shown in the early years of the Grange and Alliance agitation. The union was formed for the purpose of studying and propagating cooperative ideas. On Jan. 1, 1900, the association established The Rochdale Wholesale Company of San Francisco, which since that time has played an important and indispensable part in the upbuilding of the strongest cooperative movement in the U. S. In this work it has been greatly assisted by a most efficient weekly (formerly monthly) paper, *The Cooperative Journal*, founded in 1900 and published at Oakland, Cal.

In 1900 The Cooperating Merchants' Company of Chicago, Ill., was organized. This corporation, composed of over 450 retail stores, some owned cooperatively and some privately, serves as a medium through which the constituent stores purchase their supplies, buying direct from the wholesaler and manufacturer. This company owns two large wholesale houses, and publishes its own monthly trade-organ, *Mixed Stocks*. In the same year The Right Relationship League was organized at Chicago for the purpose of propagating a certain kind of cooperative ideas. These consist in the establishment of stores in which there is an equality of ownership and voting power, a strict adherence to the principle of cash payments, provisions for the accumulation of a reserve and an educational fund, the payment of 8 per cent on the capital stock, and the apportionment of the remainder of the profits of the trade among the members on the basis of the amount of goods purchased. In 1901, 1903, and 1906 respectively, state cooperative federations were established in Kansas, Washington, and Pennsylvania.

In June, 1904, a national convention of the cooperators in the U. S. was held at St. Louis, Mo., resulting in the formation of The National Cooperative League, and in the establishment of a bureau to gather statistics dealing with the cooperative movement. The National Cooperative League indorsed the Rochdale principles, and established a uniform method for the organization of cooperative stores in accordance therewith. A second meeting of the league was held at Seattle, Wash., in 1905. The bureau of statistics proved to be of little if any value to the movement, and thus far has made no report of its activities.

National Convention

In 1904–5, Mr. Ira Cross, working under the supervision of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics, made an investigation of cooperative distribution in the U. S. (See the "Twelfth Biennial Report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics.") The following table gives the results of that investigation, the total returns only being given for each state. Group I. comprises the Eastern manufacturing states; Group II., the Southern cotton states; Group III., the Central grain states; and Group IV., the Western mining states. An asterisk at the head of the column denotes that in this column is placed the number of cooperative stores making returns upon that specific matter.

Judging from the returns received from these 170 establishments, the above 343 stores represent an estimated capitalization of $8,520,809, a membership of approximately 76,146 persons, and a trade of about $265,526,743.

The majority of these stores are largely patronized by farmers. Out of 124 stores answering the question as to whether the majority of their customers came from the city or the country, seventy answered from the latter, thirty-nine from the former, while the remainder stated that their trade was about evenly divided. The greater portion of the stores were originally begun on a cooperative basis. Credit was seldom given, and then only for a short time. Market prices were usually followed, and in no case were goods sold only to stockholders. In the majority of cases the effect of these stores was to lower prices of merchandise in their localities.

A unique development of the cooperative movement in this country is to be found in a number of so-called "College Cooperative Societies," connected either directly or indirectly with many of our higher educational institutions. Such associations operating cooperative stores are to be found at Yale, Harvard, Cornell, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Northwestern University, Amherst, Williams, the Ohio Wesleyan, Kenyon College,

College Societies

College Cooperative Stores in the United States, June, 1905

Society	Date of Starting	No. of Members	Sales 1904–5	Rate of Dividends	Employees
Cornell University	1898	150	$45,000.00	8 per cent	7
Harvard University	1882	2,513	248,315.14	7 " "	49
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	1886	573	3,000.00	.....	1
Northwestern University	*	.....	.....	.....	...
University of California	1884	450	54,651.58	8 per cent	6
University of Illinois	1905†	522	5,000.00	5 " "	2
University of Missouri	1900	500	27,000.00	10 " "	3
University of Tennessee	1902	7	7,000 00	8 " "	2
University of Texas	1896	249	19,499.30	5 " "	5
University of Wisconsin	1894	1,631	48,762.07	10 " " / 13 " "	Cash, / Trade, 5
Yale University	1883	1,176	60,504.72	‡	8

* Store just being organized.
† This store was begun in January, 1905, and the returns are for the succeeding five months.
‡ Declares no dividends but sells all goods at cost.

Otterbein University, Miami University, and Worcester University, together with the state universities of California, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, and Wisconsin. In most cases, under judicious management, they have proven to be very successful and of the greatest benefit to the student body which patronizes them. No interest is paid on the shares of stock held by the students, but the profits of the societies are divided among these students upon the basis of the amount of goods purchased.

The preceding table presents the status of the largest of these stores at the close of the 1904–5 semester (June, 1905).

IRA CROSS.

REFERENCES: *Bulletin No. 6 of the U. S. Department of Labor; Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 1875, 1877; *Twelfth Biennial Report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics*, pt. i.; *History of Cooperation in the U. S.*, in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. vi.; Article in *The North American Review*, by Newton, vol. cxxxvii., p. 327; *Fincher's Trade Review;* Article in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, by Cummings, vol. xi., p. 273; Article in *The Arena*, by Cross, April, 1906; *Labor Problems*, by Adams and Sumner, s. v. *Cooperation.*

COOPERATIVE UNION, THE: The Cooperative Union is an organization of the associated trading societies in Great Britain under the Industrial and Provident Societies' Act. It has 1,230 societies in membership, their adherents aggregating 2,115,995, or 93.6 per cent of the total number of cooperators in the country. In addition to sustaining the propaganda work in districts as yet untouched by cooperation, the union pays special attention to matters of importance to the movement, and has special committees to deal with (*a*) education, (*b*) production, (*c*) international and foreign inquiries, (*d*) propaganda of a joint character with the Cooperative Wholesale Society, (*e*) the relations of societies to trade-unions, (*f*) parliamentary affairs, (*g*) exhibitions, and (*h*) cooperative defense, this latter committee having come into existence in consequence of recent attacks on cooperators at St. Helens and elsewhere in the north.

The Cooperative Union comes most prominently before the public in connection with the annual congress. *General Secretary*: J. C. Gray, J.P. *Central Offices*: 2, Nicholas Croft, High Street, Manchester.

COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE. See article COOPERATION, Section II.

COOPER, PETER: American manufacturer and philanthropist; born in New York City, 1791. He received a meager education, whereupon he entered the trade of carriage-making. Gradually, however, he took up one enterprise after another, with continuous success. In 1830 he established the Canton Iron Works, at Canton, Md., where he constructed from his own designs the first locomotives ever made in the United States. Soon after he established a rolling- and wire-mill in New York, and in 1845 he moved it to Trenton, making it the largest rolling-mill of the day in the U. S. He built three blast furnaces in Phillipsburg, and conducted other similar enterprises. Cooper was one of the chief supporters of the laying of the Atlantic cable and other important enterprises. Deeply interested in the free education of the industrial classes, he gave the money for and laid the corner-stone of the Cooper Union in 1854, and saw its completion in 1859, to be "forever devoted to the instruction and improvement of the inhabitants of the U. S. in practical science and art." He gave $200,000 as an endowment during his life, and $100,000 by his will. The original cost when he conveyed it to the trustees was $630,000. In 1876 Mr. Cooper was candidate for the presidency of the Greenback or National Independent Party, and received some 100,000 votes. He died in New York City, April 4, 1883. Among his writings may be mentioned: "Ideas for a Science of Good Government, in Addresses, Letters, and Articles on a Strictly National Currency, Tariff, and Civil Service" (New York, 1883).

COOPER, THOMAS: English author and editor; born in Leicester, England, 1805. The son of a poor widow, he learned the shoemaker's trade. At the age of twenty-three he opened a school in Lincoln, and a year later became a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher. In 1839 he went to London to engage in journalism, but finding little success, he later returned to Leicester and joined the Chartists. He published a newspaper in their interests, and was nominated for Parliament. He addrest many meetings and aroused great excitement. In one instance a riot occurred at Hanley after he left; and at Manchester military guards were placed in the street. He was arrested and taken back to Staffordshire on a charge of arson in connection with the Hanley riot, but he proved that he was not there when the offense was committed. He was then arraigned for conspiracy and sedition and tried before Sir Thomas Erskine, March, 1843. He defended himself eloquently, but was condemned to two years' imprisonment in Stafford jail, during which time he wrote the greater part of an epic, the "Purgatory of Suicide," dealing with the social and religious questions of the age. After his release he wrote several books of poetry and prose. He joined Mazzini's International League, but took no part in the Chartist agitation of 1848 on account of differences with O'Connor. For some time he lectured on political and historical subjects; and later, after having been a skeptic for ten years and a follower of Strauss in 1855, he changed his views and lectured against atheism. When his health broke down, W. E. Forster and Samuel Morley obtained for him a small annuity. In 1882 he published his autobiography. He died in Lincoln in 1892.

COPARTNERSHIP TENANTS' HOUSING COUNCIL, THE: Was established under the auspices of the Labor Copartnership Association. Its object is to help toward the solution of the problem of housing the people by means of the establishment of copartnership societies for tenants and by promoting the forming of the same.

Objects.—To aid in the solution of the Housing Problem by encouraging and promoting the establishment of Copartnership Tenants' Societies.

Methods.—To make the principles and work of such societies known by means of lectures and the distribution of literature.

To draft rules for registration, to meet the various conditions under which such societies may be established.

To give legal and other advice.

To centralize information as to plans, material, cost of construction, etc., so that small societies with limited capital shall not be put to the full expense in each case.

The council will take no financial responsibility, but will be willing to give advice in financial matters.

Henry Vivian, M.P., is chairman of the council, whose address is 22, Red Lion Square, London.

COPYRIGHT is the exclusive right to publish intellectual productions, such as books, papers, plays, paintings, sculptures, designs, music, photographs, etc.

The first copyright law of England dates from 1710. Before that date some exclusive rights of printing had been granted for limited periods. By the present law, intellectual productions in the United Kingdom have copyright during the life of the author and for seven years after his death, or for a term of forty-two years, whichever may be the longer time of the two. Foreigners have the same right by publishing in England.

In Germany laws for copyright begin in 1837. By the law of 1845 they can be extended to thirty years after the author's death.

In France copyright exists for the life of the author or his widow, for twenty years for his children, and for ten years for other heirs. The Belgian law is the same, except that all the heirs can hold copyright for twenty years after the author's death.

Copyright laws in the United States date from 1790 and at first pertained only to citizens or residents.. To-day copyright is given also to citizens of states granting reciprocal rights. It endures for twenty-eight years, with right of renewal for fourteen years. The Congress issues *copyrights* to authors and *patents* to inventors. All books, maps, charts, musical compositions, engravings, photographs (or negatives), chromos, statues, etc., whatever the subject may be, are included, and so are all inventions. There is no limitation to science in the strict sense of the word.

In Canada the right of copyright lasts for twenty-eight years and may be renewed thereafter for fourteen years. In order to be protected by this law an author of the United Kingdom must register his work in Canada and publish it there inside of a month of its having been published elsewhere.

Other British colonies possess local copyright laws peculiar to themselves.

International Copyright has been a slow growth, and is determined by the laws of each nation.

The English International Copyright Act provides that a work having been published first in any part of the British Empire is entitled to the benefit of the English laws just as if it had been issued first in the United Kingdom. Thus it follows that the work so published possesses copyright in those foreign lands which belong to the Berne Convention of 1887. By a convention in Berne in 1887, Great Britain and possessions, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Haiti, Italy, Luxemburg, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Tunis formed an international agreement. Foreign books to receive copyright in the U. S. must have an edition manufactured in the U. S.

CORPORATIONS: A corporation may be defined, in general, as a body formed and authorized by law to act as a single individual in carrying out the purposes for which it is incorporated. It is the creature of the State, and can do only that which it is allowed to do by the State in the act which gives it birth, but within those limits it can act as freely as any individual. Corporations are usually divided into public and private corporations.

Over the former the legislature, as the trustee or guardian of the public interests, has the exclusive and unrestrained control; and acting as such, as it may create, so it may modify or destroy, as public exigency requires or recommends. . . . Private corporations, on the other hand, are created by an act of the legislature, which, in connection with its acceptance, is regarded as a *compact*, and one which, so long as the body corporate faithfully observes, the legislature is constitutionally restrained from impairing, by annexing new terms and conditions, onerous in their operation, or inconsistent with a reasonable construction of the compact. (*Angell and Ames on Corporations*, §31, ch. 1.)

Corporations are of comparatively recent growth. Says Professor Ely, in his articles on "The Growth of Corporations," in *Harper's Magazine* for 1887:

History

In thirty years, in the second half of the eighteenth century, only one corporation was formed in Massachusetts, and that was of an eleemosynary character. When Alexander Hamilton wrote his celebrated report on the establishment of the first United States Bank in 1790, there existed only three banking corporations in the United States. Some estimate that railway corporations own one fourth of the wealth of the country, but they did not begin to exist until more than half a century had elapsed after the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence. Gas companies, which have been so fruitful a source of corruption in states and municipalities, did not exist at all in the eighteenth century, and not in large numbers much before 1830. Manufactures were carried on in the last century in insignificant shops by men of little wealth and of no great social importance.

It was the general opinion a hundred years ago that corporations or joint-stock companies could not succeed, because they did not appeal to the stimulus of self-interest as much as private concerns, and therefore must go down in competition with them. The opinion of Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations" (1776), is well known when he says:

The trade of a joint-stock company is always managed by a court of directors. This court, indeed, is frequently subject in many respects to the control of a general court of proprietors. But the greater part of those proprietors seldom pretend to understand anything of the business of the company. . . . The directors of such companies, however, being the managers rather of other people's money than of their own, it cannot well be expected that they should watch over it with the same anxious vigilance with which the partners in a private copartnery frequently watch over their own. Like the stewards of a rich man, they are apt to consider attention to small matters as not for their master's honor. . . . Negligence and profusion, therefore, must always prevail, more or less, in the management of the affairs in such a company. . . . That a joint-stock company should be able to carry on successfully any branch of foreign trade, when private adventurers can come into any sort of open and fair competition with them, seems contrary to all experience. . . . The only trades which it seems possible for a joint-stock company to carry on successfully, without an exclusive privilege, are those of which all the operations are capable of being reduced to what is called a routine, or to such uniformity of method as admits of little or no variation.

Nevertheless corporations, altho only comparatively recently of large growth, have existed at least some four hundred years.

To-day, however, the corporate field, particularly in the U. S., covers enterprises of every conceivable nature. Manufacturing corporations embracing every thinkable need or luxury of the human being, distributing concerns selling every kind and class of necessity and luxury in the lines of food, clothing, or what not, are carried on in the corporate form. Transportation methods of every kind, from the stage-coach to the powerful locomotive and electric engine, from the coal-cart to the automobile, are operated by corporations. Our department stores, our restaurants, our candy manufacturers, our theaters, our magazines and newspapers, the advertising in the street-cars, many of the metropolitan barber shops, the bootblack stands and the news stands and book stores, are operated by corporations. Not a large building is now

put up in American cities but that an enormous corporation puts in the foundation; another corporation erects the superstructure and still others put on the finishing touches, while usually a large realty or investing corporation owns and operates the building itself. The hats we wear, the umbrellas we carry, the clothes, all are shaped and produced to a large extent through corporate activity.

Not only is the corporate field diversified in the different classes of business and commercial undertakings, but it is also of gigantic scope and size. The estimated national wealth of the U. S. at the present time is in excess of $110,000,000,000, and it is estimated that of this total wealth, something like one half is owned in corporate form. If we eliminate agricultural wealth and confine our estimate to only the wealth represented in manufacturing, transportation, and like industries, we find that over eighty per cent of such wealth is in corporate form. The tendency at the present time is for the corporate growth to increase several times more rapidly than the growth of private concerns. This is due to the fact that not only do most new undertakings start under the corporate form, but the tendency of former private concerns to combine as they grow and enter the corporate form seems absolutely irresistible.

The following figures from *Moody's Manual* for 1907 not only demonstrate the great magnitude of the corporate field, but illustrate the pronounced tendency of the smaller concerns to combine with or become swallowed in the larger ones. For the year ended May 1, 1907, the *Manual* reports facts and figures on about 222,000 miles of steam railroad in the U. S., representing a combined par value capitalization in stocks and bonds, all of which is in the hands of the public, of about $13,900,000,000. These totals embrace 1,419 active, existent corporations, all of which have stocks and bonds outstanding in one form or another. Of this number of corporations, however, no less than 688, representing 196,429 miles of railroad and having outstanding $12,931,000,000 of stocks and bonds, are controlled by fifty-seven large corporations; and the remaining 674 companies, which are independent of control, represent only 25,588 miles and about $977,000,000 of capitalization. It will thus be seen that nearly 90 per cent of the railroad mileage of the country and more than 92 per cent of the par value capitalization of the railroad corporations of the country are embraced in the control of fifty-seven larger corporations or controlling systems.

Statistics

The facts and figures bearing on other corporate undertakings in the U. S. are also interesting, both as regards magnitude and tendency, and all serve to demonstrate the fact that businesses of every nature are year by year going into the larger corporate form. The figures given in the *Manual* for 1907, covering the street-railway industry, the gas- and electric-light industry, the telephone, telegraph, and other public utility undertakings, as well as the field of manufacturing and miscellaneous enterprise, show that over $20,000,000,000 of capitalization is to-day in corporations, the stocks and bonds of which in each individual case aggregate at least $500,000, and are more or less in the hands of investors and the public generally. Thus it will be seen that including the steam-railroad industry, represented by a capitalization of about $14,000,000,000, the aggregate amount of capital in corporate form in this country is approximately $34,000,000,000, without considering the many thousand smaller corporations of less than $500,000 capital and also the banking and trust companies and other financial institutions of like nature.

Contrary to a very general impression, the owners of corporate wealth in this country are not alone a few millionaires, but a multitude of small investors whose average holdings are probably less than $10,000 each. Many of these are $5,000 investors and still more of them hold less than $1,000 each. In 1905 the Interstate Commerce Commission reported that the railroads of the country then had 327,851 shareholders. As this estimate is necessarily inaccurate and incomplete because of the fact that thousands of stockholders do not have the certificates in their names, the truth probably is that there are at least double this number of holders. It is a well-known fact that the Pennsylvania Railroad system alone has had on its books as high as 40,000 stockholders. The number of holders of railroad bonds is entirely unknown, but should at least equal that of stockholders, thus giving us as a fair estimate in the neighborhood of 1,500,000 of investors in the steam-railroad industry alone. If we add to this 1,500,000 more to represent the number of investors in other corporate undertakings which are not private or close, we have in all about 3,000,000 investors who are the owners of the corporate wealth of the U. S. Of course, a proportion of these investors are outside of the U. S., altho what percentage is difficult to guess. If, however, we include all enterprises in which foreign capital would naturally enter, including mining undertakings, it would probably be fair to estimate 15 per cent of the above total as foreign, thus leaving approximately 2,550,000 persons to represent the ownership of the large corporate wealth of the country.

Shareholders

It should be pointed out that the above figures do not embrace the ordinary "close" corporations. The close corporation is different from the others in the fact that its entire stock is usually owned by a few individuals who are the actual managers of the enterprise itself. Thus it is, in effect, precisely similar to the old-style partnership as far as its responsibility to outsiders is concerned, and its success or failure in a financial sense therefore involves only those who are actively connected with it.

Concurrently with the rise of the modern corporation have come in various economic and social problems which would otherwise never have arisen. Under the old form of partnership the business man or firm usually found it necessary to either limit the amount of the business he might do to his personal financial capacity, or else make use of additional capital through the aid of a money-lender. Under the corporate form, however, securities are issued which produce the necessary capital to extend business and handle increased business, as well as to improve credit generally. These securities are of two classes, stocks and bonds. The stockholder stands in the same relation to the concern itself as did the old-fashioned partner, with the exception that the stockholder is not necessarily an active partner, and is not responsible for the

debts of the concern beyond the amount of his shares. The bondholder, on the other hand, stands in the same position as the old-fashioned money-lender; that is, he is a creditor and his loan is usually secured by some sort of mortgage on the property. The difference between a stock and a bond, therefore, is simply the difference between the owner and the loaner.

While the modern form of corporate enterprise has slowly evolved, and is an enlargement of the old partnership method, yet it has in modern times taken on features which were entirely unknown to the partnership. For instance, in the matter of capitalization, the stock company of to-day is usually capitalized far beyond the invested value of the undertaking itself. For instance, if a former partnership represents an actual invested cash capital of $1,000,000, and is showing a net profit to its owners of $400,000 per annum (which is not an unusual occurrence), when it is converted into a corporation its capitalization will be based not on the original investment, but on the earning power in connection with the current rate of interest, future prospects, etc. In this particular case, for instance, the capitalization of a corporation taking over such a business would not be less than $4,000,000, basing our estimate on the showing of earnings alone. Should there be other considerations, such as patent rights, franchises, or special conditions which would insure a steady future growth, the capitalization would be very much more than this; possibly twice as much. The bond issue alone which might be put on to such a property might run as high as $3,000,000 or $4,000,000. Thus has come in the custom of what is popularly known as "stock-watering." The difference between the actual invested amount of cash in the plant and the capitalization itself is generally understood to be the "water."

Capitalization

While stock-watering is generally regarded as a vicious practise and its elimination looked upon as a great remedy for the evils of corporate enterprise, yet, as a matter of fact, its elimination would not be a remedy at all, for the reason that stock-watering is not the evil itself, but simply one of the results of certain evils which are bound up in corporate as well as many other industrial and commercial undertakings in this and other countries. The capitalization of a corporation in the shape of stocks and bonds does not of itself have any effect on the relationship of the corporation with its customers or with the public generally. A corporation of $1,000,000 capital, for instance, cannot, by raising its stock certificates to $10,000,000, make any changes in the prices of its products unless some other factor enters in besides the mere one of the increase in the face value of its stock certificates. If it does so increase its capitalization, the actual value of its business will be no greater than before and the price of its stock certificates will of course depreciate accordingly. If, however, it increases its capital to represent some tangible acquisition which it did not possess before, then, but then only, it will have made a distinct gain in its assets. To illustrate this, the recent incident brought out by the Harriman investigating committee, of the increase in capitalization of the Chicago & Alton Railway some years ago, is worthy of mention. Prior to this increase in capitalization, the Chicago & Alton Railway had for years been growing in value as a result of the increase in population along its lines and general expansion of industry and commerce in that part of the country. Its terminals and all other assets had shown the natural and automatic increase to which all enterprises of this nature are heirs in a growing country like the U. S., but the old management had never discounted these increased values in the capitalization. When the Harriman interests took hold of the property, however, they immediately decided to capitalize the automatic growth in value of this railroad system and added approximately $60,000,000 in stocks and bonds to the former capitalization. In other words, prior to this time its "monopoly" or special privilege had not been capitalized, and all the Harriman interests did was to bring the face value of the securities of the Chicago & Alton Railway up to the current value of its monopoly or special privilege. They put no water into the property in the sense of trying to capitalize a vacuity, as is popularly stated.

Stock-watering

The remedy for corporate evils, therefore, does not lie along the line of prohibitive legislation in regard to the amount of face value in stocks or bonds which may be placed upon a property, but will be found rather through an examination of the conditions which enable the heads of corporations to issue vast amounts of securities, which, while not representing actual cash investment, do nevertheless represent something of a tangible nature. This tangible something may be patent rights, tariff protection, franchise privileges, or something else of an exclusive nature. Only when this feature of the situation is examined and analyzed will this vital problem of corporate capitalization be permanently solved.

Another condition which has been brought about by the change of industrial and commercial activity through the corporate form is the concentration of control of industry, commerce, finance, etc., without the same concentration of responsibility. That is to say, while it is necessary for the corporate manager in order to be successful to bear great responsibility, yet he is usually now more in the position of an employee than an owner. Under the partnership form the manager felt a financial responsibility and liability which he now seldom feels. He is usually employed under a large salary, and while the failure of the organization may involve him financially, yet not to the same extent as it will the great body of stockholders or bondholders, who must supply the necessary capital, and who unlike the salaried manager, get nothing in the shape of income until it is actually earned and can be drawn out of the business. It is, therefore, often the case that the corporation will be so managed as to benefit the officers and directors at the expense of the stockholders.

The foregoing situation is illustrated in many ways in modern corporate enterprise where conducted on a large scale. With corporate capitalizations running up into the billions of dollars and controlling entire industries, it is necessary to keep the control in close touch with large financial and banking interests. Thus the gigantic railroad, industrial, and public utility corporations of the U. S. are all managed from what is commonly known as "the Wall Street end." That is, the control of the companies, as represented in the boards of directors and officers, is all in the hands of the banking interests of the

country, who supply the necessary capital, combine the plants, form underwriting syndicates, float the securities, devise the plans of capitalization and stand at the forefront of the financial organizations. The boards of directors are usually chosen by the banking interests, and of course all matters of policy are either devised or approved by these same banking interests. Naturally the banking interests advocate policies which will serve to strengthen their control of the particular industries and conserve whatever special privileges the enterprises may have. The methods employed, while often of the best kind possible, do not universally result in the advantage of or even equitable treatment of the consumer.

A further result of large corporate enterprise is the necessity for the large privileged corporation to interfere with legislation. On the one hand we find a public sentiment very antagonistic to corporations generally, and on the other hand we find the corporations endeavoring, in one way or another, to influence and guide legislation. There is a reason for corporate interference with legislation which is a perfectly rational one. Inasmuch as practically all antagonistic legislation, which is favored by the public, is of the nature of attack on results and not on causes, and often, if carried through, has the vicious effect of doing harm in greater amount to the community itself than to the corporation, it is perfectly natural that the corporate managers of the country should regard the legislation as stupid, inane, and futile, and should use all means in their power to retard it. This condition of things will logically continue until people awaken to the fact that in attacking corporate forms and not special privileges, they are barking up the wrong tree.

Privileges

A word needs to be said in relation to the corporation as a field for actual investment of funds. Practically all investments, outside of those placed in real-estate bonds and mortgages, are corporation investments. There are two methods by which money is invested in corporation enterprises. These are direct and indirect. The person who places his investment directly in a specific undertaking, or through a banker or broker, is a direct investor. He personally becomes a stock- or bondholder in a corporation of his own choosing. But the man who deposits his money in a savings-bank, trust or insurance company, or state or national bank, is an indirect corporation investor. His money goes from the institution into an investment of some sort, where it earns the interest which he receives and possibly a little more. In the former case he sees his money at work; it stays presumably in the place where he put it. In the latter case he delegates the matter of actual investment—to the bank—which acts in the capacity of a trustee, and invests his money for him. And in both cases the money may easily be invested in the same enterprise. Thus, in the latter case, he may place his money in a savings-bank, and the bank may then invest it in New York Central Railroad bonds. In the former case he may himself, through an investment banker, purchase New York Central bonds. His money is in the same enterprise in both instances, the chief difference being that in one case he knows it and in the other he does not.

The growth of large corporate activity in the U. S. during the past twenty years is concisely reflected by the growth of Wall Street as a financial center. The stocks and bonds of all corporate enterprises are there dealt in in greatly increasing volume year by year, and where a generation ago the dealings in corporate securities were almost entirely confined to steam-railroad stocks and bonds, to-day they cover every conceivable form of corporate undertaking, and a great majority of the transactions in stocks and bonds, including those outside of the Stock Exchange, now represent corporate enterprises which are entirely independent of steam railroads. That this tendency will continue there seems to be little doubt, and that within the next generation all business undertakings of any size whatever will be in the hands of greatly enlarged and steadily growing corporate organizations seems to be almost certain JOHN MOODY.

CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE: In this article we consider corruption in the United States only, because, considered as a *social* factor in contradistinction from a question of individual ethics—and in this encyclopedia we are only concerned with the social aspect—corruption in commerce and government has admittedly developed in the U. S. as a social phenomenon, very much more than in any other civilized country. This is not to say that the average American business man, or even the average American legislator, is more dishonest than the average European. That is another question and would lead us far. There are many kinds of dishonesty. Hypocrisy, e. g., is not characteristic of America. Corruption in government in Europe is undoubtedly much more concealed than in the U. S., and much more common than many realize. Generalizations in morals are unsafe. Yet when all is said, corruption in commerce and government is undoubtedly carried on in the U. S. in a larger and, certainly, in a more open way than in Europe. It can, therefore, be best studied here and will cover and include almost every variety of corruption to be found anywhere, even tho some forms of corruption may be even more existent in other countries. We consider the subject under Corruption in Commerce; in Elections; in Municipalities; in Legislatures, State and National; Causes.

Corruption in Commerce

Corruption in commerce has, at least until recently, been generally considered far less frequent than corruption in governmental transactions. Many facts to-day, however, are leading people to question this view, and also to ask themselves if even the corruption in government is not largely due to the corruption of government by large and often most reputable corporate commercial interests and institutions. According to Mr. C. R. Woodruff, in his survey of municipal progress for 1904:

> The United States Fidelity and Trust Company is authority for the statement that in 1901 the banks of the country lost $1,665,109 from defalcations, and in 1902 $1,709,301, while the editor of *Midland Municipalities* is responsible for the statement that the loss of federal, county, and municipal governments from the same cause was $1,283,055 in 1901, and $1,067,789 in 1902. So that for these two years the employees and officers of banks defaulted in the amount of $1,024,569 more than did all the public officials in the country. These figures do not take into consideration all the forms of governmental corruption, but they do not all the forms of commercial corruption. They cover solely one form of dishonesty, but show that the average run of public office is as honest—yes, a little more so—than the average run of bank officers. As the editor of the *Midland Municipalities* pertinently remarks, "The fact is that neither the bankers nor the offi-

cials are as a class dishonest, but, on the contrary, look after the interests in their care much better than the average man looks after his business. With the vast sums handled each year by the officials or the banks, the amount lost in defalcations is exceptionally small, so small that when compared with the whole they are hardly worth notice, much less an excuse for general condemnation."

Defalcation, however, is but a single form and probably a minor form of commercial corruption. Bribery and adulteration of goods, the dishonest manipulation of stock, stock-watering, stock-gambling, the falsifying of accounts, the misrepresentation of values, the obtaining of "graft" (or unearned and dishonest participation in financial transactions) is much more common. For ADULTERATION OF FOOD, STOCK-WATERING, and STOCK-GAMBLING, see those subjects.

A writer in the *Independent* (Sept., 1904), who is stated to be a business man of responsibility and large experience, but who for obvious reasons does not sign his name, gives many concrete illustrations of corruption in commerce. He says:

The growth of large corporations, where the buying is separate from the ownership, where the buyer's personal interests may be worked on if he is at all susceptible to corruption or blinded if he is not very shrewd, has opened the business field for the Old World diplomacy of intrigue and corruption, and corruption flourishes there in a way that few appreciate. There is no publicity of the corruption. When the heads find it out they may remedy it, but that is all and they keep it quiet. . . . This corruption is rapidly growing.

As an instance of one form of corruption he quotes the following from a New York buyer:

"Of course I give presents, or, if you prefer to call it so, commissions and bribes. You can't do business in any other way. I'm not paid a salary of $10,000 a year to hesitate at a little check-giving, when I can't get the business otherwise. They all do it. You know the case of Brown, who bought for A. & B. (mentioning one of the largest department stores in New York City). He used to turn over to C. & D. (a prominent manufacturer of cloaks and dresses) business to the amount of $300,000 or $400,000 a year. They gave him a brown-stone house up-town in New York, where he lived for years. Every one knew it, and it is said that both A. & B. knew it at the time, but they said they did not care if Brown did get houses and money, that he had made his department pay big profits and that was what they looked at. Later on C. & D. actually made Brown one of the partners in their firm, so that he shared in their profits, and he was still the buyer for A. & B."

Later, when others had talked, he said: "I have an understanding with my house that I can draw up to $25,000 a year and no questions asked. I always carry several thousand dollars with me." And here he showed a roll of bills. "Oftentimes I meet a squeamish cuss and have to handle him with gloves. I'll get him around to my hotel in the evening and we'll have drinks and cigars served and a little game of poker; of course I always lose. Nothing is said, but I book a good-sized order before I go, and really that is one of the cheapest methods; when the man comes right out and asks for money then I usually have to pay a big price."

In Ordinary Business

Foremen in factories are often bribed to demand certain brands of goods or certain articles for use in their factories. The corruption or "graft" in real estate deals has become notorious. The use of blackmail in the lesser press of the country and of paid editorials and "fake" telegraphic reports in the larger papers is well known. The use of more or less fraudulent advertisements is almost universal. The prices put upon articles in stores has often little or no relation to the cost of production. These are but a few instances of dishonesty in ordinary commercial proceedings. Very many business men believe it is impossible to-day to conduct business with strict regard to truth.

When one comes to the larger commercial transactions, corruption is, if possible, still more prevalent. Says Mr. N. O. Nelson:

The exposures are fresh in mind of the boodlers in St. Louis and Philadelphia, of the meat packers, and the insurance officers and directors, and Wall Street financiers. Were these, like ordinary crimes, the occasional lapses of individuals, they would have little or no weight. *But the remarkable thing is that wherever the probe happens to be inserted, the same condition is found.* Everywhere, in every case, every railroad, every packer, every valuable franchise, every life-insurance company, every tax return that has been investigated, has been found lawless, perjured, brazenly rotten, when judged by either legal or moral standards. Did not the statute of limitation intervene, Mr. Folk, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Jerome, and Mr. Hitchcock could be kept busy the remainder of their days, and could every day give material for yellow head-lines. It is the yellow history that is at fault, not yellow journalism.

Corruption in Corporations

Life-insurance companies supposed to be the most reputable have been found to have altered their books overnight, to avoid the requirements of the law. The New York Life-Insurance Company was declared to have paid their "legislative agent" $416,927 during five years, besides $235,000 for which no receipt was given, and $134,000 for personal use. The president of the Metropolitan could borrow $80,000 of his and other companies at 1½ per cent. Mr. McCurdy, president of the Mutual, received a salary of $150,000 a year, and his son $30,000, besides $91,766 in commissions, while his son-in-law, Mr. Thebaud, received $147,687. (See INSURANCE.) The investigation of the Pennsylvania Railroad, considered by many one of the best managed roads in the country, showed department officials receiving large sums for granting illegal favors to certain companies. The revelations of Mr. Thomas W. Lawson in his "Frenzied Finance" have been discounted but never answered. Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, after his sensational but substantiated exposure of the Standard Oil's dishonest and corrupt methods, became convinced that he was but attacking individual cases of a uniform system, and the question arises: What great corporation's money is not tainted?

The evil has not grown in a day. As long ago as 1871 Charles Francis Adams, since himself president of a great railroad organization, wrote ("Chapters on Erie"):

The system of corporate life and corporate power, as applied to industrial development, is yet in its infancy. It tends always to development, always to consolidation; it is ever grasping new powers or insidiously exercising covert influences. Even now the system threatens the central government. . . . The belief is common in America that the day is at hand when corporations far greater than ever—swaying power such as has never in the world's history been trusted in the hands of mere private citizens, controlled by single men like Vanderbilt, or by combinations of men like Fisk, Gould, and Sage—after having created a system of quiet but irrepressible corruption, will ultimately succeed in directing government itself. . . . It is a new power for which our language contains no name. We know what aristocracy, autocracy, democracy are, but we have no word to express "government by moneyed corporations."

In 1895 Judge William J. Gaynor of the New York Supreme Court, writing to the St. Louis Mercantile Club a letter for Jefferson Day, said:

The untold millions of sham, dishonest, and oppressive paper stock and bonds now existing in this country, issued generally upon rights and privileges conferred by law gratuitously, and to pay dividends and interest upon which it is proposed to sap agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, mercantile, professional, and all other honest industry, may well be the subject of grave thought by those who meet to recur to and keep alive principles which are wholly antagonistic to such a condition, and which cannot be said to be paramount while such a condition exists.

In 1904, Supreme Justice David J. Brewer, addressing the Albany Law School, June 1, said:

To-day's great temptation to the lawyer as a lawmaker comes from the marvelous development of corporate interests. The corporations themselves are colossal in size, alluring by

the magnitude of their achievements, tempting not merely by the money they possess and with which they can reward, but more by the influence they can exert in favor of the individual lawmaker in the furtherance of his personal advancement. No one can be blind to the fact that these mighty corporations are holding out most tempting inducements to the lawmaker to regard in lawmaking their interests rather than the welfare of the nation. Senators and representatives have owed their places to corporate influence, and that influence has been exerted under an expectation, if not an understanding, that by them as lawmakers the corporate interests shall be subserved. I am not here to deny the value of corporations. I realize the magnitude of the work that is possible through such combinations, and I do not deny their right to be heard before any legislative body in defense of their rights or in furtherance of their interests. But the danger lies in the fact that they are so powerful and that the pressure of so much power upon the individual lawmaker tempts him to forget the nation and remember the corporation. And the danger is greater because it is insidious. There may be no written agreement. There may be in fact no agreement at all and yet when the lawmaker understands that the power exists which may make for his advancement or otherwise, that it will be exerted according to the pliancy with which he yields to its solicitations, it lifts the corporation into a position of constant danger and menace to republican institutions. I do not mean to insinuate that all legislators are influenced thereby. On the contrary, I know there are many and I trust they are a large majority who stand in the full integrity of their being, acting always in accordance with their judgment of the best interests of the nation; but within the limits of our profession, as elsewhere in the world, are many weak characters who, while they might not deliberately do a dishonest thing or deliberately prove false to an oath or obligation, yet yield to the pressure of corporate interests, deluding themselves with the idea that those interests are synonymous with the interests of the nation.

Justice Brewer

As example of very recent commercial corruption we quote from a public letter of Mr. R. R. Bowker (until recently manager of the Edison Electric Company), addrest to Governor Hughes. Speaking of his company he says:

There was the prospect of a condition under which the company could reduce the rate to one half of what it formerly had been and yet could pay a 10 per cent dividend. In the mean time, by semipolitical movements, Mr. Anthony N. Brady, with ex-Mayor Grant and a well-known trust company, had organized a company, bought the franchises of a petty lighting organization, and made a deal "with the late W. C. Whitney, then in control of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, for the supply of its 'surplus electricity,'" tho the Metropolitan Company had need for all its electricity. Thereupon the hint came from a director common to both the Metropolitan and Edison companies that the sale of the Edison Company would be wise. Deterred from opposition by the fear of the political power of Mr. Whitney and others, the directors acceded. Mr. Bowker had to choose between opposing the deal and getting the best possible price for the stockholders. He himself sacrificed the opportunity to dispose of his own stock at a high price. The company was greatly overcapitalized by an excessive issue of bonds, which were marketed, if not illegally, at least by a palpable evasion of the law. The order reducing the rates was rescinded. In the midst of these transactions there was a "Wall Street whirl," and a financial battle between the various interests contending for the lighting monopoly and its vast profits. Finally, peace was made by consolidation; the Brady-Whitney interests were absorbed and were represented on the gas board. The final result has been that the Consolidated Gas Company is now entire master of the gas and electric lighting of New York City, both public and private. Mr. Bowker says that since the consolidation he believes that the management has dealt fairly with the public. "But the facts remain," he adds, "that it was, and is still, possible to juggle with great properties in the most unscrupulous manner, and that the consumer is required to pay a price that will produce earnings on three times the capitalization needed by the industry." —*The Outlook*, May 4, 1907.

New York Gas Monopoly

As a sample of management of railroad corporations we quote from the *Independent* of May, 1907, as to the Chicago & Alton Railroad:

A syndicate composed of Mr. Harriman, Mortimer L. Schiff, James Stillman, and George J. Gould bought nearly all the stock of the company. Within six years, under their management, the capital stock was increased from $40,000,000 to $122,800,000, altho only $22,000,000 was spent for improvements. Large quantities of bonds issued by the syndicate were virtually sold to the syndicate at sixty-five and then marketed at from ninety to ninety-six, a considerable part being taken by the great life-insurance companies. The controlling owners also declared and paid to themselves a dividend of 30 per cent. The profits of these transactions appear to have exceeded $24,000,000. In due time 103,000 shares of the Alton stock were sold to the Union Pacific. The testimony showed that heavy commissions, amounting to several millions, had been paid to the affiliated banking-house for its services in handling securities.

Corruption in Elections

The corrupt use of money in elections is almost as old as elections themselves. Such corruption in Great Britain, where it was once rampant, as well as in Canada and on the Continent of Europe, has been checked by efficient CORRUPT PRACTISES LAWS. But in the United States, tho perhaps now less openly than formerly, corruption still exists very widely spread, while the amounts of money spent in elections have generally risen.

A series of articles by Mr. John G. Speed in *Harper's Weekly* (1905), and mainly based on studies of conditions in the last presidential election, shows the evil as great as ever. In industrial states like New Jersey and Connecticut, with portions of New York, he finds that 25 per cent of the vote was bought. In states surely Republican or surely Democratic less sums are spent, but in close states like Indiana he estimates that both parties spent in that election $600,000. The retiring governor of that state, Colonel Durbin, declared that the revelations of corruption were "astounding." Smaller states, like Rhode Island, are "pocket boroughs" owned by party bosses. In Maryland he estimates that $200,000 was spent and a similar amount in West Virginia. In Montana, in the investigation for corruption which deprived Senator Clark of his senatorial seat in 1899 (tho he has been elected since), it was shown that as high as $50 was paid for an ordinary vote and for a vote in the legislature $1,000. In New York City in close wards, as high as $10 or even $25 is paid for votes. Ordinary prices are exprest by the saying "$2 for a negro vote, $2.50 for a dago, $3 for an American." A presidential election in New York City is said to mean the expenditure of $574,000 dishonestly and nearly as much more for legitimate expenses. In each of the last two mayoralty campaigns in New York City over $800,000 was spent. These expenses are largely levied by the party machines upon the candidates and are contributed to even more by the corporations which expect and demand therefor the granting of franchises, favorable legislation, exemption from unfavorable legislation, or reductions in taxation, etc. Senator Platt testified that an insurance company like the Equitable usually gave $10,000 a year to his machine as its ordinary political assessment, and more if it expected unusual favors. A small railroad paid Tammany $50,000 for certain favors. Candidates are assessed at a fixt ratio upon value of their offices. For Supreme Court judgeships $50,000 and even $100,000 has been paid. The system is not new.

Corrupt Voters

The president of the Sugar Trust, before a special committee of the United States Senate, testified that this "politics of business" was the custom of "every individual and corporation and firm, trust or whatever you like to call it" (Senate Report No. 485, Fifty-third Congress, second session, June 21, 1894). Asked if he contributed to state campaign funds, said: "We always do

that. . . . In the State of New York, when the Democrat majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it their way. In the State of Massachusetts, when the Republican Party is doubtful, they probably have the call. Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls local matters" (Supplemental Report of Senator W. V. Allen of the Senate Special Committee (ordered May 17, 1894) to investigate alleged attempts at bribery by the Sugar Trust).

The handling of election money has been reduced to a system. Professor Jenks, investigating the system in 1892 (and the main methods have not changed), says:

> Doubtful voters will not be divided carelessly into "blocks of five, and each block put into the hands of a trusty man," but each doubtful voter, being known, with his habits, his work, his associates, is considered individually. If he is one whose vote can be affected by honest persuasion, the man in the party who would be likely to have most influence with him is selected to work with him, and to influence his vote by fair means, if possible. If he is a man whose vote must be purchased, he is assigned to the worker who can purchase him to the best advantage. If the number of "floaters" or "commercials" as they are variously called, is relatively large to the number of workers, it may well be that they will have to be purchased in blocks of fives or blocks of tens; or, again, owing to social reasons, they at times can best be bought in groups or clubs, or traded; but in all cases where the best work is done, each individual "floater," whether bought singly or as one of a group, is looked after personally by the man best competent to handle him.

For electoral corruption in New York City, see TAMMANY. To Philadelphia, however, is usually given the palm of the worst electoral corruption, tho in Western cities like Denver ballot-box stuffing has perhaps been more open. Philadelphia, however, with 47 per cent of its citizens native born, and the so-called "city of homes" has had at least more persistent ring-rule than any other. Its "machine" has been the most daring. A report of the Municipal League says:

Philadelphia

> The assessor of a division kept a disorderly house; he padded his (voting) lists with fraudulent names registered from his house; two of these names were used by election officers. . . . The constable of a division kept a disreputable house; a policeman was assessed as living there. . . . The election was held in the disorderly house maintained by the assessor. . . . The man named as judge had a criminal charge for a life offense pending against him. Two hundred and fifty-two votes were returned in a division that had less than 100 legal votes.

The assessor pads his list, it is said, with the names of dead dogs, children, and non-existent persons. Repeating is done brazenly and most openly. The officers of the league have published a booklet of cases of policemen helping to beat off citizens and election officers trying to do their duty. Thousands of voters have stayed away from the polls declaring it was no use to vote, but have been recorded as voting for the machine.

It is not, however, only a question of the city. Says Professor Jenks (*Century Magazine*, Oct., 1902): "The probability is that, all things considered, in such a state as New York the farmers are as corrupt as the residents of the cities."

Municipal Corruption

Among the best studies of municipal corruption in the U. S. have been the articles in *McClure's Magazine* by Mr. Lincoln Steffens and republished as "The Shame of the Cities" (1904) and "The Struggle for Self-Government" (1906). From these articles we condense the following statements:

St. Louis

St. Louis' municipal corruption, tho long known locally, came to general attention through the fearless exposures by Mr. (now Governor) Joseph W. Folk, as circuit attorney. He showed how Charles H. Turner, the millionaire president of the Suburban Railway, used $135,000 to buy the (municipal) House of Delegates; how one member of the House of Delegates made $25,000 per year; how a councilman was paid $50,000 for a vote on a single measure; how a franchise bill was carried over the mayor's veto by the expenditure of nearly $300,000, and then within a year sold to Eastern capitalists for $1,250,000. Out of this deal grew the St. Louis Transit Company. Mr. Steffens shows how even after conviction many of the boodlers felt so secure as to go right on with their corruption. "In the House of Delegates sit, under sentence, as follows: Charles F. Kelly, two years; Charles J. Deeny, three years and five years; Henry A. Faulkner, two years; E. E. Murrell, state's witness, but not tried. Nay, this house with such a membership had the audacity to pass an appropriation to enable Mr. Folk to go on with his investigation." Finally, Mr. Folk reached Colonel Edward R. Butler, the "boss" of the whole system of corruption, and unearthed his methods. Mr. Steffens tells us how this Colonel Butler, an Irishman by birth and a horseshoer by trade, wearing his apron in the '70's, became first the boss of his ward, then got the city railways to buy a certain patent horseshoe, and, making money, developed into the boss of his party, at times almost openly marching up repeaters to vote his party ticket. He next worked through both parties and made boodling his profession. He sold franchises and privileges at regular prices. It was alleged at the trials that every transportation and public convenience company that touches St. Louis had dealings with Butler's combine. Some paid him a regular salary, others a fee; others an interest in their concessions. Tho he "sometimes could rent or own the mayor, he preferred to be independent of him, so he formed in each part of the legislature a two thirds majority—in the Council nine, in the House nineteen—which could pass bills over a veto. These were the 'combines.' They were regularly organized and did business under parliamentary rules." Choosing their chairman they would meet and decide for how much they would enact certain bills or grant franchises. Butler got the most and became a millionaire two or three times over. Dissensions, however, arose as to the division of the plunder. Cliques arose which had to hire "trailers" to follow their agents, while Butler had to hire men to betray these. All decency was gone. Nevertheless, boodling was good business and boodlers from St. Louis would visit Chicago, Cleveland, and Pittsburg, to learn what new forms of graft had been invented, while boodlers from those cities would visit St. Louis. Every bit of city property was sold or offered for sale for graft. A St. Louis banker estimated that the combines sold (gave away so far as the city was concerned) $50,000,000 of franchises or assets. Mr. Folk, however, finally got evidence against Colonel Butler through a division in the ring. The men skipt to Europe and elsewhere to avoid indictment and giving evidence. Butler was convicted, but went on with his corruption; his son was nominated for Congress, and the Supreme Court of Missouri reversed the judgment, as indeed it did gradually with all the boodle cases. The municipal corruption was shown to involve state corruption, and also the leading citizens and practically every large corporation in St. Louis. Mr. Steffens names the St. Louis Transit Company, first and foremost, the Western Union Telegraph Company, the Missouri Pacific Railroad, the St. Louis & San Francisco, the Iron Mountain & Southern, the Sugar Refining Company, the American Book Company, the Royal Baking Powder Company, among others. Through the confession of Governor Lee, who was trapped, U. S. Senators like William J. Stone, and the highest officials were involved. The result has been to some extent the purification of the state, the election of Mr. Folk as Governor, a municipal administration mainly honest. But the criminals have been let off, what convictions were made have been reversed, and the end is not yet.

Colonel Butler

Corporations

Minneapolis

Municipal corruption in Minneapolis, according to Mr. Steffens, has taken mainly the form of the corruption of the police in connivance with the mayor, "Doc Ames" being the leading corruptionist. Albert A. Ames, an M.D. before he was twenty-one and of good Puritan stock, began his professional life by being free and easy and popular with all, rich and poor, the evil and the good. Drifting into politics, he gained several offices, and then was elected mayor, once as a Republican, and later twice as a Democrat. He broke with his own family in a disgraceful way, but was again elected mayor (1901) and began a career of deliberate and shameless corruption. He organized a city government of thieves, gamblers, confidence

men, to work under police direction; for the profit of his administration. His agent systematically collected graft from gambling-dens, thieves, and houses of prostitution. The owner of a house of evil repute was captain of police with "no duties except to sell places on the police force." Laws were passed forbidding vice and then vice was permitted for a consideration. Pedlers and pawnbrokers had to pay graft. Ames declared that the police collected too much from the houses of ill-fame and ordered that they collect only every other month, it being discovered later that his private agent collected the alternate months. All this was more or less known in the city, but little effective work was done till 1902, when an effort led by Hovey C. Clarke finally broke up the corrupt ring, many of the ring, however, escaping by flight, Mayor Ames, himself under indictment and heavy bonds for extortion, flying by night out of the state.

Pittsburg

Corruption in Pittsburg, Mr. Steffens tells us, has centered around its local boss, Christopher L. Magee, an American, made, thro private pull, cashier of the city when he was twenty-one. Says Mr. Steffens: "The railroads began the corruption of the city. . . . The municipality issued bonds to help the infant railroads to develop the city, and, as in so many American cities, the roads repudiated the debt and interest and went into politics. The Pennsylvania Railroad was in the system from the start, and as the other roads came in and found the city government bought up by those before them, they purchased their rights of way by outbribing the older roads, then joined the ring to acquire more rights for themselves and to keep belated rivals out. As corporations multiplied and capital branched out corruption increased." It was under this situation that Magee got his power. A man of great natural popularity, and working with William Flinn, a Protestant of Catholic stock, he spent months in New York studying Tammany's methods, and then returned and organized Pittsburg. Magee worked for fame, Flinn for wealth. Getting the control of his party (Democratic) in the city and then in the county and working with Republicans when necessary, he cemented his power by favors to corporations and individuals. There

The Ring

were ring banks, ring trust companies, ring brokers. The Pennsylvania Railroad stood in with the ring and the city interests were sacrificed to give it exclusive freight traffic. But Magee needed state power; so he stood in with Matthew S. Quay and Quay with him. Magee was elected state senator, being nominated by both parties and elected unanimously. Pittsburg was turned over to Quay by Magee and Flinn. There was graft, of franchises, public contracts, vice, and public funds. Magee and Flinn mainly working in the two first ways, tho the vice graft alone was valued at $250,000. Magee got the Councils to give him railroads and he capitalized them for $30,000,000. Finally the Municipal League commenced a fight to beat the ring in the election of 1896. A paper read by Mr. McClintock before the Municipal League said: "We found that prominent merchants and contractors who were 'on the inside,' manufacturers enjoying special municipal privileges, wealthy capitalists, brokers, and others, who were holders of the securities of traction and other companies, had their mouths stopped, their convictions of duty strangled, and their influence before, and votes on, election day preempted against us. In still another direction we found that the financial and political support of the great steam railroads and largest manufacturing corporations, controlling as far as they were able the suffrages of their thousands of employees, were thrown against us, for the simple reason, as was frankly explained by one of them, that it was much easier to deal with a boss in promoting their corporate interests than to deal directly with the people's representatives in the municipal legislature. . . . As one of them put it, 'If you want to be anybody or make money in Pittsburg, it is necessary to be in the political swim and on the side of the city ring.'" On the night of the election, the returns up to one o'clock in the morning showed George W. Guthrie, the reform candidate, far ahead. Then all returns suddenly ceased and a few days later the ring's candidate was officially declared elected. An appeal to the court for a recount was denied.

The Pittsburgers then tried for a new charter from the state legislature, giving the citizens control of the city. Quay promised to have it passed. But Quay wanted to be elected to the U. S. Senate. The ring supported him. He was elected and Pittsburg did not get its charter. In 1902 a reform movement won the election; Magee died; but a new boss was discovered to have gained the power.

Philadelphia

Some of Philadelphia's electoral methods we have seen above. Says Mr. Steffens of Philadelphia's corruption: "There is nothing like it in the country except possibly in Cincinnati."

In 1885 the citizens revolted and adopted a good charter, with the Bullitt law which went into effect in 1887, giving the mayor vast powers and believing that electing an honest mayor would secure a good administration. Since then things have been as bad as before. According to Mr. Steffens, the machine is not merely municipal, but state and national. All the power of the Republican Party and Republican city, state, and national patronage is made use of to keep it in power, with Senator Quay and his successor, Senator Penrose, at the head of all. Mr. Quay at times used the reform law to keep in check certain local bosses, as when he put down Boss McManus and put Dave Martin in his place, but the people got no benefit. Martin took away much of the loot from the ordinary ward heelers and party office-holders and gave it to a firm which he stood in with, Filbert & Porter. They got almost any contract they desired, with the appearance of legality, as their bid was always considered "lowest and best." Martin had under pay in office at least 15,000 men and women, each capable of delivering many votes. In with Mr. Quay stood—according to Mr. Steffens—the Standard Oil Company, Cramps' Shipyard, the Steel companies, with the Pennsylvania Railroad at their head, and other public utility companies following after. They got franchises, privileges, exemptions, and Martin's bosses could get his workers jobs from these companies as in a city department. Martin, however, finally fought Quay, and Quay put Israel W. Durham in his place. Martin nearly got Quay in prison. John S. Hopkins, cashier

State Ring

of the People's Bank, had let Quay and others have bank funds without collateral, Quay and the state treasurer leaving heavy state deposits with the bank. Quay, his son, and the state treasurer were indicted for conspiracy, but Quay got every kind of stay and postponement, till Judge Biddell ruled out the essential evidence on the ground of the statute of limitation. Mr. Wanamaker then, defeated in getting the second U. S. senatorship, fought Mr. Quay, but was defeated at every point, Mr. Quay naming Penrose as his successor and Penrose and Durham electing Samuel H. Ashbridge—"Star and Stripes Sam"—as Mayor of Philadelphia. Durham widened his ring, taking in James P. McNichol as preferred contractor and John M. Mack as promoter and financier. The Municipal League said of Ashbridge's administration: "Never before, and let us hope never again, will there be such brazen defiance of public opinion, such flagrant disregard of public interest, such abuse of powers and responsibilities for private ends." Corruption spread through every department. Teachers and principals had to have a pull to get appointment and were assessed "2 per cent" on their salaries for political purposes. Widener and Elkins, "the national franchise buyers," were in the ring. They had combined all the street railways of the city before 1900. Having got all they wanted from the ring they wanted to retire. But while they were on the ocean bound for Europe, the ring went to the legislature with two bills granting a charter for practically all the streets and alleys in Philadelphia not already covered by tracks (so as to be able to threaten Widener and Elkins with competing street-car lines and so blackmail them). The bills were introduced without notice at 3 P.M., May 29th, and were reported from the committee in five minutes; at 8.50 P.M. they were printed and on the members' desks and by 9 P.M. were passed on first reading. The next day they passed second reading, and the following day they were passed through the Senate with more trickery, and in six legislative days were signed, June 7th, at midnight in the presence of Senators Quay and Penrose, James P. McNichol, John M. Mack, and other capitalists and politicians of the ring. The next morning 100 charters were applied for under the law—thirteen of them for Philadelphia. A special meeting of the Philadelphia Select Council was called; a brief hearing was heard, but the charters were sent to Mayor Ashbridge to sign June 13th. The mayor's secretary promised authoritatively that he would not sign them that day. But Mr. John Wanamaker sent the mayor an offer of $2,500,000 for the franchises about to be given for nothing, and deposited $250,000 as guarantee of good faith. Mr. Ashbridge therefore threw the letter aside unread and signed the franchises before midnight.

The ring put through two more bills and then compelled Widener and Elkins to lease their lines to the new company representing the ring. The leaders of the ring were cartooned and so Durham, Quay, and Governor Pennypacker passed a libel law meant to muzzle the press. Mr. Weaver, a former notorious ring leader, suddenly broke with the ring and was elected as a reform mayor. For more recent developments, see Philadelphia.

New York

Of corruption in New York Mr. Steffens writes:

"Tammany is the embodiment of corruption. All the world knows and all the world may know what it is, and what it is after. For hypocrisy is not a Tammany vice. Tammany is for Tammany and the Tammany men say so. . . . Richard Croker said under oath once that he worked for his own pockets all the time. . . . The items are so incredible that I hesitate to print them. Devery told a friend once that in one year the police graft was 'something over $3,000,000.' Afterward the syndicate which divided the graft under Devery took in for thirty-six months $400,000 a month from gambling- and pool-rooms alone. . . . Yet this was but one department and a department that was overlooked by Tammany for years. . . . Tammany when in control of New York takes out of the city unbelievable millions of dollars a year. . . . The Tammany clique of financiers have knocked

down and bought up at low prices Manhattan Railway stock by threats of the city's power over the road; they have been let in on Metropolitan deals and on the Third Avenue Railroad grab; the Ice Trust is a Tammany trust; they have banks and trust companies, and through the New York Realty Company are forcing alliances with such financial groups as that of the Standard Oil Company. Croker shared in these deals and businesses. He sold judgeships, taking his pay in the form of contributions to the Tammany campaign fund, of which he was treasurer, and he had the judges take from the regular real estate exchange all the enormous real estate business that passed through the courts and give it to an exchange connected with the real estate business of his firm, Peter F. Meyer & Co. This alone would maintain a ducal estate in England. But his real estate business was greater than that. . . . Some of the richest graft in the city is in the Department of Buildings; $100,000,000 a year goes into building operations in New York. . . . Architects and brokers had to stand in with the department. . . . The Dock Board has exclusive and private and secret control of the expenditure of $10,000,000 a year. . . . It is very large graft and the new Tammany leader, Charles Murphy, had it. . . . Tammany leaders are usually the natural leaders of the people. . . . Their charity is real at first. But they sell out their own people. They do give them coal and help them in their private troubles, but as they grow rich and powerful, the kindness goes out of the charity and they not only collect at their saloons or in rents—cash for their 'goodness'; they not only ruin fathers and sons and cause the troubles they relieve; they sacrifice the children in the schools; let the Health Department neglect the tenements, and, worst of all, plant vice in the neighborhood and in the homes of the poor. . . . The police grafters, for example, in Devery's day, were not content with the amounts collected from the big vices. They cultivated minor vices, like policy, to such an extent that the policy king was caught and sent to prison, and Devery's wardman, Glennon, was pushed into so tight a hole that there was danger that District-Attorney Jerome would get past Glennon to Devery and the syndicate. The murder of a witness the night he was in the Tenderloin police station served to save the day. But, worst of all, Tammany, the 'friend of the people,' permitted the organization of a band of so-called cadets, who made a business, under the protection of the police, of ruining the daughters of the tenements, and even of catching and imprisoning in disorderly houses the wives of poor men. This horrid traffic never was exposed. It could not and cannot be. Vicious women were 'planted' in tenement-houses (I know this personally), the children of decent parents counted the customers, witnessed their transactions with these creatures, and, as a father told with shame and tears, reported totals at the family table." (See New York; also Tammany.)

Tammany's Graft

San Francisco

For San Francisco, we quote from *The World's Work*, May, 1907:

"The people of San Francisco have suffered overmuch. But the earthquake and the fire are not the greatest of their calamities. . . . After the ruin of April, 1906, a venal city government, the tool of a corrupt and corrupting city boss, sold the public privileges of the city for ridiculous prices upon payment to the supervisors of graft fees ranging from $500 to $15,000 a vote. The street-railway company bought the privilege of running an overhead trolley line from "Abe" Ruef, the chief grafter, instead of buying it from the city for what it was worth. The telephone monopoly entrenched itself by similar means. Citizens otherwise reputable chased smaller private ends through the same paths of graft. In all, something more than $1,000,000 seems to have been collected into Ruef's corruption fund, and much of it stuck to his fingers. Enough passed on, however, to purchase the desired favors from the city powers.

San Francisco was used to the kind of graft disclosed in the earlier part of the investigation. The purchase of immunity by vice had been known for years, and was common to many cities. But the graft in high places, the spread of the taint to "good people," and the enormous bulk of the corrupting influences raise San Francisco to a solitary eminence of shame. . . .

The fact that the graft had been accepted by labor politicians is not especially significant. The significant fact is that the graft was offered by men of every political complexion, and especially by some of those highest in the city's business life.

To some extent the honor of the city has been redeemed by the conviction of Ruef and Mayor Schmitz, "the Labor Mayor." But the great corporations who made use of these men and to whom Ruef himself was largely only a tool are left in the main intact.

Chicago

Chicago's corruption has never been so well organized as in other cities. Says Mr. Steffens: "The city was once pretty solid black. Criminally it was wide open; commercially it was brazen; socially it was thoughtless and raw; it was a settlement of individuals and groups and interests with no common city sense and no political conscience. Everybody was for himself; none was for Chicago. There were political parties, but the organizations were controlled by rings, which in turn were parts of state rings, which in turn were backed and used by leading business interests, through which this corrupt and corrupting system reached with its ramifications far and high and low into the social organization. The grafting was miscellaneous and very general, but the most of the corruption was that which centered in the city council. It never was well organized and orderly. The aldermen had 'combines,' leaders, and prices, but, a lot of good-natured thieves, they . . . were so unbusinesslike that business now went into the city council to reduce the festival of blackmail to decent and systematic bribery. These men helped matters some, but the happy-go-lucky spirit persisted, until the advent of Charles T. Yerkes from Philadelphia, who, with his large experience of Pennsylvania methods, first made boodling a serious business." Then the city rose through a few shrewd men in the Municipal League and began to elect honest aldermen. (See Chicago.)

But in spite of many successes by the Municipal League, terrible corruption still remains. Mr. George K. Turner, in *McClure's Magazine*, April, 1907, shows that the revenue of the dealers in dissipation in Chicago totals at least $135,000,000 and directly employs more than 40,000 persons, and that every dollar of this sum, and every person it employs, is and must be in politics. The dealers recognized by law, brewers, wholesale and retail liquor dealers, have to be in politics to protect their interests from the anti-liquor legislation continually threatened by legislative blackmailers and by temperance reformers. The illegal dealers, in prostitution and gambling and criminal saloons, have still more need to be in politics to be able to break law with security. With this disrespectable element in politics work for other reasons, many "respectable" interests. He says:

It is the custom to call the tribute of illegal establishments to the police of great cities blackmail. This term is neither comprehensive nor accurate. The operation is merely one phase in the working out of the business of a great financial and political organization. Inroads have been made and will be made upon the influence of this organization by attacks on particular powers—as has been done in Chicago. Such attacks will probably not achieve final results.

The fact is that under present conditions the financial interests of dissipation have more direct representation in the administration of the city government than the will of the people. In Chicago the dealer in vice reaches directly through the ward and county organizations into the police department. The citizen at large must act through a mayor politically indebted to the ward organization, who hands over bodily the function of enforcing the law—concerning which he himself is and must be to a large extent ignorant—to a political appointee at the head of the police department.

Vice in Politics

Mr. Turner gives details. He says:

It would be difficult to estimate the cash payment which must be made every year by the interests of dissipation, for the privilege of breaking the law. So many people receive the money, so many give it out. There is such a variation from time to time. However, there cannot be less than $500,000 a year paid out now. There is probably much more. Prostitution pays at least $250,000; the remainder is largely paid by gambling.

In two down-town wards of Chicago—the First and the Eighteenth—are situated five sixths of the criminal saloons and of the dealers in prostitution, and at least two thirds of the gambling interests. It is not surprizing therefore that the bosses of Wards One and Eighteen in Chicago are remarkable figures and wealthy men.

Considering both worlds—the upper and the under—the bosses of the First Ward in Chicago are the most widely known men in political life, which that city has ever produced. "Hinky-Dink" (Michael Kenna), the older, ex-bootblack and newsboy, is the keeper of the greatest tramps' saloon on the continent. He is a wise, silent, dapper little man of about fifty; straight as a die in his personal relations; a virtuoso in the English language. When he speaks in anger, his words leave scars. "Bath-house John" (John J. Coughlin)—a large, pompous, poetic temperament—rose from the work of a rubber in a Turkish bath-house to his present occupation as insurance broker and active ward boss. He dresses like a bartender's dream of Beau Brummel, a bottle-green dress suit being his highest sartorial achievement; he also hires a man

to write poetry for him, to appear under his name. The rulers of the Eighteenth Ward have been less successful. John J. Brennan, the older—a gruff, husky, generous old saloon-keeper, adored by his ward—has, in fact, served a term in the House of Correction for the clumsy buying of votes. His health has failed since that experience. He has now the appearance of a broken-down prize-fighter. The junior boss, M. C. Conlon, was formerly a keeper of an unsavory saloon near the Union Station, and is now interested as a silent partner in various enterprises for the sale of dissipation.

These four men have the absolute power of political dictators in Wards One and Eighteen. As political agents of the business interests of dissipation, they have unlimited funds. They operate throughout the year a finely organized business for the handling of votes. The main aims of this business are two: first, the control of the ward; second, and vastly more important, the production of a Democratic majority so large that they can secure from the city administration the right for the business interests they represent to break the law in their wards.

Boston

Boston is believed by many to have had at times at least, corruption and ring rule equal to any city of her size. Mr. Thos. Lawson, whose articles in *Everybody's* (1904) have not been considered the sanest, yet whose statements have been more scoffed at than answered, says of one period of corruption: that the arch-corrupter was Henry M. Whitney, president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce and brother of the late William C. Whitney; and that, in comparison with the Whitney machine, "an average 'Tammany gang,' a 'Chicago combine,' or a 'St. Louis syndicate' would look like a broken-down snow-plow in August." Mr. Lawson goes to the extent of specifying the particular rooms in Young's hotel where the Whitney machine received the legislators, drove its bargains, and paid its bribes; and relates in detail Whitney's vain attempt in 1896 to buy a two thirds vote to override a veto —vain because he could not meet the legislators' demand for cash in advance. He says: "Of the year in which he writes (1904) the Massachusetts legislature is bought and sold as are sausages and fish at the markets and wharves; the largest, wealthiest, and most prominent corporations in New England, whose affairs are conducted by our most representative citizens, habitually corrupt the Massachusetts legislature, and the man of wealth among them who would enter protest against the iniquity would be looked on as a 'class anarchist.'"

Mr. Lawson asserts that any one who would investigate the legislature and municipal life of Boston would find more corruption than in any other civilized community in the world. How far these broad accusations can be proved is uncertain. What is certain is that thus far they have not been disproved.

Smaller Towns

In many of the smaller towns corruption is proportionally as marked an evil as in the larger. Nor is it new.

Says Mr. James Bryce ("American Commonwealth," vol. i., p. 608):

There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the U. S. The deficiencies of the national government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the state governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which mark the administrations of most of the great cities. For these evils are not confined to one or two cities. The commonest mistake of Europeans who talk about America is to assume that the political vices of New York are found everywhere. The next most common is to suppose that they are found nowhere else. In New York they have revealed themselves on the largest scale. They are "gross as a mountain, open, palpable." But there is not a city with a population exceeding 200,000 where the poison germs have not sprung into a vigorous life; and in some of the smaller ones, down to 70,000 it needs no microscope to note the results of their growth.

Says Mr. Andrew D. White (*The Forum*, Dec., 1890):

Municipal Corruption

Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the U. S. are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt. The city halls of these larger towns are the acknowledged centers of the vilest corruption. They are absolutely demoralizing, not merely to those who live under their sway, but to the country at large. Such cities, like the decaying spots on ripe fruit, tend to corrupt the whole body politic. As a rule, the men who sit in the councils of our larger cities dispensing comfort or discomfort, justice or injustice, beauty or deformity, health or disease, to this and to future generations, are men who in no other country would think of aspiring to such positions. Some of them, indeed, would think themselves lucky in keeping outside the prisons. . . . Few have gained their positions by fitness or by public service; many have gained them by scoundrelism; some by crime. . . . It has been my lot also to have much to do with two interior American cities of less size—one of about 100,000 inhabitants, the other of about 12,000. In the former of these, I saw a franchise for which $1,000,000 could easily have been obtained, given away by the common council. I saw a body of the most honored men in the state go before that council to plead for ordinary justice and decency. I saw the chief judge of the highest court of the state, one of his associate judges, a circuit judge of the U. S., an honored member of Congress, two bishops, the president and professors of a university, and a great body of respected citizens urge this common council not to allow a railway corporation to block up the entrance to the ward in which the petitioners lived, and to occupy the main streets of the city. They asked that, if it were allowed to do so, it might be required, in the interest of human life, either to raise its tracks above the streets or to protect the citizens by watchmen and gateways, and to pay a fair sum for the privilege of cutting through the heart of a populous city. All was utterly in vain. I saw that common council, by an almost unanimous vote, pass a bill giving away to this great corporation all this franchise for nothing, so far as the public knew, and without even a requirement to protect the crossings of the most important streets; and I soon afterward stood by the mutilated body of one of the noblest of women, beheaded at one of these unprotected street crossings while on an errand of mercy. So, too, in the smaller of these two interior cities, while the sewerage and the streets were in such bad condition as to demand the immediate attention of the common council, I saw the consideration of these interests neglected for months, and the main attention of the council given to a struggle over the appointment of a cemetery-keeper at a salary of $10 a week.

Legislative Corruption

Considering first state legislatures, the relation between the city and state political machines is, in most states, so intimate that there is probably little to choose in purity between the city council and the state legislature. The state legislature because of its greater prestige undoubtedly attracts a considerably stronger and to a less extent a better class of men, but on the other hand the greater value of the franchises and legislative bills at the disposal of the legislature compared with those at the disposal of most city councils undoubtedly works to draw to it much larger corruption funds, a more persistent lobby, and consequently the most daring and effective corrupt politicians, and especially the tools of the most corrupt rings. The corruption of the legislatures of Missouri, Minnesota, Illinois, Pennsylvania have been shown in connection with municipal corruption. The corruption of the legislatures of states largely under the dominance of one or more railroads, like New Hampshire and California, is notorious. The old joke about the legislature of Pennsylvania only adjourning when the Pennsylvania Railroad has no more business for it to transact has still point. New Jersey has been called "a traitor state" because of its legislature's notorious subservience to corporate influence. The facts, however, as to the corruption of state legislatures have been sufficiently shown in connection with municipal corruption.

Concerning Congress, Mr. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," comes to the conclusion that all legislation affecting corporations and manufactures is systematically managed or at least influenced by corruption, that about 5 per cent of both houses of Congress take direct money bribes, that from 17 to 20 per cent are pretty certainly open to corruption and a much larger number suspected to be dishonest. It is doubtful if the situation has very much changed since. Recent agitation and a growing public condemnation of the evil have undoubtedly increased the number of honest congressmen, but recent revelations of the complications of congressmen in

land-steals and various other forms of graft have shown that the evil is very widely spread. As to the form of the corruption Mr. Hudson ("Railways and the Republic," 1886) says:

The Huntington letters, published last year, throw new light on corporate lobbying in Congress. Here in the confidence of private correspondence, we learn from the railway kings how some statesmen serve the corporations under the pretense of opposing them; how editorial opinions in leading journals are a good investment for the corporation fund; how unsuspected lobby agents are set to work, apparently without concert, but under secret orders from one head; how, in short, the unlimited resources of great corporations employ all that is unscrupulous, wily, disreputable, and dangerous in politics to attack members in their weak points, to flatter, bribe, and control them so that they must support the corporations. . . .

A remarkable series of articles by David Graham Phillips, appearing in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* in 1906, entitled "The Treason of the Senate," makes very general and daring assertions, but accompanied by very detailed and concrete evidence.

Senators

Of the two senators from New York, Platt's record he calls "an unbroken record of treachery to the people in legislation, of privilege and plunder promoted and indecent legislation permitted." Mr. Depew is "the sleek, self-satisfied American opportunist in politics and plunder." He estimates that Depew's joviality and popularity have cost the American people at least $1,000,000,000. The Republican right arm of the corporation control of the Senate, in defeating legislation in the interest of the people, and enacting legislation for "the interests," he considers to be Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, the Democratic left arm, formerly Gorman of Maryland. He says: "Whoever may be for appearance sake in charge of the Republican machine, Aldrich is really in charge. Whoever may be nominally at the head of the Democratic machine, Gorman is really there. Aldrich and Gorman are as the thumb and the forefinger to a skilful hand." The tariff bill of 1894, which President Cleveland called "party perfidy and party dishonor," was a Gorman-Aldrich bill. The sugar scandal bill which presented $20,000,000 a year to the Sugar Trust, he lays largely at Gorman's door. Senator Spooner of Wisconsin Mr. Phillips considered to be the crafty spokesman of the interests, who openly spoke against them and quietly worked their will. Senator Bailey, he argues, works in the Democratic Party for the interests as Senator Spooner in the Republican Party. Senator Elkins of West Virginia is presented as perhaps the most open and powerful of the lieutenants for "the merged interests," and particularly the railroads, and therefore placed by Mr. Aldrich as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, one of the most influential of positions. It was he who made a farce of the railway hearings in 1905, he who has made his $30,000,000 out of railways and coal lands in western Virginia. Senator Knox of Pennsylvania, attorney of the corporations outside of the Senate, Mr. Phillips argues is their attorney in the Senate, even tho he was appointed Attorney-General by Mr. Roosevelt, nominally to prosecute his former clients, but naturally accomplishing nothing. Senator Foraker of Ohio Mr. Phillips considers in the second rank of the Senate's leadership, but equally in his place to serve the corporations. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, in his literary aristocracy, prefers foreign affairs to active service in pushing corporate interests, but can always be counted on to vote for them and against the people. Such, according to Mr. Phillips, are the Senate's leaders, and after them many followers, down to Senators Burton of Kansas and Mitchell of Oregon who have been caught with their hands in the pocket of the people and imprisoned.

Corrupt Senators

It is true that these and similar articles have been answered. Mr. C. Arthur Williams, writing what he considers "The Truth About the Senate" in *The World To-day* (May, 1906), says:

There are bad senators, of course. Some of them are merely weak or easily led. Possibly one or two are actually corrupt, and certainly several, who look at everything from only the "business" point of view, stand for special interests rather than for the interests of the people. But in every such instance it will be found that the bad senator is fairly representative of a majority of the people of his state. It is not the fault of the Senate that he falls below its standard. It is rather the fault of his constituency.

Kansas knew what Burton was, yet sent him to the Senate. Rhode Island knows what Aldrich is, yet complacently permits his reelection as frequently as he and the corporate interests he serves desire it. New York has long known what Platt and Depew are, yet they have represented that state in the Senate for many years.

Opposed to this is the attitude of the Senate itself toward such men. Since Burton has been under indictment he has been barred from the Senate chamber by the sentiment of a majority of his former colleagues. The same was true of Mitchell. In another way it is true of Platt and Depew, who, since the Senate has come to know them for what they really are, have been stript of the last vestige of legislative influence . . . Even Aldrich is not the puissant figure he once was.

On the other hand Mr. Williams mentions Senator Teller of Colorado, "an earnest advocate of right and justice"; Senator Culberson of Texas, "a conspicuous example of the highest type of senatorial integrity"; Senator Morgan of Alabama, "who had an unbroken record of faithful and upright public service"; La Follette of Wisconsin, "perhaps the most prominent representative of the interests of the people"; Tillman of South Carolina, "with all his explosive passion, as honest a man as ever sat in a legislative assembly." He says:

Uncorrupt Senators

Every official act of Bacon of Georgia will bear the closest scrutiny. Berry of Arkansas, Blackburn of Kentucky, Overman of North Carolina, and Clay of Georgia, tho perhaps less able, are certainly not less upright. Cullom of Illinois was somewhat tardy in responding to the demand for relief from existing transportation conditions, but has since done all his ill health would permit him to do in support of the rate bill. Dubois of Idaho, altho possibly more of a politician than a statesman, has no corporate connections or leanings. Fulton of Orgeon is also to be counted on the right side, as is Heyburn of Idaho. Kittredge of South Dakota and McCumber of North Dakota are considered both worthy and able.

Morgan and Pettus of Alabama, the oldest men in the Senate, have unbroken records of faithful and upright public service. Newlands of Nevada, however much he may be inclined to ride hobbies, and despite his considerable wealth, enjoys the reputation of a good and efficient official. Even Clark of Montana, the richest man in the Senate, is almost invariably to be found voting in opposition to measures in the interest of corporate wealth. The impulsive and emotional Patterson of Colorado votes and speaks in accordance with his convictions, which, tho sometimes mistaken, are always honest. Rayner of Maryland, one of the minority's most brilliant lawyers and debaters, is as upright as he is erudite. Taliaferro and Mallory of Florida, Carmack and Frazier of Tennessee, and McEnery and Foster of Louisiana are good men, and Teller of Colorado is as earnest an advocate of right and justice as the Senate contains. Beveridge of Indiana is in danger of being consumed by his overweening vanity, and sometimes politics leads him into grave errors. But he is an upright man. Allison of Iowa occasionally leans toward corporate interests by reason of his ultra-conservatism perhaps, but his probity is unquestioned. The courtly Daniel of Virginia is a sincere friend of the people.

Yet even Mr. Williams has to add (we condense his words):

Some of the senators who favor corporate interests are powerful in the workings of the Senate, because they are members of the dominant party, and because they are sent back for term after term by the "business" elements by which their respective states permit themselves to be controlled. Kean of New Jersey, enormously wealthy and unalterably opposed to any legislation tending to curb corporate domination, is one of them. Elkins of West Virginia, a capitalist whose obligations are mainly to the railroads, and Foraker of Ohio, who, altho he has indignantly denied connection with any special interests, is nevertheless invariably opposed to legislation objectionable to such interests, are others. Wetmore of Rhode Island is a nonentity who does what Aldrich tells him to do, just as Aldrich's butler does. Allee of Delaware is another follower of such "leaders." Carter of Montana and Hansbrough of North Dakota have been charged with wrongful practises in connection with Alaskan affairs and have remained silent. Crane of Massachusetts, the successor of Hoar, has aligned himself with the pro-railroad forces in the rate bill contest. Other New England senators—high-class men, too, like Lodge, Frye, and Proctor—are partial to special interests, but they are the special interests which New England votes to uphold.

Dryden of New Jersey is an excessively rich man, whose constant endeavor is so to shape legislation as to give added riches and power to himself and others like him. Flint of California, a former attorney for the Southern Pacific Railroad, has yet to show his hand. Hale of Maine is one of the most independent of all the Republican senators, but even he

seems to forget the public at times. Hemenway of Indiana left a fairly good record in the House, but has diminished the respect in which he was formerly held by standing sponsor for an amendment to the pure food bill which was palpably in behalf of the patent medicine trust.

Millard of Nebraska is a "railroad senator," but lacks the courage to wage his campaigns in the open. Clapp of Minnesota and Dolliver of Iowa exhibited leanings toward the railroads in the past, but realized that sentiment in their respective states was distinctly not pro-railroad, in the matter of the rate bill, and acted accordingly.

Dick of Ohio has a record which is by no means commendable. Hopkins of Illinois is of no importance beyond the circumstance that several transactions which are not particularly creditable, are marked against him. Penrose of Pennsylvania has all the late Quay's tendencies and none of his talents. Scott of West Virginia is not a conspicuous corporation man, but is not free from the taint. Stone of Missouri came to the Senate with a particularly bad record. The list is all too long, but, even if none of the men named is given the benefit of the doubt which is perhaps justifiable in some cases, they would still not be a majority of the Senate.

Causes of Corruption

To understand these, it is necessary to revert to a few first principles. When the U. S. began to fashion its life, a principle of government generally accepted by all parties was that that is the best government which governs least. In considering any activity, the presumption was against its conduct by government and for its conduct by individuals. Only those things necessary to be done which private initiative would not or could not do were left to government. With few exceptions this was universally, and still to-day is to a large extent, the view of all schools of political thought, Jeffersonian or Hamiltonian, strict or broad constructionist, Democratic or Republican. It is admittedly the theory upon which our commercial and governmental life has developed.

Freedom from Restraint

As a result, American government, local, state, or national, has done less in the *conduct* of industrial enterprises and even less in the *control* of such enterprises than any other strong civilized government. This needs no proof. It is but the converse of this to say that in America individuals apart from government have done more than in any other country. But this has meant enormous opportunity for the able individual. In an enterprising country, with boundless resources, a continental domain, and a rapidly growing population, energetic individuals, and especially combinations of energetic individuals, i. e., corporations, have had such opportunities and development as in no other age or place; and, above all, with a freedom from legal restraint and governmental supervision undreamed of in any country with manifold traditions of paternal or feudal governments. This, again, no thoughtful man will deny. The inevitable result has been to attract to enterprises promising such rewards the shrewdest and most daring commercial spirits, and also to enable these energetic captains of industry to summon to their employ the ablest lieutenants to conduct their business, and the keenest professional talents, of attorneys, inventors, accountants, architects, and the like. To all these American business has given opportunity never equaled in any other land.

Meantime government, by the theory, limited in the range of its activities, has given, broadly speaking, comparatively little opportunity *to the able and the upright.* Its higher offices, to a considerable degree in the nation and to a much less extent in the state, have indeed appealed to noble spirits. Especially in time of national need American statesmen have not been wanting. Politics in America in the open political arena compare not unfavorably in ability and in honor with politics in Europe. Diplomacy in America is, in the opinion of most, more honest than in the Old World. But the politics of office-holding and of office-seeking, except for the highest offices, has had very little to attract the honest able man. Government salaries are usually small, very small compared with commercial salaries to men of ability. A cabinet officer recently left a salary of $7,000 from the nation to take one of $70,000 from a private corporation. Still less have ordinary government positions called for large activities from able men. The theory has been that government should do little things and corporations big things. Our Constitution balances branches of government by other branches, to restrain each. The government official is hampered in a hundred ways. Again, to gain his office and to hold his office he often has to resort to humiliating and sometimes questionable petty political devices; and even with that he has no certainty of tenure in office. For an unattractive, petty, uncertain political position, he must also usually for a period of time renounce, or at least partly renounce, attention to his business, which—if he be a man of ability—would be incomparably more remunerative, certain, and usually more attractive. The wonder is that government has attracted the ability that it has.

Minimizing of Government

This with honest business and honest government officials. But the moment dishonesty enters in, the whole case is changed. Under the American theory of government the honest official has little opportunity, but the dishonest official has almost boundless opportunity. The very growth of corporate wealth and power gives him his chance. To the legislator, the alderman, the commissioner, the assessor, corporate wealth goes and must go to seek a franchise, a grant, a privilege, an exemption. A clause in a legislative enactment, or even the change in one word, may mean to interested petitioners millions of dollars. The question is decided often and the bill is worded usually, not in open legislature, but in closed committee. (See CONGRESS.) The honest legislator, alderman, commissioner, assessor, on American salaries and with American expenses of life in his position, can scarcely meet expenses. The dishonest legislator, alderman, commissioner, inspector, can get almost what he will. The theory thus does everything it can to handicap honesty—so much so that unless born wealthy an honest man can scarcely afford to sacrifice business and enter politics; it does almost all that can be done to give opportunity to corruption, and yet we ask what is the cause of corruption.

Dishonest Officials Favored

The corrupt official or legislature does not always need even to be *consciously* corrupt. Almost every American newspaper shows what great things corporate wealth has done and is doing for America. No millionaires are so generous as American millionaires. What other country is so financially prosperous or pays such high wages? Why should not the legislator, the alderman, the commissioner, the assessor, favor these corporations that are doing such great things? Where were we without

Unconscious Corruption

our railroads, mines, gas works, electric plants, systems of transit? Could we have these, developed as they are more than in any other country in the world, without these great corporations? If these laudable corporations, therefore, want a little change in a bill, or a certain concession in a franchise, why should they not be accommodated? The legislator and commissioner is taught to worship the corporation. Its attorneys and legislative agents are his personal friends and professional brethren. Why should they not be listened to? The legislator and commissioner in serving the interests of the corporations is carrying out often, perhaps usually, what he is taught to believe in. Why should he not have some return—not open money, perhaps, but a pass, retainer, position, political help or indorsement, from these corporations if he helps them get favors worth millions, and in which favors the legislator honestly believes? The line between honest and dishonest service of special interests is not marked in black and white.

And here another important element enters in. Given wealthy corporations seeking franchises or concessions from poorly paid officials with uncertain tenure, he who is dishonest can make money, but *he who will make a profession of graft and give it his time and organize politics for it, and put brains into it, can become enormously wealthy, enormously powerful, and almost absolutely secure.* This is the city or more often the state boss. Everybody knows what Mr. Platt is, yet he sits in the United States Senate representing New York. In St. Louis, Mr. Folk even got Colonel Butler convicted, but he laughed at the indictment, and is still in power in St. Louis. Senator Clark was unseated from the Senate for corruption, but he is now in the Senate. Everybody knows what Mr. Murphy stands for in New York and men like Michael Kenna, "Bathhouse John," John J. Brennan in Chicago, yet they rule their city or their ward. And this power once developed, the corporation must, if they are to go on under the present system, continue the purchase of legislations and immunity, otherwise these political bosses who have gained their power through corruption by corporations will turn against the corporations. A banker in California declared that he was no more to blame for giving his quota to purchase legislation from the legislature of California than the traveler who pays over his money to the highwayman who holds him up. An enthusiastic capitalist recently declared that he had given $5,000 to help purchase Indiana, and would willingly give $5,000 more. A Rhode Island protectionist said it was necessary to buy votes from the working men for their own good else Rhode Island would go free trade and manufactures and employment would be ruined. The vice-president of a great insurance company said the present so-called insurance reforms in New York would do no permanent good because corruption was necessary, not to insurance, but to the present methods of doing business on a large scale. Mr. Lincoln Steffens found this out in Chicago. He says:

Power of the Boss

I spent one whole forenoon calling on the presidents of banks, great business men, and financiers interested in public utility companies. With all the evidence I had had in other places that these men are the chief sources of corruption, I was unprepared for the sensation of that day. Those financial leaders of Chicago were "mad." All but one of them became so enraged as they talked that they could not behave decently. They rose up, purple in the face, and cursed reform. They said it had hurt business; it had hurt the town. "Anarchy," they called it; "Socialism." They named corporations that had left the city; they named others that had planned to come there and had gone elsewhere. They offered me facts and figures to prove that the city was damaged.

Said Charles Francis Adams in 1871:

The existing coalition between the Erie Railway and the Tammany ring is a natural one, for the former needs votes, the latter money.

It must be remembered that through the political boss corporations can get immunity from legislation which is to-day threatening their dividends, possibly even their existence. The boss has this power because he has the political reputation, good name, and future of most politicians in his hands. Even judges sometimes high on the bench, at some time—perhaps early in their career—have had politically to "stand in" with him. The boss can sway conventions and organize political districts to nominate and elect his men. He controls the funds. If he be cunning enough to work, either through both parties, or with one party plus enough of the other party to hold the balance of the power, he can rule almost any legislature. Without him no corporation can get a favor. With him it can get almost what it will. Such is the position in almost every state in the union. An article by Mr. John Jay Chapman in *The Atlantic Monthly* calls it the *capture of government by commercialism*, but it is based upon the fundamental American idea of enthroning commerce over government.

Government in Europe is much less corrupt precisely because there government is enthroned over commerce. Government there has power, position, traditions of respect. Law is magnified. Government controls and does important things. It attracts able men. There are scandals, indeed, Panama affairs, Dreyfus questions, scandals in war offices, colonial departments in England and Germany, corrupt administrations more or less everywhere, but they are not comparable to American corruption in extent or persistency.

A subsidiary proof of the truth of the above analysis is that the higher you go in American government, the more you exalt government, the less corruption you have. Municipal legislatures are the lowest and the worst. State legislatures come next in power and in dishonesty. Congress is highest and best. It is so generally speaking with officials and with judges. This is enforced by the apparent exception that *some* high offices are more open to corruption than lower ones; this is because they are especially valuable for corporate wealth to control.

Other causes of corruption come in subsidiary to and derivative from the prime cause—the degradation of governmental action as compared with private corporations. Such minor causes are the disgust of the better classes of citizens with "practical politics." It has been estimated that the stay-at-home vote in many elections is one fourth of the registered vote, and this is true usually of the more intelligent citizens.

There is not so much to fear from the Irish vote or the German vote as from this absentee vote. The foreign vote is susceptible of disintegration; it may negative itself. But the abstaining vote is almost solid against good government. At intervals, after some particularly atrocious conduct, this vote is invaded by indignation, and some fraction of it shakes off its languor and makes itself felt at the polls. But

it is only a spasm. It is the rush of raw volunteers against regulars. The regulars may be broken, but they can wait. Their turn will come. Of another potent subsidiary cause of corruption it has been said:

Another cause of municipal misgovernment is the uncertainty of responsibility, especially in its executive branches. Various departments, which should work in closest harmony, owe their appointment to as many different authorities, and often not only do not cooperate, but actually pursue cross purposes. At one time Philadelphia was found to be possest of four boards with power to tear up the streets at will, but none whose duty it was to see that they were properly relaid. Or here is an example of a composite officialdom which may happen any day: a "citizens' ticket" mayor, a Republican street commissioner, both elected by the people; other appointments filled by men acceptable to a Democratic board of aldermen; a police commissioner named by the governor, together with the state legislature interfering on occasion. With such a mixture it is not easy to fix responsibility for maladministration. Non-partizan commissions of four members, two from each party, is another favorite and specious arrangement by which the people are prevented from calling either party to account. This non-partizan contrivance is also an open door for the most unblushing division of spoils in the department between the "workers" of both parties. . . .

It is another proof of the correctness of the above analysis that generally speaking those departments of government are the least corrupt which have least to do with corporation influences and those branches of business are least corrupt which are least dependent upon government franchises and favors. The demoralizing effect upon legislatures, upon the adulteration of commodities, and upon the pricing of articles in the market affected by the tariff alone, it is hard to overestimate. (See FREE TRADE.)

It is largely from these sources, however, that springs the corruption in commerce even apart from government. Business upon a large scale, being largely carried on with corruption, is copied by business on a small scale. The seller who bribes his purchaser is copying his employer who bribes his assessor.

This view of the cause of corruption in the American minimizing of government and the magnifying of controlled commerce is supported finally by the conclusions to which Mr. Steffens came in his investigations apart from any theory. He says ("The Struggle for Self-Government," p. 1):

Every time I attempted to trace to its sources the political corruption of a city ring, the stream of pollution branched off in the most unexpected directions and spread out in a network of veins and arteries so complex that hardly any part of the body politic seemed clear of it. It flowed out of the majority party into the minority; out of politics into vice and crime; out of business into politics, and back into business; from the boss, down through the police to the prostitute, and up through the practise of law into the courts; and big throbbing arteries ran out through the country over the state to the nation—and back. No wonder cities can't get municipal reform! . . . The corruption of our American politics is our American corruption, political, but financial and industrial, too. Miss Tarbell has shown it in the trust, Mr. Baker in the labor-union, and my gropings into the misgovernment of cities have drawn me everywhere, but always, always out of politics into business, and out of the cities into the state. Business started the corruption of politics in Pittsburg; upheld it in Philadelphia; boomed with it in Chicago and withered with its reform; and in New York, business financed the return of Tammany Hall. Here, then, is our guide out of the labyrinth. Not the political ring, but big business—that is the crux of the situation. Our political corruption is a system, a regularly established custom of the country, by which our political leaders are hired by bribery, by the license to loot, and by quiet moral support, to conduct the government of the city, state, and nation, not for the common good, but for the special interests of private business. Not the politician, then, not the bribe-taker, but the bribe-giver, the man we are so proud of, our successful business man—he is the source and sustenance of our bad government. The captain of industry is the man to catch. His is the trail to follow.

The Chief Cause

Of the business man Mr. Steffens says:

The typical business man is a bad citizen; he is busy. If he is a "big business man" and very busy, he does not neglect, he is busy with politics—oh, very busy and very businesslike. I found him buying boodlers in St. Louis, defending grafters in Minneapolis, originating corruption in Pittsburg, sharing with bosses in Philadelphia, deploring reforms in Chicago, and beating good government with corruption funds in New York. He is a self-righteous fraud, this big business man. He is the chief source of corruption, and it were a boon if he would neglect politics. But he is not the business man that neglects politics; that worthy is the good citizen, the typical business man. He, too, is busy. He is the one that has no use and therefore no time for politics. When his neglect has permitted bad government to go so far that he can be stirred to action he is unhappy, and he looks around for a cure that shall be quick, so that he may hurry back to the shop. Naturally, too, when he talks politics, he talks shop. His patent remedy is quack; it is business.

"Give us a business man," he says ("like me," he means). "Let him introduce business methods into politics and government; then I shall be left alone to attend to my business."

There is hardly an office from U. S. senator down to alderman in any part of the country to which the business man has not been elected; yet politics remains corrupt. . . .

Two hopeful elements in the situation, however, must not be overlooked. These are (1) the extent to which the public is aroused on the subject of corruption, and (2) and even more, the nature of its interest and the way in which it is beginning to look at the problem. As to the extent of its interest it may be said that the revelations of corruption in St. Louis made by Mr. Folk, in Wisconsin by Senator Spooner, in New Jersey by Mr. Colby, in Pennsylvania by the reform element, have been almost the supreme recent political interest in the U. S. This has probably, however, been exceeded by the interest in the investigations into the corruption of the big insurance companies, the Pennsylvania and other railroads, the packing industry in Chicago, the Standard Oil Company, and other monopolies. Articles like those above quoted of Mr. Steffens, and of Mr. Th. Lawson have been most eagerly read. Mr. Upton Sinclair's novel, "The Jungle," exposing the conditions in the Chicago packing industry has had a most phenomenal sale. The exposure and consideration of corruption may be said to be even at present the supreme interest in the U. S., and this is a fact of the most hopeful import.

Hopeful Elements

But even more important is the direction this interest is taking. There have for many years been local and sporadic efforts at pure politics, but only recently has there been any effort to strike at causes. People hitherto have been content to oust the rascals and put in the saints without any attention to or understanding of the system which produced the rascals, and the result has been that not seldom in a year or two the saints elected to office have become almost as bad as the rascals, or, and more frequently, the reformers have relaxed their spasm of political efforts and the regular rascals have returned to power, sometimes with greater evil and daring than before. Still is this too true; nevertheless a change is certainly coming. A steadily increasing number of able and honest men are giving themselves permanently to politics, while Governor Folk in Missouri, Senator La Follette in Wisconsin, and to a less extent Governor Hughes in New York, show that able and persistent honesty can defy even an entrenched machine. A growing number of reform clubs in the important cities of the union (see MUNICIPAL REFORM), are making serious study of the question. In all the large cities independent political citizens'

parties are organizing, not for one campaign, but upon permanent lines. Popular articles and academic studies are pointing out more and more not only the corruption but the causes of the corruption, and therefore implicitly, and to some extent explicitly, pointing to the way out. A serious and persistent effort is being made, and notably by the present federal administration, to enforce the law against all lawbreakers and not the least against the great corporations which have been found most seriously at fault. People are less afraid of the word "socialism" as a scare word to prevent the extension of the control of commerce by government, and are seeing that the best way to prevent an undesirable socialism is to do away with its fertile soil, corporation dishonesty and corporation preying upon the public, and that, by an increased supervision of commerce by government, federal and national. Signs of this tendency are on every hand. Even municipal ownership is advocated by many and is entering into practical politics. Whether effective or not, it is certainly a sign of the effort to enthrone government over commerce, which, if the above analysis of the evil be correct, is certainly a sign of hope. (See CORRUPT PRACTISES ACTS; PRIMARIES; REFERENDUM; MUNICIPAL REFORM CLUBS; GALVESTON. MUNICIPALISM; PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Striking at Causes

REFERENCES: Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904) and *The Struggle for Self-Government* (1906); articles by David G. Phillips, *Cosmopolitan* (1906); by George K. Turner, *McClure's* (April, 1907); Thomas W. Lawson, *Everybody's Magazine* (1905–6); John G. Speed, *Harper's Weekly* (1905). See also Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (1905); Ida M. Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1904); Hudson's *Railways and the Republic* (1886).

CORRUPT PRACTISES ACTS, or legislative acts passed to prevent the use of corrupt methods in elections: They are to-day mainly based on the English Corrupt Practise Act of 1883, which has had an almost unqualified success, as has also the Canadian law based on it.

English Acts

The Corrupt Practises Prevention Act of 1854 was aimed mainly at bribery in elections. A wider effect was aimed at by an act of 1868, but the Act of 1883, of which Sir Henry James was author, is by far the most important.

Previous to 1883 there were three corrupt practises known to the law in England: bribery, treating, and undue influence. The act of that year added a fourth, by declaring that "personation, and the aiding, abetting, counseling, and procuring the commission of the offense of personation" (fraudulent impersonating of another person), should be a corrupt practise.

The British law is very explicit in its definition of bribery. "Every person is pronounced guilty of it who directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person, gives, lends, or agrees to give or lend, or offers, promises, or promises to procure or to endeavor to procure, any money or valuable consideration, or any office, place, or employment, to or for any voter, or to or for any person on behalf of any voter, or to or for any person in order to induce any voter to refrain from voting, or who in any similar manner seeks to induce any person to procure or endeavor to procure the return of any person to Parliament or the vote of any voter at any election. Every person is also pronounced guilty of bribery who, in consequence of any of the forbidden acts mentioned, procures or endeavors to procure the election of a candidate, or who advances or pays or causes to be paid any money to or to the use of any other person with the intent or knowledge that it shall be expended wholly or in part in bribery; and every voter who, directly, receives, either before or during election, any consideration of the kind forbidden in the anti-bribery provision above summarized, either for voting or refraining from voting, is also pronounced guilty of bribery; as also is any person who, after election, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person in his behalf, receives any money or valuable consideration on account of any person having voted, or refrained therefrom, or having induced any other person to vote or refrain from voting."

Provisions of the Law

Treating is also forbidden with explicitness: "Any person is pronounced guilty of it who corruptly or by himself, or by any other person either before, during, or after an election, directly or indirectly gives or provides, or pays wholly or in part the expenses of giving or providing any meat, drink, entertainment, or provision to or for any person for the purpose of corruptly influencing his vote, or inducing him to refrain from voting, or on account of himself or any other person having voted or refrained from voting, or being about to do one of these things; and every voter who accepts such forbidden attentions is equally guilty.

"In regard to undue influence, every person is guilty of that who directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person in his behalf, makes use of or threatens to make use of any force, violence, or restraint, or inflicts or threatens to inflict by himself or by any other person any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm, or loss upon or against any person to induce or compel him to vote or to refrain from voting, or on account of his having done either of these things, or who by abduction, duress, or any fraudulent device or contrivance impedes or permits the free exercise of the franchise of any elector. Personation is also defined and forbidden."

The penalties attached to a conviction of these offenses are, for bribery, treating, and undue influence, each of which is a misdemeanor, imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding one year, or a fine not exceeding £200; for personation, which is a felony, for a term not exceeding two years with hard labor. If it is found by the election court that the offenses of treating, or undue influence, have been committed by a candidate, or that the offenses of bribery and personation have been committed by or with his knowledge or consent, he is declared ineligible ever after to hold a seat in the House of Commons in the county or borough in which the offenses were committed.

To prevent objectionable expenditures, the law restricts the employment of agents, clerks, messengers, and others within a very narrow limit. "Voluntary efforts are made to take the place of paid labor. But it was anticipated that there would be a strong desire to evade such a restriction by making contracts to carry on the election work in place of the candidate employing persons for that purpose. And so the plan of controlling the amount of expenditure by a fixed schedule was accepted, and it has certainly proved most beneficial in practise. By the eighth section of the act it is enacted that no sum shall be paid and no expenses incurred by any candidate in excess of any maximum amount in that behalf specified in the first schedule to the act. Any breach of this prohibition by a candidate or his election agent is an illegal practise."

Penalties

From $1,000 to $3,500 is the maximum amount which may be expended in a parliamentary election.

The United States

Fifteen states have enacted laws more or less modeled after the English law, tho most of them have been very weak and none have proved very efficient. The first was the New York law of 1890, which merely requires the reporting of personal campaign expenditures by candidates without any report from committees. The Minnesota law of 1892, and especially its law of 1895, is much more thorough, and applies to committees and all campaign expenses. The Massachusetts law of 1892 is one of the best. It applies to all public elections, including elections by the Legislature or by city council, and nominations by caucus or convention. The only exception to it is the election of town officers in towns. It provides for a complete and public account of all political expenditures. This is its main feature; but it falls short of the English act by not restricting the amount to be spent and by not specifying legal objects of expenditure. With the exception of personal expenses, no candidate is allowed any expenditure to secure his own election otherwise than through a political committee. This political committee is held responsible for violations of the law.

It has resulted in publicity, yet not a prosecu-

tion has been made under it, and the use of money in politics in Massachusetts recently has been greater than ever. The Ohio Act of 1896 (Garfield Act), among the best, was repealed. The trouble with most of the laws has been one of procedure.

Among the requirements of the laws are:

First. The full publication of election expenses both by individuals and organizations. There is a general feeling that publicity will do much to mitigate present evils. But it is doubtful whether correct and complete statements will be made, unless some easy form of procedure is provided by which such statements can be readily inquired into and criticized, on the motion of responsible citizens or organizations.

Second. The prohibition of corporate contributions for election purposes. These contributions are shrouded in such secrecy that they can probably be detected only by beginning with the expenses in a given election district, and working back to the contributor.

Third. The fixing of proper objects of expenditure, such as meetings, publications, etc., and the fixing limits to the amounts so to be spent. No state law now covers this branch of the subject with any thoroughness.

Fourth. Providing punishments by forfeiture of office, fines and imprisonment. The New York statute now decrees forfeiture of office for corrupt practises by a candidate but has no proceeding to enforce the penalty.

The legislation proposed last winter provided that where a party organization was guilty of corrupt practises in an election district, it should forfeit its vote in that district.

Fifth. Procedure. To enable citizens to push a judicial inquiry into the correctness and completeness of statements and the existence of corrupt practises. The grant to the public of this important right is considered by many to be the thing now most needed.

The failure of these laws and the increase of the evil has led to a demand for stronger legislation and also for federal action, which has resulted in congressional bills for publicity, and also forbidding political contributions from corporations. In many states various societies are agitating the question. New York has an Association to Prevent Corrupt Practises at Elections in New York City, of which Mr. Wm. C. Osborn, 70 Broadway, is secretary. It is pressing for legislation, as are other bodies.

References: Rogers, *Elections* (London, 1895); article by Perry Belmont, *North American*, Feb., 1905; *Civic Federation Review*, April, 1906.

COST OF LIVING. See Expenditure.

COTTON (for statistics, see Agriculture, p. 26): For one of the best brief statements of the economic importance of the cotton industry, and especially as applied to the United States, we quote from Leroy-Beaulieu's "The United States in the Twentieth Century." He says:

Next to cereals, hay, and live stock, the chief agricultural resource of the U. S. is cotton. In 1899, the year to which the agricultural statistics of the census of 1900 apply, the area under cotton was 23,257,000 acres, or 8.4 per cent of the crop-bearing land. But the value of the cotton crop was no less than $370,000,000, or 12 per cent of the total crop value. For no other staple, agricultural, industrial, or mineral, is the primacy of the U. S. so clearly established. If it has more cattle, if it produces more wheat, oats, petroleum, coal, iron, and lead than any other country, if it furnishes more than half the world's supply of corn and copper, it also provides over three fourths of the cotton-supply. Throughout the nineteenth century cotton was the backbone of its agriculture. Cotton is still its chief reliance. In 1902 out of a volume of export trade of $1,400,000,000 fully $300,000,000 must be placed to the credit of cotton. Assuredly the leading modern textile is of vast importance in the economic life of the U. S. . . .

It was introduced into the country in 1721, and from that year was grown in Virginia and the two Carolinas, but long for local consumption only. It was not until 1784 that it was exported from Virginia for the first time—to the amount of eight sacks, weighing 1,200 pounds. The development of spinning machinery by Hargreaves, Cartwright, and Crompton at the end of the eighteenth century and the invention of Whitney's cotton-gin about the same time, paved the way for an enormous development of its industrial utility, and the U. S., whose exportations in 1790 still met only one sixth of the British demand, made ready to produce it in enormous quantities.

Importance

Production of Cotton, United States

Crop of	Number of bales	Average number of pounds per bale	Total weight (in millions of pounds)
1790	6,667	225	1½
1800	153,509	228	35
1810	286,195	297	85
1820	575,540	278	160
1830	1,026,393	341	350
1840	1,634,954	394	644
1850	2,454,442	416	1,021
1860	3,849,469	477	1,836
1870	4,352,317	442	1,923
1880	6,605,750	460	3,038
1890	8,652,597	473	4,092
1900	10,245,602	480	4,846
1906	13,305,265	489	6,354

It will be seen that gains were steadily made, except during the Civil War decade, 1859–69, when the cultivation of cotton became almost a thing of the past. During the preceding ten years, development had been most rapid as a result of the increased demand produced by an era of exceptional prosperity in Europe, and history tells us how great a crisis arose in consequence of the almost total cessation of American exports. To-day the cotton production of the U. S. is about double what it was on the eve of the Civil War.

To have thrived thus it is evident that cotton must be produced in the U. S. under very favorable conditions. Such conditions are not found throughout the country, however, . . . Increased improvements in methods of transportation have tended to concentrate cotton-growing, like all other kinds of production, in the most favorably situated localities. Not only has it receded toward the South, but it has also advanced in a westerly direction. In 1850 only 12 per cent of the annual crop was grown west of the Mississippi, Louisiana being the only state on that side of the river to have fields of any size. By 1860 the development of Arkansas and Texas had begun, and the share of the trans-Mississippi states in cotton production had reached nearly 30 per cent. By 1880 the percentage was a little higher; by 1890 higher still, and by 1900 it amounted to nearly half the entire output—to be exact, 44 per cent. An interesting and distinctive feature of cotton production is that it is largely in the hands of cash and share tenants.

Farms operated by direct ownership are in a minority. I have already had occasion to explain why the vast plantations of the South were partitioned into a number of small holdings leased to cash and share tenants. In the ten principal cotton states, farms operated directly by the owner constituted, in 1900, but 48.3 per cent of the total, 20.3 per cent being operated by cash tenants and 31.4 per cent by share tenants. In 1880, on the contrary, the proportions were respectively 60.6, 12.4, and 27 per cent. We see that the number of cash tenants has increased more rapidly than that of the share tenants, and, consequently, that many share tenants have become cash tenants. This indicates social progress on the part of the cultivators, for the share tenant—most frequently a former slave or the descendant of a slave—works to a large extent under the more or less effective supervision of the owner. The cash tenant is by far the more independent. On the other hand, so far at any rate as the colored producers are concerned, it must be said that the share tenants are the ones who obtain the best results, averaging exactly two fifths of a bale per acre—as a result, doubtless, of having put themselves under the guidance of the planters—while the cash tenants obtain an average of only .381 per acre and the owners but .368. Among the white cultivators these proportions are reversed: .40 for the owners and cash tenants, .381 for the share tenants.

Ownership of Cotton-Fields

Everything considered, the production of cotton is a profit-

able occupation, the crop bringing an average price of nine to ten cents per pound, a return much higher than for any other American product.

Concerning the cotton industry in Great Britain and in other countries, the following is abridged from Hazell's "Annual" for 1907:

Hitherto the cotton manufacturing industry has relied mainly upon the U. S. for its supplies. Out of an annual crop now amounting to about 16,500,000 bales, the U. S. furnishes on the average about 11,000,000 bales. India is responsible for a further 3,000,000 bales (of which, however, nearly half is consumed in that country itself), and the remainder is not of sufficiently high quality to be available for most manufacturers. Egypt produces another 1,250,000 bales, and a further 1,000,000 is derived from various parts of the world.

With the development of cotton manufacturing in the U. S., and on the Continent, the proportion of the American cotton crop available for the United Kingdom diminishes, tho the real requirements of its manufacturers increase.

The question of seeking supplies in other directions has therefore become very urgent. This task has been seriously taken up the British Cotton-Growing Association, a body formed by the Lancashire producers. The following is a brief summary of the results of the investigations which have hitherto been made.

India.—As already stated, India is a large cotton producer, but the quality has suffered a good deal from the methods of picking, while at the same time the standard of quality in manufactured articles has been steadily growing higher.

Egyptian cotton is good in quality, but unfortunately nearly the whole area suitable for cotton-growing has already been taken up.

Africa.—Investigations show that cotton-growing in British Central Africa offers very promising prospects. The Protectorate contains an area of 20,000,000 acres suitable for cotton-growing, and cotton has indeed been grown in a small way for centuries.

Supply

All the British colonies and protectorates in West Africa are capable of producing good cotton crops, but the possibilities in this connection are dependent upon improved transport facilities, which at present do not exist.

The cotton plant grows wild over nearly the whole of Rhodesia, and the results of experiments and investigations there have been so far encouraging as to lead to the sending out of an American expert to conduct experiments on a very large scale.

West Indies.—Here the cotton industry has been reestablished on an extended scale.

Commerce

While it is impossible to give exact figures relative to the cotton manufactures of various countries owing to the fact that in practically every case a large part of the output is consumed at home, and no figures are available as to any country's home trade, indications of the chief movements are to be found. A test of the progress of the chief nations concerned is to be found in the export figures.

Taking cotton-yarn first, the following are the particulars of the exports of Great Britain, Germany, and France during the past twelve years:

VALUE OF EXPORTS OF COTTON-YARN

	United Kingdom	Germany	France
	£1000	£1000	£1000
1894	9,286	785	....
1900	7,741	1,455	217
1904	8,956	1,492	262
1905	10,317	1,703	750

British trade is very much larger than that of the other two countries put together, but it will be seen that it has shown a fluctuating tendency for some time past, while that of both Germany and France has been improving on the whole. This however, reflects no discredit upon British producers. Owing to a number of favorable circumstances they practically had a monopoly for many years; and that monopoly has now disappeared.

British trade has been steadily growing in volume, and the increase has been much larger than in that of all the other three countries put together. The table affords an incidental illustration of the fallacy of percentage increases. The U. S., for instance, starting from a very low level, shows an increase of about 200 per cent, while the United Kingdom has only an increase of about 20 per cent. In point of fact, however, British trade has increased £12,000,000, and that of the U. S. only £3,000,000.

As regards cotton manufactures, figures can be given relative to four countries, tho it should be explained that with regard to the U. S. the statistics include cotton-yarn.

VALUE OF EXPORTS OF COTTON PIECE GOODS

	United Kingdom	Germany	United States	France
	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000
1894	57,279	7,090	2,867	....
1900	62,009	12,235	4,801	6,977
1904	64,078	12,974	5,495	7,829
1905	70,817	13,208	6,000	10,562

COULANGES, NUMA DENIS, FUSTEL DE: French historian; born in Paris in 1830. A member of the Institute and director of the École Normale Supérieure, Fustel de Coulanges is best known in social science for his important studies in the history of early civilizations and primitive tenures of land and other property. It was "La Cité Antique" which gave De Coulanges his first name; his "Institutions" is his great life work. He died in 1889, before his work was completed, but he may be regarded as a creator in the realm of historical economic research. He has freely criticized M. de Laveleye's theories of the communistic primitive property in land, arguing that property in land was always held on the seigneurial rather than the communal tenure. De Coulanges was the author of the following works: "La Cité Antique, Étude sur le Culte, le Droit, les Institutions de la Grèce et de Rome" (1864); "La Gaule Romaine"; "Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France" (7 vols.); and an essay translated into English, "The Origin of the Property of Land," edited by W. J. Ashley (1891).

COUNTY COUNCIL. See LOCAL GOVERNMENT and LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

COURCELLE-SENEUIL, JEAN GUSTAVE: French economist; was born at Dordogne, Chile, 1813. At first a merchant, he later occupied himself with economics. In 1848 he held a post under the minister of finance; from 1853–63 he was professor of political economy at the University of Santiago, in Chile. Since 1879 he has been state councilor; since 1882 Fellow of the Academy of Naval and Political Science. Author: "Études sur la science sociale" (1862); "Operation de banque" (1853); "Traité théorique et pratique d'économie politique" (1867), one of the best-known treatises in the French language.

COURTS. See JUDICIARY.

COXEY, JACOB SELCHER, AND "COXEYISM": The movement popularly called "Coxeyism," or the formation of "armies" or companies of unemployed men or of those sympathizing with them to peaceably march to Washington and give Congress and the country visible evidence of the distress of the unemployed, and thus induce legislation to meet the need, is a movement which has gained its name from Mr. J. S. Coxey, of Ohio, to an extent the originator of the movement, and the "general" of the leading "army."

Jacob Selcher Coxey was born in Pennsylvania in 1854, and after leaving school when he was thirteen worked for ten years in a rolling-mill. In 1879 he purchased a sandstone quarry at Massillon, Ohio, where he has since lived, and in 1889 he added to other ventures a stock-farm in Kentucky, making a specialty of blooded race-horses. He prospered, and is reputed by his neighbors to be worth some $200,000, an honest and successful business man. Originally an Epis-

copalian, he has become a theosophist, and is said to have believed that he and his lieutenant, Browne, are between them sharers of the reincarnation of Christ.

Long interested in public questions, in 1892 he drafted a bill, which was presented in Congress, calling upon the federal government to construct a general country road system in the United States, and to meet the expense of this by issuing $500,000,000 of treasury notes to be a legal tender for all debts. The bill, however, was pigeonholed by Congress, and this led Mr. Coxey to more radical agitation. There now appeared on the scene a Mr. Carl Browne.

Carl Browne was born near Springfield, Ill., in 1849. He became a painter, and painted a "Lord's Supper" and panoramas of the Yosemite, of the Franco-Prussian War, and other subjects which were exhibited all over the United States. In 1872 he married and settled in Berkeley, Cal. At the time of the great Pennsylvania strikes of 1877 (see STRIKES) he came out for the cause of labor, and later supported Dennis Kearney's agitation by cartoons and in a newspaper. He then threw himself into the Greenback and later the Populist movements. Christmas Day, 1892, his wife died of pneumonia, and it was during her last days that he was converted to theosophy, believing that he absorbed his wife's soul. He went to the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 and met Mr. Coxey at a bimetallic convention. He later visited Mr. Coxey, and was sent by him to Chicago to induce the American Federation of Labor to indorse the Good Roads plan. He succeeded, and there devised the plan of marching the unemployed to Washington. Mr. Coxey approved the plan. They finally decided to start, and did start from Massillon, Easter morning, March 24, 1894. They planned to reach Washington on May 1st, to present a petition to Congress on the steps of the capital, and then to camp there until Congress acted upon two bills to be presented by Senator PEFFER—a Good Roads bill and a Non-interest-bearing Bond bill.

Coxey's Army

As Mr. Coxey was very busy, tho he accompanied the army with his wife, daughter, and a little infant son whom he named "Legal Tender," he left the whole management of the army to Mr. Browne. The plan was to get an army of 100,000; as a matter of fact, they never had over 500. It was a motley, altho perfectly orderly company. It took a religious coloring. They called the army "The Commonweal of Christ" and bore a banner with a portrait of Christ, and the legend "Death to interest-bearing bonds." As they left Massillon, a negro carrying the American flag marched ahead. Then on a gray horse rode Carl Browne, in the dress of a cowboy, with buckskin coat, fringed down the sleeves and plastered with decorations, a broad-brimmed sombrero on his head, around his neck an amber necklace given him by his wife. Next came the trumpeter, "Windy Oliver," the astrologer, "Cyclone" Kirkland, of Pittsburg, and seven musicians. "General" Coxey came next in a buggy drawn by two bay mares. Behind rode Mrs. Coxey with her infant child and her sister. Then came another negro carrying the banner of the Commonweal; next the army proper of 100 men, expected to swell on its way to Washington to 100,000, and accompanied on either side by forty-three newspaper men. Three wagons carried a circus tent and supplies. As a rule, however, the army was supplied with victuals by people on the way, but went often hungry. Crowds gathered to see them at every point. On Sundays Browne preached, with continual allusion to Scripture prophecies. They met many difficulties, such as a snow-storm in crossing the Blue Mountains. Some of their men were arrested as vagrants. Dissension arose, but they persevered. After reaching the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal they were transported for ninety miles. Everywhere they preserved good order. Mr. Coxey boasted that not a chicken had been stolen on their march.

The "Commonwealers" reached Washington the last of April. May 1st, in a solemn procession, the army marched to the Capitol to present its petition. Thousands flocked to see the sight. But when Mr. Coxey alighted he is said to have walked on the grass, and he, Carl Browne, and Mr. Jones were arrested "for trespassing on the grass." Mr. Coxey handed his address to the reporters, and was hurried away by the police. The army quietly returned to its camp. Coxey, Browne, and Jones were imprisoned twenty days. When they came out the movement was practically at an end. The army was maintained for a while, but gradually disbanded. Congress had been somewhat frightened, and considerable talk and discussion arose as to conditions that led to such armies; but no serious action was taken. "General" Coxey himself, however, has entered politics more earnestly than ever, and in 1895 was nominated for governor by the People's Party of Ohio, and polled 52,675 votes, the Populist vote for president in Ohio in 1892 being only 14,850.

The Result

Such were the main incidents. Gradually the movement came to an end. Returning opportunities for work absorbed most of the men, and the rest disbanded. With its bizarre side the movement had its serious side, at least as an evidence of the lack of employment among large bodies of law-abiding citizens. The men of these armies were not tramps or lawbreakers. They simply asked for work. Of 290 "industrials" selected at random from "General" Randall's Chicago army, Professor Hourwitch of the University of Chicago says: "One half were American born, two thirds were English-speaking men; they averaged from 30 to 32 years of age; 181 were skilled mechanics; of 115 questioned, only two were uneducated; twenty-six had attended high school or college; only five or six appeared of questionable character; seventy were trade-unionists." Carlyle said of a similar "insurrection" in Manchester, England: "An insurrection that can announce the disease and then retire with no balance account of grim vengeance opened anywhere has attained the highest success possible for it."

REFERENCES: *The Story of the Commonweal*, by Henry Vincent, Chicago, 1894; *Coxeyism*, an article by W. T. Stead, in the (American) *Review of Reviews*, July, 1894.

CRANE, WALTER: English artist and Socialist; born in Liverpool, 1845; son of Thomas Crane, a miniature and portrait painter. Apprenticed in 1859 to W. J. Linton, the eminent wood-engraver, poet, and chartist, Walter Crane learned from him reform ideas, as well as lessons in art. A prominent member of various art societies and committees, an examiner at the national competition of drawings at South Kensington since 1879, elected an associate of the Royal Society of

Painters in Water Colors in 1888, he was associated with the movement against the Royal Academy in 1886, and favored the establishment of a national exhibition in which *all* arts should be represented. In 1888 he founded with other decorative artists the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, and became its first president. Successful as a painter, he is even better known as a designer and decorator of books, etc. In 1891 an exhibition of his works was held, and the collection was also taken to the United States and Germany, Mr. Crane accompanying it. In 1884 he became associated with the Socialist movement, largely under the influence of William MORRIS, and has lectured and written for it, besides making numerous designs for Socialist books and papers. *Address*: 13 Holland Street, Kensington, W. London, England.

CREDIT: A term used in political economy in so many different ways and in so many shades of meaning that it is almost impossible to define it so as to cover all its uses. Certainly many of the definitions given to it by economists are faulty. Credit is defined by John Stuart Mill as "permission to use the capital of another person." Professor Roscher defines it as "the power to use the goods of another, voluntarily granted in consideration of the mere promise of value in return." Credit has also been defined as "confidence in the ability of another to make a future payment."

Professor Knies of Heidelberg has defined credit as merely "a commercial transaction between two parties, in which the services or the value rendered by the one falls in the present, and the counter-service or counter-value of the other in the future."

Says Professor Ely: "There are three elements in a business transaction to which we apply the term credit: first, the present transfer of goods; second, the use of the goods transferred; third, the future retransfer of the goods or an equivalent —that is, repayment."

But these definitions, while emphasizing important points, do not cover all the uses of the word, nor give even its central idea. Professor Jevons does better, in his "Primer of Political Economy," in reminding us that credit comes from the Latin *credo*, and means *belief*. Any one who sells on credit does so in the belief that the purchaser who does not pay at the time will do so in the future. Credit is trust. A man, a government, or a currency that has good credit is trustworthy. As such, credit enters into all life. It has been said that there is scarcely a human being in a civilized country who does not transact a piece of credit business almost every day of his life. The workman, hired by the week, and paid at its end, gives his employer credit from Monday morning to Saturday evening. The same workman, when getting a coat made for himself, even altho he engaged to pay ready money on delivery, gets credit from the tailor during the making.

Into monetary transactions of a more ambitious nature credit enters still more largely, and in many forms credit is the instrument for the greater number of exchanges. Money is used, but in the latest development of credit economy, only as "small change." Banks are the chief organs of society for credit economy. We live now in a period of credit, and in business circles the volume of money is small when compared with the amount of annual transactions in what are called instruments of credit, by which we mean principally checks, drafts, and bills of exchange. An American bank in a large city will in a day's business frequently handle over $40 in instruments of credit for every dollar in actual money. According to Rae, from 70 to 90 per cent of the monetary transactions of the world are done on a credit basis. Nevertheless, there is serious doubt if this is not an exaggeration. President Andrews, in "An Honest Dollar," gives elaborate reasons for questioning whether the proportion is so large as is generally supposed. He shows that clearings for many years have fallen in numbers in this country and in England; that never since 1882 has the New York Clearing House cleared in an autumn week a sum reaching the billion figures, which was a regular thing that year. Some credit substitutes for cash have been disappearing. The truck system is dying out. Barter in rural communities is disappearing. Book accounts between neighbors, once common, are now rare. "With nations, as with individuals," says President Andrews, "those who have the most credit need use it the least." Credit traffic has its fullest development in Holland; its strongest in Turkey and Yucatan. Cash payment getting the mastery, first in wages, in retail trade, and in raw products, spread gradually over other fields, shutting up credit to its most useful and least dangerous functions. Many authorities agree with President Andrews, others do not. (For the economic principles involved in and growing out of credit, see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; MONEY; PANICS, etc.)

CREMATION: Cremation, or, as it is sometimes called, incineration, is the rapid decomposition of human bodies by means of extreme heat. All decomposition or disintegration is, of course, effected through the agency of heat, and the length of time which is occupied in the process depends upon the degree of heat that is employed. When bodies are placed within the ground, so that no more heat than that which is naturally contained in the earth can act upon them, decomposition goes on perceptibly, but still very slowly. During its progress new compounds are formed, and some of these find their way into the air as fetid and noxious gases, while others, in a liquid form, contaminate the water which has its origin in the neighborhood.

To such an extent is this accomplished that high medical and chemical authorities have pronounced the opinion that organic substance can never undergo what may be called spontaneous decomposition without so contaminating the adjacent air and water as to impair the health of those living in the neighborhood, and to shorten the average duration of life.

The process of disintegration, or resolution into elements, is thus seen to be the same, whatever may be the method employed to encompass the result. It is believed by many that a large proportion of the diseases which afflict mankind are due to the slow decomposition of organic matter within or upon the earth. When thousands of bodies are interred yearly in a limited area, the earth becomes in time so saturated with the liquid resultants of decomposition that it is incapable of further absorption. Then, whatever be the character of the soil, the decomposition becomes still less rapid, and its gaseous products find their way directly into the air.

Among the advantages to be derived from

substituting cremation for burial besides those which are said to appertain to the sanitary aspect of the question, it is urged that the cost of the former is quite small when compared with that of placing a body in the ground. It is necessarily admitted that, so far as show and circumstance are concerned in the conduct of a funeral, there is no limit to the expense that may be incurred in the one case as in the other. But the necessary outlay for cremation is small when placed by the side of the indispensable expenditure involved in the purchase of ground and the decent and reverent deposition of a body therein. This will have weight with those by whom the scientific features of the question would be passed without notice. Altho it will no doubt be a long time before the burial of the dead is abolished in Christian countries, yet there seems but little doubt that cremation is yearly commending itself more and more to the thoughtful, and that it will gradually work its way into general acceptance.

It is not in modern times only that circumstances have compelled a consideration and discussion of the means by which the human body can be best disposed of after death. In Rome both inhumation and cremation were employed, and either was expressly permitted by the Roman law. It was found, however, that accumulations of decomposing bodies within the boundaries of the cities was not favorable to the health of the community, and cemeteries were removed to the rural districts. Cicero tells us that by one of the twelve tables it was decreed that *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*. From the foundation of the empire to about the fifth century of the Christian era burial in the earth was almost entirely abandoned, and cremation substituted.

When the burning of the dead was first adopted by the Greeks is not settled. Homer does not mention it as an innovation, but speaks of it as if it were a common custom.

Greeks, Romans, and Jews

Among the ancient Jews, also, both methods appear to have been in use. The burning of the body was ostensibly regarded as the more honorable manner and the ceremony was performed as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased; while it was explicitly denied to those whose lives were regarded as having reflected discredit upon the nation.

Among these nations, and by the Hindus at the present time, as well as with the native Australian, the American Indian, and other savage tribes, the means by which cremation was affected was the open pyre, consisting generally of a platform of rough logs, upon the top of which were placed both the body and the bier upon which it had been brought. By the early Christians, however, the custom was abolished so thoroughly that, for a period of 1,500 years, we do not know of any cremation having taken place in Europe. From the end of the fourth century of the Christian era until the year 1658 we do not find the subject even mentioned in European literature. The essay of Sir Thomas Browne upon non-burial was then published, and caused a temporary interest in the subject.

In 1817 Dr. Jamieson published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, Edinburgh, a paper on "The Origin of Cremation," and public attention was directed to the merits of the question. In July of that year the poet Shelley and his companion Williams were drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the Ligurian Sea. Their bodies were washed ashore near Leghorn. The quarantine laws of Tuscany required the burning of all material drifting in from the sea. Byron and Shelley had made an agreement that whichever died first should be cremated by the survivor. Thus, by a singular coincidence, was Byron compelled by legal enactment to perform a ceremony which had been prearranged, but in the conduct of which he had expected to meet with powerful opposition.

Modern Times

It attracted a great amount of notice and comment. For the first time in its history science bestowed its attention upon the subject. Altho the first step toward a practical realization of cremation was made in England, yet must Italy be regarded as the pioneer in Europe of the modern scientific system. The first Italian cremation society was formed in 1876, in the city of Milan. Two other societies, those of Cremona and Lodi, were formed, and Rome and Udine followed suit in 1879. In Germany the first crematory was established in Dresden, but was forbidden by law, and Gotha remained for several years the only place in Germany where cremation could be carried into effect.

In 1874 the first attempt to carry the change into England was made by the formation of the Cremation Society of England. For several years the Parliament of the country was asked to take such action as should legalize cremation. At length the body of a child was cremated, and the father was prosecuted upon the charge of having performed an illegal act. At the trial, however, the presiding judge laid down the rule that, provided it was done without creating a nuisance, there was, in the law, nothing which was infringed by this method of disposing of a body. At this the crematorium of the society was at once opened (1885) and has since continued in operation, mainly through the efforts of Sir Henry Thompson of London.

In that year three bodies were cremated, in the next ten, in 1901 over 300, in 1903 over 2,000.

In Switzerland, Zurich led the way in 1873. France cremates her dead in considerable numbers, and Sweden has manifested great activity in the matter. In the United States the first effort, at all serious, to form a cremation society was made in 1874, in the city of New York. In 1881 two societies were formed: the New York Cremation Society, to prepare public opinion for the theory, and the U. S. Cremation Company, to construct crematories. Dr. F. J. Le Moyne of Washington, however, cremated the first bodies in the U. S. in a private furnace in 1884. The same year a crematory was opened in Lancaster, Pa. The U. S. Cremation Company opened its first crematory in 1885. Buffalo followed the same year. Detroit, Baltimore, San Francisco, Davenport, Ia., Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Boston, followed later. By 1897 there were 592 crematories in the U. S.

In Great Britain there are now several crematoria at Woking, near London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Hull, Darlington, Birmingham, and smaller places. There are twenty-five crematoria in the U. S. of America, where 3,613 were cremated during the year 1901, San Francisco and New York being by far the largest, the first with 666, the second 654, during 1901.

In Paris there is a fine crematorium at Père-la-Chaise. Germany has seven crematoria: Gotha, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Offenbach, Jena, Manheim, and Eisenach, the total cremations being 693 during 1901.

Italy possesses twenty-two crematoria.

In Switzerland there are three crematoria: Zurich, Basle, and Geneva. There is a crematorium at Stockholm and at Gothenberg. There is also one at Copenhagen.

CREMER, WILLIAM RANDALL: British member of Parliament; born 1838 at Fareham, Hants, England. In 1859 he organized the Society of Amalgamated Carpenters; and during the American Civil War he protested, as a trade-union leader, against sympathy with the Southern states. On behalf of the proletariat he took a leading part in welcoming Garibaldi to England; and he was one of the founders of the Reform League, and for two years and a half general secretary of that terror of kings, the famous "International." He was elected to Parliament in 1885 for the Haggerston Division of Shoreditch, and has been four times reelected since. Of late years his attention and energy have been mostly devoted to international peace and arbitration. Cremer is the founder of the Inter-Parliamentary Conferences which since 1888 have met in the great cities of Europe and once in the United States. He has twice presented to the president and Congress of the U. S. memorials from members of the British House of Commons in favor of a treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and America. For thirty-five years secretary of the International Arbitration League, he also edits the League's organ, *The Arbitrator*. In 1903 he was awarded the Nobel Prize, £7,000 of which he gave as an endowment to the International Arbitration League. In addition the French Government bestowed upon him the Cross of the Legion of Honor. Mr. Cremer's views in matters of economic and social reform are those of a thorough democrat and practical Socialist. *Address*: 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W. C., London, England.

CRIME (see also PENOLOGY): In this article we consider the facts as to crime, and the question as to whether or no crime is on the increase. We shall notice:

I. Some general considerations. II. International statistics. III. The statistics of crime in the separate countries and the question for each country whether crime is on the increase or not. IV. Some general conclusions.

I. General Considerations

The first thing to be remembered in statistics of crime is what they do and do not indicate. Increase in numbers of persons accused, or of criminals tried, or convicted, do not, by any means, always indicate increase of criminality. Very often, perhaps even usually, they mean the reverse. When crime is common, public conscience low, morals lax, enforcement of law weak, few criminals are accused, tried, or convicted. When, however, public morals awake, new laws are put on the statute-books, offenses formerly condoned or not made amenable to law become contrary to law, people are tried, and convicted, and the number of criminals is apparently largely increased.

In England to-day hundreds of thousands of people annually are convicted of offenses against laws which did not even exist a generation or two ago. Education acts, vaccination acts, acts against the adulteration of food, regulations concerning the muzzling and treatment of dogs and other animals—all these enormously swell the number of convictions, and afford basis for thoughtless statements of the increase of crime, but certainly show if anything the reverse. In 1860 there were 158 offenses punishable as crimes in Massachusetts and 108 in Virginia, or fifty less. A large number of convictions in Massachusetts would therefore not prove more crime in Massachusetts than in Virginia, but here again very probably the reverse. In the German Empire, Mr. A. C. Hall ("Crime and Social Progress") states that between 1882 and 1895 new legislation increased the number of delicts punishable under the German code from 323 to 447, or 38 per cent. It is small wonder that apparently Germany has grown in crime. It is perfectly evident that one must know the state of the laws and of the enforcement of laws, before one says whether statistics of crimes do or do not mean high or low criminality.

Effect of New Legislation

Again, one must know what other conditions are. A large part of the modern apparent increase of crime is owing to accusations and convictions for comparatively petty offenses, but even in regard to the more serious crimes, like murder, which in all times and in all countries has been contrary to law, there are very different degrees of enforcement of the law. Law in Spain is probably much less enforced than in most civilized countries. In the United States legal methods and procedures are such that it is unquestionably much more difficult to convict even of murder in the U. S. than in England or most European countries. Notice must also be taken of the extent to which crimes are reported and recorded. Says a Boston paper, speaking of the asserted increase of crime in the U. S.:

"The ubiquitous reporter is responsible for the gloomy showing. His note-book and pencil are everywhere, and the telegraph is the ready agent for transmitting news to all parts of the world. . . ." Says another writer: "Years ago a crime had to be of unusual proportions to make its way into an adjoining state. Only the great crimes could cross the continent. But now we see and know everything. We skim the whole creation every morning, and put the results in our coffee."

All this and very much more must be remembered before one can rightly answer the question whether crime is on the increase or not, and also before one can compare the amount of crime in the different countries. Especially is it difficult, if not impossible, to compare the amount of crime in the U. S. with that in other countries. Conditions, methods, laws, vary greatly; the statistics of criminals in the U. S. for the census of 1900 have not yet appeared; the most recent general statistics we have are, therefore, those of 1890, and these the census tells us are not truly comparable with those of former censuses because these latter as to criminals were too incomplete.

II. International Statistics

It is scarcely too much to say, for the reasons given above, and, particularly, as to the U. S., that there are no general international statistics as to crime which are not more misleading than they are informing. The utmost that can be done, and that with the extremest caution, and even then with no little danger of being misleading, is to compare the statistics of crime in different countries for a very few main crimes. As to murders and homicides in the different countries Dr. A. C. Hall (idem, p. 32) gives the following suggestive table:

	England	Germany	France	Austria	Italy	Spain
Industrial rank (value of manufactures produced yearly in millions of pounds sterling, 1888)	820	583	485	253	121	85
Percentage of adults able to write (1889)	90%	90%	85%	55%	47%	28%
Convictions for murder and homicide, per 1,000,000 inhabitants (average for 10 years 1886–95)	5.13	5.45	11.55	15.42	76.11	44.70

Statistics comparable with this for the U. S. cannot be given. The *Chicago Tribune* reports each year the number of homicides and murders in the U. S., and also the number of executions, but neither of these are official or comparable with statistics as to *convictions* in other countries.

Mr. W. D. Morrison, of the prison at Wandsworth, England, in his "Crime and Its Causes" (1891), gives the following table:

Homicides of All Countries

Countries	Years	Tried	Convicted	
		Annual average	Annual average	Per 100,000 inhabitants over 10 years
Italy	1887	3,606	2,805	11.98
Austria	1883–6	689	499	2.90
France	1882–6	847	580	1.87
Belgium	1881–5	132	101	2.31
England	1882–6	318	151	0.76
Ireland	1882–6	129	54	1.40
Scotland	1882–6	60	21	0.74
Spain	1883–6	1,584	1,085	8.16
Hungary	1882–6	....	625	5.78
Holland	1882–6	35	28	0.88
Germany	1882–6	567	476	1.35

For statistics of illegitimacy and prostitution, see those articles.

For theft and robbery, Baron Garofalo, of Italy,

presented the following statistics at the International Conference of Charities and Corrections at Chicago in 1893 as to those *accused* of robbery and theft (annual average from 1881–87).

Country	Accused	Per 1,000,000 inhabitants
France	46,000	14.2
England	50,000	18.2
Belgium	11,000	18.3
Germany	146,000	29.8
Italy	125,000	42.2

A more minute study from facts given by Mr. Hall seems to show the following as to *accusations*:

Robbery and Extortion

Period	England	France	Austria	Germany	Italy
1881–85	215	143	164	1,116	725
Per 1,000,000	8.7	3.8	7.5	24.5	25.5
1891–95	226	[2]230	[2]134	1,024	859
Per 1,000,000	7.8	5.0	5.6	20.6	26.6

Serious Theft

1881–85	7,095	1,285	17,589	[1]12,898	.....
Per 1,000,000	288.4	31.5	803.1	283.4	.....
1891–95	6,92	[2]1,129	14,590	12,354	.....
Per 1,000,000	252.8	29.4	611.3	248.9	.....

Frauds and Fraudulent Bankruptcy

1881–85	1,829	14,800	17,783	37,081	.....
Per 1,000,000	74.3	393.0	812.0	812.8	.....
1891–95	1,837	18,577	23,847	43,775	10,791
Per 1,000,000	66.6	485.0	1,006.2	882.4	354.3

Allowance must be made in these figures for different ratings in different countries. When, as in the above, it appears that there is nine times as much serious theft in England as in France and that there is five or six times as much fraud in France as in England, it is evident that the difference is largely not in morals but in different ratings as to what is theft and what is fraud.

Nevertheless, it is significant that both as to murder and homicide, the countries stand in this order (those having the least murder and homicide in proportion to population being put first): England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Spain.

In offenses against the property there is more confusion, because of the different ratings of crime, but the countries stand in about this order: France, England, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy.

The United States

As already stated, the 1900 census returns as to statistics for crime are not yet available. The returns for 1890 are therefore the latest official figures.

Is Crime Increasing?

Based largely on these, the opinion is general that crime is largely on the increase in the United States. This is the statement of such authorities as David A. Wells, Henry M. Boies, Dr. F. H. Wines, General Brinkerhoff, Dr. Josiah Strong, and others. Dr. J. M. Buckley writes in the *Century* for Nov., 1903, on the present "epidemic of crime." S. S. McClure gives startling figures (*McClure's Magazine*, Dec., 1904). More recently epidemics of crime have been spoken of in New York, Chicago, and other cities.

Nevertheless, other authorities, like R. P. Falkner (*Forum*, July, 1900) and Eugene Smith ("Proceedings of National Prison Association," 1904), deny that this is proved. The statement of the census is:

	Prisoners	Per 100,000 of population
1850	6,737	29
1860	19,086	61
1870	32,901	85
1880	58,609	117
1890	82,329	132
1904	81,772	100.6

The figures published each year by the *Chicago Tribune* as to murders and homicides are not official, and are undoubtedly somewhat more complete for the later years than the former; nevertheless, they are significant and cannot be ignored:

Murders and Homicides in the U. S.

(From statistics compiled by the *Chicago Tribune*)

Year	Number of murders and homicides in the United States	Number of murders and homicides for each million of people	Number of suicides in the United States	Number of executions in the United States	Number of murders and homicides to each execution	Number of lynchings
1885	1,808	32.2	978	108	17	181
1886	1,499	26.1	914	83	18	133
1887	2,335	39.8	1,387	79	29	125
1888	2,184	36.4	1,487	87	25	144
1889	3,567	58.2	2,224	98	36	175
1890	4,290	68.5	2,640	102	42	123
1891	5,906	92.4	3,331	123	56	193
1892	6,791	104.2	3,860	107	63	230
1893	6,615	99.5	4,436	126	52	200
1894	9,800	144.7	4,912	132	73	189
1895	10,500	152.2	5,759	132	79	166
1896	10,652	151.3	6,530	122	87	131
1897	9,520	132.8	6,600	128	74	166
1898	7,840	107.2	5,920	109	72	127
1899	6,225	83.6	5,340	131	87	107
1900	8,275	108.4	6,755	117	71	115
1901	7,852	100.9	7,845	118	67	135
1902	8,834	111.7	8,132	144	61	96
1903	8,976	112.4	8,597	124	72	104
1904	8,482	104.4	9,240	116	73	87
1905	9,212	111.9	9,982	136	67	66
1906	9,350	108.9	10,125	123	76	69

Making every allowance for error, and tho things do not seem quite as black as in the hard times of 1895–96, an increase in murders and homicides in twenty-one years from 1,808 in 1885 to 9,350 in 1906 is startling in the extreme.

Yet possibly even more significant is the fact that in 1885 there were only seventeen murders and homicides for each execution, and in 1906, seventy-six for each execution, an increase of over 400 per cent. The columns, too, show that except for the years of depression from 1894 to 1899, the growth of murders and homicides has been almost steady, showing it the resultant not of accidental causes, but of some sinister evils in the nation steadily working increasing wrong.

Concerning the nature of crimes and criminals in the U. S., the Special Report on Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions (Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Cen-

sus, 1907) gives the following data, p. 20, for June 30, 1904:

Crimes	Number	Per cent
Against society	17,739	21.7
Against the person	26,017	31.8
Against property	37,166	45.5
Miscellaneous	850	1.0
Total	81,772	100.0

Criminals

White	Total	Native	Foreign born	Per cent native	Per cent foreign
United States	[1]55,111	41,730	12,945	[2]76.3	[2]23.7
Males	52,280	40,004	11,848		
Females	2,831	1,726	1,097		
North Atlantic	24,349	16,363	7,954	67.3	32.7
Males	22,193	15,170	6,994		
Females	2,256	1,193	960		
South Atlantic	2,859	2,473	173	93.5	6.5
Males	2,758	2,387	163		
Females	101	86	10		
North Central	16,693	13,871	2,645	84.0	16.0
Males	16,295	13,562	2,556		
Females	398	309	89		
South Central	4,339	3,880	454	89.5	10.5
Males	4,297	3,839	453		
Females	42	41	1		
Western Division	6,871	5,143	1,719	74.9	25.1
Males	6,737	5,046	1,682		
Females	134	97	37		

Colored

United States	26,661	26,087	190	384	67.4	32.6	12.1
Males	24,989	24,426	189	374			
Females	1,672	1,681	1	10			
North Atlantic	3,040	3,010	15	15	88.9	11.1	1.9
Males	2,689	2,661	15	13			
Females	351	349	...	2			
South Atlantic	8,291	8,281	1	9	25.6	74.4	35.8
Males	7,777	7,767	1	9			
Females	514	514	...	...			
North Central	4,307	4,068	3	236	79.5	20.5	2.1
Males	4,066	3,832	3	231			
Females	241	236	...	5			
South Central	10,275	10,269	...	6	29.7	70.3	30.3
Males	9,758	9,752	...	6			
Females	517	517	...	...			
Western Division	748	459	171	118	90.2	9.8	5.3
Males	699	414	170	115			
Females	49	45	1	3			

[1] Including 436 "unknown" parentage for U. S. not appearing in separate column.

[2] The percentage of white population over 10 years of age in 1900 was: native, 80.5; foreign, 19.5.

The compendium gives the following statements as to the birthplace of the parents of prisoners in the U. S.: Canada, 4,388; England, 5,997; Scotland, 1,996; Ireland, 29,184; France, 1,036; Germany, 9,987; Italy, 1,209; Mexico, 1,483; Norway, 487; Poland, 339; Russia, 382; Sweden, 775; Switzerland, 384. (Figures for 1890.)

For 1900 we have estimates only. Mr. Eugene Smith ("Proceedings of National Prison Association," 1900, House Document No. 491, 56th Congress, 2d Session) estimates 250,000 in the U. S. who make their living, at least in some degree, by the practise of crime. Their annual income he estimates at $1,600 each, or $400,000,000. Taxation caused by crime he puts at $200,000,000, besides the property destroyed; the time, life, and labor lost; the private expense entailed, expenses for steel safes, safe-deposit vaults, burglar alarms, detectives, locks, bars, bolts.

Rev. J. J. Munro, chaplain of the Prison Evangelistic Society of New York, writing in *Harper's Weekly*, estimates the annual direct and indirect cost of crime in the U. S. for 1906 at $1,075,000,000, which he figures as follows:

Cost of crime to Greater New York	$35,000,000
Cost of crime to New York State elsewhere	42,000,000
Cost of crime all other states	697,000,000
Cost of crime to federal government	80,000,000
Criminal losses by fires	100,000,000
Custom House frauds	60,000,000
Wages of 100,000 prisoners in state prisons	28,000,000
Wages of 150,000 in jail	33,000,000
	$1,075,000,000

After a careful study of the statistics of penitentiaries in 1890, Professor Falkner found that of 9,859 prisoners reported by the Wardens' Association, there were only 227 females, or 2.3 per cent, which, he says, may mean that females are not sent to penitentiaries or do not commit the more serious crimes. (The total aggregate in all penal institutes, however, in 1890 was 40,741 men to 32,304 women.) Nearly one fifth of the convicts in the penitentiaries studied were colored, a proportion far in advance of the colored in the population.

As to the extent to which the foreign born in the community contribute to our penal population, Professor Falkner found that, in 1890, considering penitentiaries alone (not including workhouses and other penal institutions) adult whites of foreign birth did not contribute more than their due proportion as compared with the native born.

But of the second generation of the foreign born —that is, of the native whites of foreign parentage —it does seem true that they produce more than their proportion of criminals, for native whites of native parentage had 753 prisoners for each million in 1890, and native whites of foreign parentage had 1,345. And taking into consideration penal institutions of all sorts, except juvenile reformatories, the 20,000,000 of our population in 1890 who were foreign by birth or parentage, furnished a half more prisoners than the 34,000,000 of our native white population. In other words, the tendency to crime in the U. S. was more than two and one half times as strong among those who are foreign by birth or parentage, as among the native white.

Difference of race, however, seems to count more than difference of nativity in the production of criminals. The following table, compiled from the census of 1890, gives the nationality of the parents of prisoners and paupers in the U. S., so far as these were known, and compares the per-

PERCENTAGE OF NATIVITY OF 105,885 KNOWN PARENTS OF PRISONERS IN U. S. AND 108,802 KNOWN PARENTS OF PAUPERS IN U. S. CENSUS OF 1890

	Canadian, English	Canadian, French	English	Scotch	Irish	French	German	Scandinavian	Russian	Hungarian	Bohemian	Italian	Total foreign	Native
Parents of total population	1.50	.82	3.07	.86	7.85	.41	10.94	2.11	.41	.12	.34	.40	33.02	66.94
Parents of prisoners	3.83	.30	5.66	1.88	27.56	.97	9.43	1.20	.36	.24	.08	1.14	56.81	43.18
Parents of paupers	1.85	.22	4.30	1.28	29.79	.89	14.36	1.98	.12	.09	.32	.29	48.46	41.59

centages of the extent to which each country has furnished the parents of criminals, with the percentage of the extent to which it has furnished parents in the community at large. It will be seen by making this comparison what differences there are in this respect between races.

As to age and conjugal condition, Professor Falkner found that in round numbers one third of the convicts were over 30 years of age, and that 68.75 per cent were unmarried. As to occupations, agriculture produced 15.27 per cent. of the prisoners and (in 1900) 44.3 of the community; personal and professional life, 72.09 of prisoners and 23.7 of the community; trade and transportation, 10.41 of prisoners and 16.3 of the community; manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, 22.01 of prisoners to 23.3 of the community.

GREAT BRITAIN

Criminals committed for trial, convicted and acquitted

IN ENGLAND AND WALES AT ASSIZES AND QUARTER SESSIONS

YEARS	COMMITTED FOR TRIAL			CONVICTED
	Males	Females	Total	
1891	9,837	1,858	11,695	[3]9,055
1892	10,492	1,724	12,216	9,607
1893	10,648	1,646	[2]12,296	9,797
1894	10,519	1,636	12,155	9,634
1895	10,018	1,602	[4]11,621	9,169
1896	9,833	1,379	[2]11,214	8,856
1897	9,930	1,411	[4]11,342	8,992
1898	10,144	1,450	11,595	9,272
1899	9,723	1,322	11,045	8,751
1900	9,099	1,230	[2]10,331	8,157
1901	9,744	1,260	[2]11,006	8,840
1902	10,302	1,300	[5]11,606	9,352
1903	10,773	1,349	12,122	9,882
1904	11,147	1,325	12,472	10,233
1905	11,422	1,267	12,689	10,481

IN SCOTLAND[1]

1891	1,969	385	2,354	1,823
1892	1,871	381	2,252	1,778
1893	2,010	384	2,394	1,903
1894	1,984	387	2,371	1,937
1895	1,711	316	2,027	1,652
1896	1,781	339	2,120	1,704
1897	1,866	337	2,203	1,796
1898	1,946	344	2,290	1,877
1899	1,861	292	2,153	1,785
1900	1,886	281	2,167	1,835
1901	1,946	345	2,291	1,872
1902	2,157	320	2,477	2,052
1903	2,256	334	2,590	2,114
1904	2,354	277	2,631	2,208
1905	2,506	305	2,811	2,312

[1] For Scotland the number of persons convicted is exclusive of those outlawed.
[2] Including two corporate bodies indicted for nuisances.
[3] Including 104 incorrigible rogues sentenced at Quarter Sessions in 1893, 116 in 1894, 105 in 1895, 111 in 1896, 125 in 1897, 139 in 1898, 143 in 1899, 182 in 1900, 209 in 1901, 214 in 1902, 240 in 1903, 314 in 1904, and 363 in 1905.
[4] Including one corporate body indicted for nuisance.
[5] Including four corporate bodies indicted for nuisances.

IN IRELAND AT ASSIZES, DUBLIN COMMISSION, AND QUARTER SESSIONS

YEARS	COMMITTED FOR TRIAL			CONVICTED
	Males	Females	Total	
1891	1,714	398	[6]2,112	1,255
1892	1,761	270	2,031	1,196
1893	1,994	345	2,339	1,378
1894	2,026	382	2,408	1,469
1895	1,535	240	1,775	1,096
1896	1,754	301	2,055	1,310
1897	1,609	276	1,885	1,242
1898	1,786	325	2,111	1,367
1899	1,644	309	1,953	1,329
1900	1,438	244	1,682	1,087
1901	1,565	291	1,856	1,221
1902	1,452	265	1,717	1,086
1903	1,445	288	1,733	1,169
1904	1,566	271	1,837	1,296
1905	1,766	294	2,060	1,367

[6] Including one corporate body indicted for nuisance.

Concerning the nature of crimes, and the question of increase or decrease in recent years, the 1907 Year Book of the *Daily Mail* makes the following summary:

OFFENSES	1904	Annual average 1900–4	Proportions per 100,000 population: 1904	Proportions per 100,000 population: Annual average 1900-4
I. Crimes (indictable offenses) known to the police	92,907	84,247	275	255
II. Persons for trial or tried for:				
(*a*) Indictable offenses	59,960	56,911	178	172
(*b*) Criminal non-indictable offenses	89,254	94,288	264	286
(*c*) Other non-indictable offenses	657,925	641,159	1,949	1,943
Total persons tried	807,139	792,358	2,391	2,401
III. Persons convicted of:				
(*a*) Indictable offenses	49,567	46,550	147	141
(*b*) Criminal non-indictable offenses	59,372	61,605	176	186
(*c*) Other non-indictable offenses	556,440	540,016	1,648	1,637
Total persons convicted	665,379	648,171	1,971	1,964
IV. Persons imprisoned:				
Convicted prisoners received	199,153	175,613	590	532
Convicted prisoners in prison on 31st March	20,099	18,130	60	55

These figures are not all of equal value as criteria of the state of crime, but they all indicate an increase of criminality in 1904. The statistics of persons tried for indictable offenses have been generally accepted as the best index to the fluctuations of crime, and accordingly these figures will be used in the remarks which follow in preference to the others.

The total number of persons for trial for indictable offenses was 59,960, or 177.59 per 100,000 population, being an increase of 1,516, or nearly 3 per cent, as compared with the previous year. There has been a continuous growth of crime since the year 1899; the figures for each year from 1899 to 1904 being as follows:

Year	Number of Persons	Proportion per 100,000 population
1899	50,494	158.97
1900	53,628	166.98
1901	55,453	170.00
1902	57,068	172.94
1903	58,444	175.10
1904	59,960	177.59

It is necessary, however, to remember that for many years prior to 1899 there was a steady decline, with occasional interruptions, in the number of persons tried for indictable offenses, and in that year the total was less than in any previous year since 1875. The actual figures for 1904, altho high, are by no means the highest, there having been eight occasions during the forty-eight years for which figures are available in which the total exceeded 60,000; and as in those years the population was less than in 1904, the proportion of crime to population was of course greater than in recent years. For example, during the quinquennial period, 1860–64, the annual average was 280 per 100,000 population, as compared with 172 in the last quinquennial period

An increase in the total of crime does not imply an increase in all descriptions of crime. The increase in 1904 was wholly in offenses against property. Offenses against the person fell from 2,768 to 2,525, or nearly 9 per cent. Except in the past year, and in 1900, the figures for offenses of this description have shown a remarkable steadiness during the 12 years covered by the revised criminal statistics, the figures being as follows:

1893	2,790	1899	2,785
1894	2,752	1900	2,566
1895	2,755	1901	2,727
1896	2,812	1902	2,757
1897	2,734	1903	2,768
1898	2,749	1904	2,525

The decrease in 1904 is spread over nearly all the headings, but is mainly in offenses of violence. The only offense against the person which (measured by the number of cases tried) shows a marked tendency to increase, is bigamy, for which the figure was 138, the quinquennial averages for 1895–99 and 1900–4 being 104 and 112 respectively.

The principal classes of offenses showing an increase in 1904 are:

Offenses	1904	1903	Annual average 1900–4
Simple larceny and minor larcenies	41,952	40,127	39,368
Obtaining by false pretenses	2,153	1,830	1,727
Frauds by agents, etc	76	54	37
Bankruptcy offenses	59	32	40
Other frauds	152	114	111
Arson	219	143	152
Coining	98	89	75

The increase of offenses of simple larceny and minor larcenies (1,825, or 4 per cent) is more than sufficient to account for the whole of the increase in the total number of persons tried. The increase under this heading is mainly in cases tried summarily, and it may therefore be inferred that the additional offenses were not of the gravest character.

It is satisfactory to observe that those classes of offenses usually committed by habitual criminals have ceased to increase at the same rapid rate as formerly. The figures for burglary and housebreaking were 2,942, as against 2,863 in 1903, an increase of only 79, as against increases of 313 and 435 in the two previous years; and the figures for receiving stolen goods were 1,187, as against 1,267 in 1903. The offense of larceny from the person has been on the decline for a long period, the figures for 1904 (2,164) being little more than half the figures for 1893 (3,993).

The number of persons prosecuted for non-indictable offenses was 747,179, an increase of only 1,927, or 0.25 per cent, as compared with the previous year, while the proportion to population fell from 2,233 to 2,213 per 100,000. During the forty-eight years for which figures are available, non-indictable offenses reached their highest point—761,322—in 1899, the year in which indictable offenses touched their lowest level during the past thirty years.

The principal conclusions as to the increase and decrease of crimes and offenses to be drawn from the statistics for 1904 may be thus shortly stated:

1. Crimes against the person have diminished.
2. Crimes of the classes chiefly committed by habitual criminals have ceased to increase at the same rapid rate as in previous years.
3. Minor offenses of dishonesty have increased.
4. Serious frauds and breaches of trust have increased.
5. Drunkenness is stationary.
6. Offenses of the vagrancy class are growing rapidly.

Concerning the question of the increase or decrease of crime in England compared with former times, Mr. A. C. Hall has compiled considerable information. We are largely indebted to him for the following:

Former Times

He finds that as England emerged from feudalism, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (the great period of constitutional progress) were times of weakness in the administration of justice, of increasing anarchy, and moral decay, tho on the whole there was little crime, the lawless being attracted to the service of the nobility and their feuds. Under the Tudors there was the enactment of a large number of new laws severely enforced. Hence, apparently and in fact, a flood of criminality. English blood was astir with restlessness. Under the Stuarts again there were great constitutional and religious contests. There was large and general corruption, but less of other forms of crime. The Reformation and Puritanism checked immorality with an unnatural condemnation of all joys, that reacted in a carnival of vice and crime. In 1723 Lady Mary Montagu wrote: "Honor, virtue, and reputation, which we used to hear of in the nursery, are as much laid aside as crumpled ribbons." Says Lecky ("England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. i., p. 482): "The impunity with which outrages were committed on the ill-lit and ill-guarded streets of London during the first half of the eighteenth century can now hardly be realized. In 1712 a club of young men of the higher classes, who assumed the name of Mohawks, were accustomed nightly to sally out drunk into the streets to hunt the passers-by. . . . One of their favorite amusements, called 'tipping the lion,' was to squeeze the nose of their victim flat upon his face, and to bore out his eyes with their fingers. . . . [Another] favorite amusement was to set women on their heads and commit various indecencies and barbarities on the limbs that were exposed. . . . Country gentlemen went to the theater as if in a time of war, accompanied by their armed retainers." Macaulay, in his well-known picture of England of the seventeenth century, confirms the same picture of London being utterly unsafe by night, while the country was unsafe by night or day. Banditti and highwaymen infested the roads near London, and ruled the remoter sections. Walpole (1721–42), established an "organized system" of parliamentary bribery. Coaches were plundered for weeks together in broad daylight. Piracy was common. Laws were ferocious. Men were hanged at Tyburn every Monday by the dozen. Even from 1824 to 1830, forty kinds of forgery were punishable by death.

Since the beginning, however, of the nineteenth century there has been a large doing away with the death penalty for most crimes, the passage, as stated above, of a very large number of new laws, a resultant steady increase of accusations and convictions, but beyond all question a diminution of serious crime, except perhaps in a few forms peculiar to modern commercialism. For serious crimes Mr. Hall gives the following table of arraignments before the high courts of England and Wales:

	Annual average	Per 100,000 of population
1857–61	17,825	90.53
1862–66	19,758	94.61
1867–71	18,445	83.00
1872–76	15,096	63.63
1877–81	15,567	61.36
1882–86	14,303	53.13
1887–91	12,481	43.87
1892–96	11,816	39.31
1896–	11,103	36.13

IRELAND

	Annual average	Per 100,000 of population
1852–56	12,155	185.52
1857–61	6,071	99.52
1876–80	4,255	80.86
1881–85	3,687	73.11
1886–90	2,430	50.55
1891–95	2,133	46.15

Says the Report of the Howard Association (1906):

It is interesting to note that while crime generally has increased, offenses against the person have decreased, falling from 2,785 in 1899 to 2,525 in 1904, a decrease of nearly 9 per cent. The obvious deduction is that passion and brutality are becoming less potent factors in the causation of crime.

The great increase has taken place in those kinds of offenses that require not only dishonest intention, but also some education and skill in their perpetration. Hence false pretenses, frauds, embezzlements, and larcenies make up the increase; the deduction being obvious, that dishonesty, cupidity, and lack of principle are becoming more powerful causes of crime.

SCOTLAND

The number imprisoned during 1904 was 59,962, or 1 prisoner in 75 of the population.

As in England, while the number of minor offenses resulting in imprisonment has been going down, the more serious crimes have been increasing. Drunkenness and breaches of the peace show large reductions below the average of the last five years; but thefts, frauds, housebreakings, and cruelty to children have increased greatly. The commissioners call particular attention to housebreaking and fraud. The average number of imprisonments for housebreaking for the previous five years was 563; in 1904 the number rose to 869, or 54 per cent above the average. Cases of fraud rose in the same period from 316 to 434, or by 37 per cent.

Concerning the increase of crime the following figures seem to show a steady increase, but are probably largely due to increasing legislation:

GERMAN EMPIRE

	Convictions in courts of first instance	Per 10,000 inhabitants
1883	330,128	102.3
1884	345,977	106.6
1885	343,087	104.6
1886	353,000	108.2
1887	356,357	108.4
1888	350,665	105.5
1889	369,644	110.1
1890	381,450	112.0
1891	391,064	112.4
1892	422,327	119.6
1893	430,403	121.2
1894	446,110	124.4
1895	454,211	124.9
1896	456,999	124.4
1897	463,585	124.8
1898	477,807	125.7
1899	473,139	123.6
1900	469,819	119.5
1901	497,310	125.6
1902	512,329	127.3
1903	505,353	123.4
1904	516,976	124.2

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1904

(Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1906)

CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS AGAINST LAWS OF THE EMPIRE	Accused	Convicted	Punishable actions	PERSONS SENTENCED: Male	Female	From 12 to 18 years	Previously sentenced
Total crimes and misdemeanors	660,857	516,976	611,082	435,191	81,785	50,028	225,326
(a) Against the State, public order, and religion	106,760	92,677	101,649	81,170	11,507	2,230	38,003
(b) Against persons	285,904	220,164	245,180	189,118	31,046	12,939	89,890
(c) Against property	266,606	202,860	261,899	163,704	39,156	34,850	97,157
(d) Crimes and misdemeanors of officials	1,587	1,275	2,354	1,199	76	9	276

TABLE OF PERCENTAGES

		Percentage of crimes and misdemeanors specified			Percentage of persons sentenced			
Total crimes and misdemeanors		100.0	100.0	100.0	84.2	15.8	9.7	43.6
(a) Against the State, public order, and religion		16.2	17.9	16.6	87.6	12.4	2.4	41.0
(b) Against persons		43.3	42.6	40.1	85.9	14.1	5.9	40.8
(c) Against property		40.3	39.2	42.9	80.7	19.3	17.2	47.9
(d) Crimes and misdemeanors of officials		0.2	0.3	0.4	94.0	6.0	0.7	21.6
Details	Violence and threats against officials	2.8	3.4	3.1	94.5	5.5	2.0	65.1
	Breaking the peace	4.7	4.8	5.4	90.5	9.5	4.7	48.5
	Escaping from jail and prison	0.4	0.3	0.3	73.3	26.7	0.8	47.0
	Perjury	0.3	0.2	0.2	73.1	26.9	4.3	47.5
	Rape, assault, and incest	1.0	1.1	1.4	99.4	0.6	19.5	45.0
	Calumny	12.5	11.8	14.3	73.4	26.6	2.5	32.3
	Murder and homicide	0.05	0.05	0.05	87.2	12.8	7.0	57.1
	Bodily injury (light)	5.2	5.2	5.0	90.1	9.9	4.4	44.3
	Bodily injury (dangerous)	19.1	19.1	13.3	92.4	7.6	7.7	42.7
	Threats and blackmail	2.4	2.3	3.5	94.7	5.3	3.2	56.6
	Theft and burglary	18.6	19.1	19.3	76.3	23.7	24.3	47.8
	Defalcation	4.4	4.4	5.3	82.5	17.5	10.2	50.8
	Robbery	0.1	0.1	0.07	97.5	2.5	18.6	65.4
	Receiving stolen goods	1.9	1.4	1.4	67.0	33.0	15.4	42.0
	Cheating and swindling	5.5	5.0	7.9	83.0	17.0	7.4	60.2
	Forgery	1.0	1.1	1.6	83.2	16.8	11.8	47.1
	Damage to property	4.0	3.8	3.6	94.4	5.6	16.4	43.9
	Incendiarism	0.1	0.1	0.09	85.5	14.5	35.8	33.5

As stated above, Germany from 1882 to 1895 increased the number of offenses punishable under the code 38 per cent. Naturally accusations have increased, as will be seen from the tables of international statistics. Germany's main offenses are against property, not against life. This is doubtless due to her new almost sudden development of commercialism. According to Mr. Hall, there were from 1891 to 1895 1,080 crimes for 100,000 in the country districts, 1,400 in cities of 20,000 or over. Fraud increased from 1882 to 1895 50 per cent; fraudulent bankruptcy and forgery 45 per cent. Theft in all forms decreased. Delicts of immorality and lust increased from little over 3,000 in 1882–85 to 4,000, 1891–95. Mr. Hall finds a rapid increase of crime among young men and women, which he connects with the increase of factories.

France

	Convictions in			Total	Per 100,000
	Assize courts	Correctional tribunals	Police courts.		
1885....	3,028	211,797	450,773	665,598	1,779
1890....	2,918	211,731	447,273	661,988	1,731
1895....	2,372	221,234	398,723	622,329	1,620
1900....	2,248	187,024	[1]411,087	600,359	1,547
1903....	1,996	190,421	435,354	627,771	1,565

[1] 1901.

This shows a somewhat marked diminution in convictions. Until recently, however, convictions have been on the increase in France, mainly, probably, as in other countries, due to the enactment of new laws and particularly of police regulations. Comparing various periods in the nineteenth century Mr. Hall gives us the following table:

	Total persons held for trial	Per 100,000 of pop.	Persons convicted
1826–50.....	403,748	1,199	350,775
1851–75.....	685,445	1,872	639,047
1876–95.....	679,944	1,799	650,318

Most of this increase, however, was due to new police regulations, such as laws for wagons and coaches.

Austria

	Crimes	Per 100,000 of pop.	Less serious offenses	Misdemeanors
1885.....	30,865	137	....	544,692
1890.....	29,090	127	....	581,813
1895.....	28,709	115	7,596	521,756
1901.....	36,317	144	9,052	607,081
1904.....	34,202	131	8,388	560,058

Austria in recent years shows a decrease of crime; up to 1885, however, there was an increase. As Austria has become liberal and less clerical, crime has grown less.

Italy

	Persons Condemned			
	Total convictions	Per 100,000 of pop.	Serious crimes,[1] annual average	Per 100,000
1881–85.....	367,510	1,291	[2] 6,464	23.3
1891–95.....	506,687	1,614	[3] 4,952	13.9
1900–4.....	403,743	1,246	2,788	9.6

[1] Before courts of assize. [2] 1880–84. [3] 1890–94.

Italy shows recently a decrease of convictions of all kinds and a very marked decrease in serious crimes. From 1880 to 1890, however, convictions multiplied, because for the first time under a strong centralized government law began to be enforced and brigandage and lawlessness put down. Under the Church, convictions were few, because law was not enforced and brigandage common.

Spain

	Convictions Under the Criminal Code	
	Annual average	Per 100,000 of pop.
1883–85.....	84,188	504.1
1886–90.....	91,846	532.5
1891–95.....	89,923	521.4
1896.....	81,118	.....

From the above table by Mr. Hall, he draws the conclusion that the political and economic misfortunes and popular ignorance and superstition which have made an almost unprogressive nation of a once great people, have produced an almost stationary condition of criminality.

Belgium

	Annual Convictions			
	Assize courts	Per 100,000 of pop.	Correctional tribunals	Per 100,000 of pop.
1870.....	105	1.9	22,254	419.8
1880.....	137	2.4	40,208	731.0
1890.....	97	1.6	40,275	671.9
1900.....	68	1.0	45,939	696.0
1903.....	68	1.0	47,748	712.1

Belgium in recent years has been among the most progressive countries in the enactments of laws. Convictions of lesser offenses have, therefore, grown since 1870, tho as in other countries serious offenses have fallen off.

Netherlands

	Annual Convictions			
	Cantonal courts	District tribunals	Together	Per 100,000 of pop.
1887.....	66,143	17,262	83,405	1.853
1891.....	69,622	17,428	87,050	1.934
1900.....	95,289	14,490	109,779	2.152
1904.....	147,955	16,138	164,043	2.983

In the Netherlands crime of all kinds seems to have increased. Even the cases before the High Court increased from 270 in 1895 to 437 in 1905.

DENMARK

	Convictions of crime	Per 100,000 of pop.
1885	3,525	176
1890	3,897	185
1897	3,689	161
1904	3,863	148

Showing a decrease of crime.

NORWAY

	Convicted of crimes	Per 100,000 of pop.
1891	2,548	134
1896	3,075	146
1902	3,362	151

An increase of crime.

SWEDEN

	Convicted of crimes	Per 100,000 of pop.
1899	2,224	45
1904	2,393	46

A slight increase.

SWITZERLAND

	Convictions	Per 100,000 of pop.
1893	4,426	147
1898	3,295	106
1903	4,044	118

A decrease of crime.

JAPAN

	Serious crimes	Lesser	Total	Per 100,000 of pop.
1893	3,129	172,489	175,618	425
1900	2,675	128,525	131,200	382
1904	3,866	84,597	88,463	187

A marked diminution of crime, tho serious crimes seem to have increased.

AUSTRALASIA

The following tables are compiled from Coghlan's "Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand," 1904. The figures are for the year 1902:

STATE	Persons charged	Summarily convicted	Committed	Persons charged per 1,000 of pop.
New South Wales	60,373	50,776	1,271	42.89
Victoria	45,198	33,461	641	37.49
Queensland	21,115	17,625	489	41.01
South Australia	6,608	5,556	209	18.06
Western Australia	16,443	12,753	335	76.43
Tasmania	6,228	4,975	75	35.17
Commonwealth	155,965	125,146	3,020	40.13
New Zealand	28,076	22,125	765	34.75
Australasia	184,041	147,271	3,785	39.21

In New Zealand each charge is counted as a separate person—a proceeding which, of course, tells against the colony; a reduction of about 10 per cent should be made to get at the number of persons.

NATURE OF OFFENSES

STATE	PER 1,000 OF POPULATION				
	All offenders	Serious offenders			Minor offenders
		Against the person	Against property	Total	
Commonwealth	40.13	2.52	3.81	6.33	33.80
New Zealand	34.75	1.62	3.57	5.19	29.56
Australasia	39.21	2.36	3.77	6.13	33.08

YEAR	PER 1,000 OF POPULATION	
	Committals	Convictions in superior courts
1861	2.2	1.3
1871	1.4	0.8
1881	1.2	0.7
1891	1.1	0.6
1902	0.7	0.4

Showing a steady diminution of crime.

CANADA

	Summarily convicted	Per 100,000 of pop.	Convicted in higher courts	Per 100,000 of pop.
1888	33,902	737	3,747	81
1893	31,023	646	4,630	96
1898	32,419	635	5,787	113
1904	48,192	932	6,754	127

Showing an increase of crime.

III. General Conclusions

The general conclusion from these statistics is that (excepting, perhaps, in the U. S., Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, and to a less extent the Scandinavian countries) serious crime is on the decrease, and that if commitments for minor offenses are in many countries on the increase, it is in almost every case due to the enactment of new laws, police regulations, etc., with the stricter enforcement of social and hygienic regulations—an indication, therefore, of social progress rather than of the reverse.

Speaking broadly, statistics therefore unquestionably show that the world is growing better. Comparing for a moment the present with the remote past, this is clearly the case.

For social evils to-day, see PROSTITUTION; but compare these with classic days, when the noblest philosophers practised and openly defended not only prostitution, but unnatural vice; when in the baths of Rome thousands of men and women were abandoned *en masse* to the lowest crimes. Without referring to Rome under her degenerate Cæsars, under Augustus 10,000 gladiators fought, and their bloody games were applauded by Stoic philosophers and by vestal virgins. Naturally recklessness of life spread everywhere, and philosophy defended the right of the master to kill or to torture his slaves.

The immorality of Rome and Greece cannot be credited, scarcely described, in a modern encyclopedia. Take it in other lands. In England before the Norman Conquest it was the custom to buy men and women in all parts of England and carry them to Ireland for sale, the buyers usually making the women pregnant to insure a better price ("Life of Bishop Wolstan"). The one aim of life was to escape being slain if a man, and being violated if a woman. The violence and crime and bloodshed of the Middle Ages are well known. The Peace of God, when for a few days a week men agreed not to murder, was instituted to preserve society from absolute disintegration. Murders, treasons, brawls, poisonings were on every hand. A nobleman declared war against Frankfort because a lady had not danced with his cousin. Together with good men the vile were also in the Church, at times even in the chair of St. Peter's; priests went from their mistresses to the altar, and the nunneries were like brothels. The Reformation and Puritanism checked immorality with an unnatural condemnation of all joys, that reacted in a carnival of vice and crime.

Former Ages

Of modern times progress is less clear, only because one of the characteristic marks of modern progress has been the enactment of social and humanitarian legislation, technically vastly increasing the possibility of violating law.

Another conclusion that stands out is what Mr. Hall shows in his book, that crime, at least of the lesser sort, is an almost inevitable concomitant of social progress and of steps to a larger gain.

Again, the facts show that in times of war and political agitation, crime so far as it appears in statistics is reduced, partly because the restless find other outlet and partly because society is too much otherwise occupied to arrest or prosecute petty crimes which would be noticed in times of peace.

Once more, it seems shown, that as countries break away from former religious or governmental paternal forms, the first result in crime is an increase, but that liberalizing institutions and, above all, advance in education tend to the decrease at least of serious crimes.

For the sources of information used in this article, tho not for the tables as here published, we have largely used various editions of the Statesman's Year Book, except as stated.

REFERENCES: A. C. Hall, *Crime and Social Progress* (1902); Mayo Smith, *Statistics and Sociology* (1895); W. D. Morrison, *Crime and Its Causes* (1891); *Statesman's Year Book*. Statistics for each country; R. P. Falkner, article *Forum*, July, 1900; S. S. McClure, article *McClure's*, Dec., 1904; Eugene Smith, *National Prison Association Proceedings* (1904).

CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY: This can hardly be considered a science, but it is a term which represents systematic efforts made in recent years to apply physiological, and to some extent psychological tests to the study of the criminal. Lombroso has worked with great industry in the field, but his conclusions are not generally accepted. Mr. W. D. Morrison in his "Crime and its Causes," chapter vii., has brought out the variety of opinions represented by criminal anthropologists.

CRIMINOLOGY treats of the nature, causes, and prevention of crime and the treatment of the criminal. The word is often used synonymously with PENOLOGY, under which head it is treated in this volume.

CRISES (COMMERCIAL AND MONETARY): A time of general difficulty and pressure in commercial and monetary circles, if acute, is called a *crisis*; if prolonged it is usually called *a period of depression*. A crisis, too, must not be confused with a panic. A panic starts with a group of speculators, perhaps occasioned by some disastrous event or report of a disastrous effect. The market is upset. Weaker firms fail; yet there is no general crisis and the market soon recovers. A crisis lasts longer and is general, tho it is often connected with panics. Crises, whatever be their cause, usually follow a certain course, which it is asserted by some writers, Jevons prominently among them, follows a certain cycle.

In 1634 there was a crisis over speculation in tulips which became a furor in Holland, and lasted four years before it burst. But the first crisis of the modern type occurred in 1720 over the speculative plans of John Law in forming his Mississippi Company. His company possest in 1719 over twenty-one ships and nearly $1,000,000. Shares went up to many times their value. Speculation developed like a fever in France and England. About the same time, too, the South Sea Bubble was developed in England. In 1763 and 1799 there were crises in Hamburg. In England there were crises in 1783, 1793, 1795–97, in connection with the American and French wars. In 1815 there was a severe crisis at the close of the Napoleonic wars. After the peace England undertook to flood Europe with manufactures, but there was OVERPRODUCTION and a crisis. In 1825 there was another crisis, which affected America also. In 1837 there was a most severe crisis in the United States, renewed in 1839, when 959 banks stopt payment. There were 33,000 failures with an aggregate loss of $440,000,000. The crisis of 1847 affected England more, being occasioned by the failure of the potato crop of 1846. The crisis of 1857 began in America, but affected England and all Europe more severely.

Early Crises

The crisis of 1866 was mainly in England, once more causing a suspension of the Bank Act, and was marked by the memorable "Black Friday" and of the failure of the almost historic house of Overend, Gurney & Co. The 23d of September, 1869, saw a "Black Friday" in New York, but it was mainly local and connected with gold speculation.

During the first three quarters of 1873 the general prosperity of the U. S. seemed undiminished; but on Sept. 18, 1873, the most extraordinary panic began which this country has ever witnessed, and reached its height about the middle of October. It prostrated thousands of commercial houses, cut off the wages of hundreds of thousands of workmen, and overthrew the Stock Exchange. It swept down the entire banking system of the country. Even savings-banks closed their doors. It broke off the negotiation of American securities in Europe, and prostrated business in every way. The causes were involved.

Crisis of 1873

The closing of the War of the Rebellion had seen the commencement of great industrial activity in the U. S. From 1869–73 enormous amounts of money were invested in commercial enterprises. The cost of the railroad construction

of those five years is estimated at $1,700,000,000, while municipalities and private corporations borrowed money for vast undertakings. The land grant policy and cheap transportation developed a new West. In Europe the opening of the Suez Canal stimulated commerce. Interest was based on the high prices of war time. There was increased need of currency. Instead of this the policy of resumption and contraction (see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY) limited the amount of currency below the demand. On Sept. 18th, the great house of Jay Cooke & Co. of New York failed, dragging other houses with it. Concerted action was taken, and the immediate crisis was stayed; but in industrial lines 1874 was worse than 1873, and there was depression till 1877. The great railroad strikes of that year made matters worse. In 1878 there was improvement, and this continued till 1883. In 1884 another crisis occurred, tho of less serious character, and depression prevailed through the strikes and industrial troubles which continued till 1886. Confidence was then in a degree restored, with some depression in 1888, till the crisis of 1890. That year prominent English houses which had invested in Argentine Republican and African securities were disturbed, and finally on Dec. 15th even the great house of Baring Brothers suspended. In France the great coffee syndicate failed. But the Bank of England stood firm, and a syndicate of strong houses liquidated the debt of Baring Brothers. It affected the U. S. almost as much, tho not so much in the form of a crisis as of adding to depression, continuing without much improvement to the great crisis of 1893.

Crisis of 1893

The crisis of 1893 was in many ways different from all other crises. It was only very slightly due to overspeculation, almost purely to monetary conditions, yet it affected not only financial circles, but industry all over the U. S. In Congress there was discussion over the repeal of the silver-purchasing act of 1890. (See CURRENCY.) On June 26th it was announced that India had stopped the free coinage of silver. This at once sent the price of silver bullion down to the lowest point ever recorded, and all stocks went down. The mines of Colorado and other silver states were at once stopt, and their workmen left unemployed. There was a panic. Western and Southern banks began to fail. Hoarding set in, even in the East. Currency became scarce. Many manufactories shut down. Wealthy men with unquestioned credit could not get checks cashed. All the banking centers except Chicago began to have recourse to clearing-house certificates. There was a money dearth. The president called an extra session of Congress which opened Aug. 7th. There was a heated struggle over the money question, and not until October 30th was a bill, introduced by Senator Voorhees, repealing the silver-purchase law, but declaring for the parity of gold and silver, passed by the Senate, accepted by the House, and signed by the president.

Meanwhile the crisis was already checked. Foreign investors began sending in money, taking advantage of the low price of stocks. Only one private banking firm in New York City had failed, and only one national bank. Of the 301 bank suspensions from May 1st to July 22d, 93 per cent were in the South and West. Yet the business failures from April 1st to October 1st were 8,105 against 4,171 for those months in 1892, with liabilities of $284,663,624 against $41,110,322 for 1892. Thus the number of failures had doubled, and the liabilities had increased nearly sevenfold. Three great railway systems were sent into the hands of receivers: the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, and the Erie. Since 1893, while there have been money stringencies, and while the elections of 1896 and 1900 caused some depression of business, there has been no real panic, tho there was a severe depression of stocks in 1907, when some trust companies and banks temporarily closed.

REFERENCES: *Financial Crises and Periods of Industrial and Commercial Depression*, by J. E. Burton, 1902; *History of Modern Banks of Issue, with an Account of the Economic Crises of the Present Century*, 1907; Articles in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1901, and September, 1903.

CRITTENTON, CHARLES NELSON: Founder of the Florence Crittenton Mission; born in Adams, Jefferson County, N. Y., Feb. 20, 1833. Beginning in the drug business he became head of the Charles N. Crittenton Company. But after the death of a daughter, Florence, he felt that God was calling him to a work in behalf of homeless, friendless, and unfortunate girls. From that time he has devoted his time and energy to establishing homes and schools where homeless, friendless, or unfortunate girls can be cared for.

In 1895 a corporation, known as the National Florence Crittenton Mission, was chartered to take charge of the work.

At the present time there are sixty-eight of these homes and schools in the U. S. and five in foreign lands.

The Charles N. Crittenton Company was one of the original profit-sharing companies in the U. S.

Mr. Crittenton is a pronounced prohibitionist and at one time was a candidate for the mayoralty of New York on the Prohibition ticket. *Address*: 213 Third Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

CROOKS, WILLIAM: One of England's leading trade-unionists, and member of Parliament; born, in Poplar, 1852. Part of his early life was spent in the workhouse. Apprenticed to a cooper, he early found difficulty in securing work because of his trade-union principles. In 1882 he was elected trustee of the parish and library commissioner for Poplar; 1892, elected to the London County Council; chairman of the Poplar Board of Guardians since 1877. He has also been mayor of his borough. In 1903 he was elected to Parliament from Woolwich, his election bringing consternation to Conservatives and Liberals. In 1906 he was reelected, under the auspices of the Labor Representation Committee, by 9,026 votes against Adams, Conservative, 6,914 votes. *Address*: 81 Gough Street, Poplar, London E.

CROSBY, ERNEST HOWARD: American author and lecturer; born in New York City, 1856; was graduated from New York University, 1876, and from Columbia Law School, 1878; practised law in New York till 1889. He was a member of the New York Legislature in 1887 and in 1889, being in charge of high-license legislation, and chairman of the committee on cities. In 1889, being nominated by President Harrison, he was appointed judge of the mixt tribunal of Alex-

andria, Egypt, by the Khedive. He resigned this position in 1894, and returned to America. Mr. Crosby was long president of the New York Social Reform Club, of the People's Club, of the Civic Council, N. Y., of the Anti-Imperialist League, and of the New York Vegetarian Society. He was an ardent admirer and student of Tolstoi, a believer in the system of single taxation, an advocate of peace, and an opponent of all kinds of monopoly. He has written: "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable"; "Captain Jinks, Hero"; "Broadcast"; "Tolstoi and His Message"; "Tolstoi as a Schoolmaster"; "Garrison, the Non-Resistant," etc. Mr. Crosby died in 1907.

CRÜGER, HANS: Member of the Prussian House of Deputies; born 1859 in Königsberg; studied law and political sciences at Königsberg and Göttingen; Dr.J., 1883. He followed the law till 1887, when he became secretary of the General German Cooperative Society till 1896. His literary activity has been quite extensive. Besides annotating and digesting the laws of Germany, as to cooperative societies, he has edited the year books of the society, and written numerous pamphlets about cooperative savings-banks and related subjects. He is a collaborator of the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*. *Address*: Nussbaum Allee 17, Westend, Berlin.

CUBA, REPUBLIC OF: Till 1898 in the possession of Spain, the incessant guerrilla wars maintained in the mountainous portions of the island against the Spanish, the injustice and inefficiency in many ways of the Spanish Government, the cruelties practised by General Weyler, the blowing up of the United States warship the *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, whether by the Spaniards or not, all combined to make most people in the U. S. favor the armed freeing of Cuba, and war of the U. S. against Spain was declared April 22, 1898. After a brief but brilliant campaign Spain was compelled to yield and relinquished sovereignty over the island in the treaty of Paris, Dec. 10, 1898. For three years the U. S., through its War Department, controlled the island, doing much for education, justice, hygiene, and the establishment of republican institutions. On May 20, 1902, however, the U. S. turned the complete control of the island over to the Cuban Republic, General Palma having been elected president. After apparent success, however, dissensions arose in the island (1906). The government being unable to restore order, the U. S. Government was appealed to and 6,000 troops were sent and order restored. The U. S. Government has appointed Secretary Taft as provisional governor, but as soon as orderly government is established the U. S. Government will retire.

Relations with United States

The area of the island is 43,000 sq. m., of which only 3 per cent till 1899 and now little more than 4 per cent is under cultivation; population, (1905), 1,786,207, of whom less than one third are mulattoes or negroes.

Capital, Havana, with a population of 275,000. Revenue, 1905, $29,609,000; expenditures, $18,997,000; exports, 1905, $112,000,000; imports, $103,000,000. In 1906 the debt was $47,693,000.

Statistics

The government of the republic is patterned upon the American Constitution, with a president, Senate and House of Representatives. There are six provinces, each having four senators. The representatives are elected one for every 25,000 inhabitants. Every male Cuban who has reached the age of twenty-one has the right to vote, except he be a criminal or of unsound mind. A residence of five years is required before a foreigner may become a citizen. Education is free and compulsory. The schools are organized after the American system; there is a university at Havana, and 3,550 schools through the island, with an attendance of about 150,000. About two thirds of the population is illiterate, but the schools are rapidly improving this condition. The prevailing religion is of the Roman Catholic Church, the whole island being the diocese of an archbishop. The Protestant Churches, notably the Episcopal Church, have active missions.

Morals are somewhat loose, but this is partly due to defective laws. The proportion of those over fifteen legally married is in the U. S.: in Cuba 30, in Havana 25, among the colored in Cuba, 6. Over 8 per cent of the people are living together without legal marriage.

The island is noted for its sugar and tobacco. The most famous tobacco lands are found in the far west. The climate is mild, with northeast trade winds. There is considerable rain during the summer. The dreaded yellow fever was largely due to carelessness and unnecessary exposure. The whole country is like a park, with vegetation mainly tropical. It is believed that sugar was first planted in the year 1523. In 1905 the sugar exported was worth $71,249,055 (to the U. S. $64,366,169). Tobacco seems to have been grown first in the year 1580. Corn, rice, wheat, oats, barley, all thrive well. The banana, or plantain, grows in great quantities, and forms very largely the food of the poorer classes. Manufacturing consists mainly in the making of cigars and cigarettes. Such skilled labor as there is, is largely in the building trades. Nominal wages have fallen since the Spanish rule, owing to trade uncertainties. But prices have also fallen. Labor generally is rather in bad shape, whether in the agricultural or the industrial lines, many feeling that the result of the freeing of the slaves has been to retard development of the country. The freedmen are not industrious, either in Cuba or in any of the West Indian islands, and there have been many Chinamen brought in. Great numbers of these people are cooks and house-servants. Many Gallegos and people of the Canary Islands have also been brought there lately. The tobacco trade is generally in the hands of the white people.

A trade-union movement began in Cuba in 1878 and since its relations with the U. S. the American Federation of Labor has made efforts to organize the workers. But results are not large, tho in Havana and in a few other places the nominal membership of some unions is considerable. The building of the Cuban Central Railroad has developed some work at fair wages. There has been considerable immigration from Spain. Currency troubles have caused uncertainties and depreciation. The two economic needs of Cuba are by some said to be immigration and capital.

References: *Labor Conditions in Cuba:* Bulletin of U. S. Department of Labor, July, 1902; Porter, *Industrial Cuba*, (1898); Halstead, *The Story of Cuba* (1898).

CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM: British clergyman and economist; born in Edinburgh, 1849; was graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1873, and ordained the same year; devoted his early years mainly to economic, theological, and philosophical studies. Deputy to the Knightsbridge professor in 1880, and since 1887 Vicar of St. Mary's the Great, Cambridge, he has given his later years largely to economic history. In 1882 appeared the first edition of his important work, "The Growth of English Industry and Commerce," which Professor ASHLEY calls the first attempt that has been made to trace the whole course of English economic development. He has since developed this book into a practically new work, the first volume of which appeared in 1890 and the second in 1892. In 1891 he was made Tooke professor of political economy at King's College, London, and also elected to a fellowship at Trinity, Cambridge. He is a D.Sc. of Edinburgh, and D.D. of Cambridge. Mr. Cunningham is considered by many the leading advocate of the historical or empirical study of social phenomena. He is the author of: "Christian Opinion on Usury"; "Politics and Economics, an Essay on the Nature of the Principles of Political Economy and a Survey of Recent Legislation"; "S. Austin and His Place in the History of Christian Thought"; "Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects"; "Use and Abuse of Money," etc. *Address*: Trinity College, Cambridge, England.

CURRAN, PETE: British labor organizer; born in Glasgow, Scotland, 1860. He has been in the labor movement since he was eighteen, and belongs to the Independent Labor Party. He was first brought prominently before the trade-union world in connection with the "Intimidation Case" at Plymouth in 1890, when he was sentenced to imprisonment for six weeks. On appeal, however, Lord Coleridge reversed the decision. Curran is the principal organizer for the Gas-workers and General Laborers' Union, and chairman of the General Federation of Trade-Unions. He represents trade-unions on the executive committee of labor representation, and has been labor delegate to America, France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. Judging from the present outlook Mr. Curran's prospects of an early election to Parliament are very bright. He has many friends, and a large and influential committee is working to secure for him the seat for Jarrow in the county of Durham. *Address*: 1 Pretoria Avenue, Walthamstow, Essex, England.

CURRENCY (UNITED STATES) (see also MONEY; BANKS AND BANKING; GOLD AND SILVER; BIMETALISM; MONOMETALISM; PAPER MONEY; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; CRISES; GREENBACKISM, etc.): The word currency may be defined as money in *circulation*, or the commodity or commodities in use in any country as the medium of exchange. Money (*q. v.*) is the general and philosophic term; currency is money, with emphasis upon its passing from hand to hand. A large percentage (estimated at over ninety) of the actual business transactions of the U. S. is performed, however, not with *money* at all, but with monetary substitutes; representatives of credit, as notes, drafts, bills of exchange, and the like. If not strictly *currency*, these should, nevertheless, be remembered as doing the work of currency, and as constituting a vastly important factor of our medium of exchange. For a statement of the economic principles and different theories of money, see MONEY. We present here an historical review of the U. S. currency, our main authorities being, for the earlier periods, Professor Sumner's "History of American Currency" and Bolles's "Financial History of the United States"; for the later periods, the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Controller of the Currency, the Director of the Mint, the *Congressional Globe*, and the Record of Political Events in the *Political Science Quarterly*.

I. COLONIAL PERIOD

From Professor Sumner we learn that the first colonies to this country brought little English or European currency with them, and soon found need for more.

Winthrop wrote to his son in 1630 especially to bring £150 or £200 with him. A married clergyman in those days was allowed £30 per annum. Carpenters and skilled workmen who were greatly in demand were forbidden to take over one shilling and later two shillings per day. When explorers reached Long Island Sound they found the Indians using a medium of exchange consisting of beads of two kinds, one white and the other black. They were rubbed down and polished, and when artistically arranged in strings or belts formed objects of real beauty. These beads, one black bead being reckoned as worth two white ones, were known as *wampum*, or *wampumpeag*, or *peag*. The colonists came to use them first in their trade with the Indians, and then among themselves. In Massachusetts they became the currency of the colony, and were made a legal tender in small sums. "The white man," says Professor Sumner, "also proved his superiority by counterfeiting it." A fathom or belt of wampum consisted of 360 beads, and one fathom of white would buy furs valued at five shillings sterling. Barter was also at this time continually used, and various commodities did duty for money. In 1635 musket bullets were used for change at a farthing apiece. And the more barter was used because money was scarce, the scarcer money became. Interest in 1664 was 8 per cent. Merchants drained the people of their cash. In 1652 Massachusetts set up a mint to coin silver—the famous "pine-tree" coinage. She coined shillings, sixpences, and threepences. The coins were to be of sterling alloy 11 fine, and the shilling worth tenpence sterling. It was taken in England at 25 per cent discount, and declared to be not of even weight or fineness. Barter, however, continued. Silver was smuggled out of the country or clipt. The silver which came to the colonies consisted mainly of Spanish pillar coins. They were not allowed to be circulated. In 1686 a bank was proposed, and seems to have made issues, but soon disappeared. Andrews stopt the mint about 1688. The first enduring issue of paper money made in the colonies was in 1690, six years before the founding of the Bank of England. It was declared to be "in value equal to money," and kept at par twenty years.

Pine-Tree Coinage

There were continually at every new crisis new issues of money. An expedition against Canada in 1709 meant a new, large issue. Connecticut and most of the colonies also issued a small amount. South Carolina probably issued more money than any other colony. In 1709 the time for redemption in Massachusetts was set at four years and then later, and the paper began to depreciate. In Connecticut there were four prices for "pay," "pay as money," "money," and "trusting." "Pay" was barter at government prices. "Money" was Spanish or New England coin. "Pay as money" was barter currency at prices one third less than the government rate; "Trusting" was an enhanced price according to time. The merchant asked his customer how he would pay before fixing his price.

In 1715 John Colman proposed a land bank, which in those days meant simply an issue of paper based on land. Such an issue was made. Banking was arresting attention the world over. At the same time the commissioners of the New England colonies became alarmed at the tendency to further increase the paper notes. The English Parliament forbade banking except under its charter, and forbade the colonial governments from emitting bills. Later the restriction was modified to permit an issue for government expenses only. In 1739 a "land bank" was set in operation, which loaned its notes for 3 per cent per annum interest, and 5 per cent in principal, *both payable in merchandise*.

Land Banks

Rhode Island had the severest experience, as it issued bills the most recklessly. Parties were no longer Whig or Tory, but Creditor and Debtor. In 1749 the paper issue of Massa-

chusetts was £2,466,712. Parliament at this time, however, ransomed Louisbourg from the colonies, and paid Massachusetts in silver and copper £138,649 sterling which, at eleven to one, the ruling exchange, nearly canceled the paper, and Massachusetts found herself with a specie currency. Other colonies, and Rhode Island in particular, clung longer to paper money.

II. To the War of the Rebellion

With the beginning of the Revolution the Continental Congress at once faced the need for revenues. These it sought through appeals to the states, calls for commodities, loans, domestic and foreign, the lottery, confiscation by states of Tory property, forced sales, and voluntary subscriptions. The receipts from all these sources were trifling. Congress next resorted to bills of credit, i. e., irredeemable paper money. These were its only remaining resource; and, without them, it is inconceivable how the colonies could have won in the Revolutionary struggle.

Had Congress possest an effective power of taxation, enabling it, on paying out its paper money, to call it back at par in taxes, thus establishing a circuit of outgo and income, and had it strictly limited the volume of its issues to the amount of its taxes—these, in war, being necessarily high—it is entirely probable that, like the demand notes of the Civil War, the continental currency would have maintained almost or quite its face value through the war. Congress, however, was destitute of the power of taxation. The only course open to it, therefore, was to print paper and pay it out for goods and services; and, on the consumption of these, to repeat the process. Thus, throughout the war, Congress poured forth a non-returning stream of paper money. This, of course, meant inflation. It also meant that Congress was unable to maintain the value of the paper by receiving it at par. The situation was aggravated by the systematic counterfeiting of continental currency by, or through the connivance of, the British Government. Furthermore, the states failed to cooperate with Congress in maintaining the value of paper money. Congress, on issuing the paper, assigned each state a quota to call in by taxation and cancel. This the states did to a very limited extent. Again, army officers were paid commissions proportioned to the amount of their expenditures. They were thus stimulated to pay high rather than low prices. These various causes combined to force down the value of the continental currency. Numerous attempts, including maximum and legal-tender laws, were made to maintain it, but without effect. The value of the money fluctuated and fell until, by the close of the war, it had practically disappeared.

Unfair critics have argued from the history of our continental currency that government paper is necessarily unscientific and vicious; a position as logical as that of one who should declare that railroads, because of occasional tie-ups and wrecks, are unscientific and vicious.

The effect of the continental currency on the laboring class is thus described by Bolles, whose conservatism is unquestioned:

> The candor of history requires the fact to be stated that paper was "at all times the poor man's friend. While it was current, all kinds of labor very readily found reward. In the first years of the war none were idle from want of employment, and none were employed without having it in their power to obtain ready payment for their services. To this class of people, whose daily labor was their support, the depreciation was no disadvantage. Expending their money as fast as they received it, they always got its full value." ("Financial History of the United States," vol. i., p. 177, quoting Ramsay.)

The new federal Constitution, framed in 1787, had decreed that no state "shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts."

The proposal in the constitutional convention to give to Congress the right to emit bills of credit was defeated by a vote of nine states to two.

In 1786 Congress passed a coinage law upon a plan presented by Thomas Jefferson.

> The Constitution (Article 1, section 8, clause 5) had vested in Congress the right to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, and the Act of Congress of April 2, 1792, was the first act respecting coinage, entitled "An act establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the U. S." The ninth section of this act provided:
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> "That there shall be, from time to time, struck and coined at the said mint, coins of gold, silver, and copper of the following denominations, values, and descriptions, viz.: Eagles —each to be of the value of $10 or units, and to contain 247 grains and four eighths of a grain of pure, or 270 grains of standard gold."
>
> After providing for half-eagles, each to be of half the value of the eagle, and quarter-eagles, each to be of one fourth of the value of the eagle, the section continues, as follows:
>
> "Dollars or units—each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current, and to contain 371 grains and four sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or 416 grains of standard silver."
>
> The act also provided for half-dollars, quarter-dollars, dimes, and half-dimes, each to contain respectively one half, one fourth, one tenth, and one twentieth of the pure silver contained in the dollar. The coinage of cents and half-cents of copper was also provided for.

It thus declared the dollar to be the unit of value, and it measured this value in silver.

Adoption of a Currency

The money unit of the U. S. had been already established in 1785 by the Continental Congress as the dollar. This was a well-known coin, and had been in constant use for many years. Indeed, it competed with the pound as a measure of value; in some transactions the pound measure was used; in others, the dollar measure. Persons expressed their transactions in their books of account either in pounds or dollars; but for a long period the quantity coined was so small that it was necessary to use foreign coins for monetary purposes. Congress first authorized their use in 1793, declaring at what rates they should pass current, and that they should be a legal tender for the period of three years from the time the mint began operations. When that time expired their use was renewed by additional legislation for short periods until 1809.

> By the Act of 1792 the proportion of pure gold to the alloy in gold coins was made eleven parts gold and one part alloy, the alloy being composed of silver and copper. The proportion of pure silver to the alloy in silver coins was made 1,485 parts fine silver to 179 parts alloy. The reason for this proportion of silver to alloy was that the alloy was found in that proportion in the Spanish dollars then current.
>
> A dollar of gold contained 24.75 grains of pure metal, and a dollar of silver 371.25 grains, being exactly fifteen to one.
>
> This ratio of fifteen to one was not exactly in accordance with the ratio which then prevailed in European countries. Silver was slightly overvalued and gold a little undervalued.

15 to 1

> The result was that the metallic money of the U. S. during this period consisted mostly of silver coins and largely of foreign coins. But $11,908,890 of gold altogether were coined from 1793 to 1834, and this was generally soon exported. The production of gold for the same period in the U. S. is given at $14,000,000.
>
> The Act of May 8, 1792, provided for the purchase of copper "not exceeding 150 tons," "to be coined into cents and half-cents," which, by the Act of April 2, 1792, were to contain respectively eleven and five and one half pennyweights. The Act of Jan. 14, 1793, provided that the cent piece should contain 208 grains of copper and the half-cent 104 grains.

The Act of June 28, 1834, changed weight and fineness of the gold eagle, making the 258 grains of .899225 fineness, or 232 grains of pure gold.

Currency Changes

No change was made in our silver coins by the Act of 1834. Why the ratio should have been changed at this time from fifteen to one, as established in 1792, to sixteen (16.002) to one thirty-one years after the French Act of 1803, which had practically fixt the ratio for all Europe at fifteen and one half to one, is difficult to understand. The reason usually given is that under the ratio of fifteen to one little or no gold came or stayed here, and new mines of gold having been discovered in North Carolina and Georgia about this time, the higher ratio was adopted in order to give the gold a higher rating relatively to silver, and thereby keep it here.

But it worked evil, and the Act of Jan. 18, 1837, established .900 as the standard fineness of both gold and silver. It left the weight of the gold dollar unaltered (thus slightly increasing its value) and reduced the weight of the silver dollar to 412½ grains.

The ratio was thus altered from 16.002·1 to 15.988:1.

(See BANKS AND BANKING.)

Revolutionary experience on the one hand, coupled with private interest on the other, had created a very strong prejudice against government paper money, whatever its backing; the bank paper money both with and without adequate support was constantly and often abundantly issued during the period under consideration. In time of stress, however, the national treasury was authorized to issue its notes. These were issued during the War of 1812, at the time of the panic of 1837, the Mexican War, and the Buchanan administration, when the government finances were running constantly lower and lower.

Treasury Notes

These issues were made not as money but as notes given in exchange for loans. Special pains were taken to prevent their circulating as money. The denominations were usually large, ranging from $100 upward. They usually bore interest; often 5⅔ per cent, and at times more; this provision led to hoarding. The notes quite commonly were not negotiable without indorsement by the payee; finally, the notes were not made a legal tender. When in 1814 such a provision was hinted at, Secretary Dallas said, "The extremity of that day cannot be anticipated, when any honest and enlightened statesman will again venture upon the desperate expedient of a tender law."[1] On Nov. 12, 1814, Mr. Hall, of Georgia, proposed in the House that legal-tender U. S. notes should be issued, but his proposal received no support.[2] In 1837 a hybrid semilegal-tender "loan certificate" was proposed in the House. This certificate was to be a "legal tender to public creditors but not receivable for dues to the government." That is, the government might force the paper into circulation and then refuse to receive it. "The question of legal tender," very properly, "was not discust."

Yet a slight tendency can be detected, in the treasury note legislation, toward government paper money. The denominational barrier was in cases broken down and notes were issued for $50, $20, $10, $5, and even $3.[3] The interest rate was, in cases, made merely nominal, falling as low as one mill per $100 per annum.[4] Tho not generally if ever redeemable in specie, these notes were generally if not invariably receivable for all public dues. Finally, despite the handicaps above mentioned, these notes quite usually retained their face value, rising in cases to a premium because of their interest-bearing qualities. In cases where depreciation occurred, this depreciation could be traced directly to bank failures and suspensions; tho even in such cases the notes were saved from a serious fall in value by means of funding acts.[5]

Later history shows how these notes developed into the full legal-tender greenbacks whose legality and constitutionality were sustained in 1884 by the Supreme Court of the U. S.

III. The Period of the War of the Rebellion

At the breaking out of the rebellion the government found itself destitute of the means necessary to carry on a gigantic war, and unable to procure such means from ordinary sources. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, had been nominated Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Lincoln, and after much hesitation had accepted. He was without experience, but trusted by the people. He had a difficult problem to meet. Howell Cobb had worked under the preceding administration to ruin the credit of the government, and tho General J. A. Dix, after Mr. Cobb's retirement, had done his best, he had had to borrow at 12 per cent interest, and raised only $5,000,000 of treasury notes at that.

Mr. Chase first negotiated some small loans under the authority already existing, and on July 4, 1861, Congress convened to enact measures for suppressing the war. A loan of $250,000,000 was authorized, duties were increased, an internal-revenue system was adopted, and a direct tax of $20,000,000 was laid. The states were offered 15 per cent reduction if they paid the tax, and this course was taken by all the states except those in rebellion, Delaware, and two of the territories, altho much of the money was paid by fitting out troops, and brought in no revenue to the general government. Tax commissioners were appointed to enforce the law in the insurrectionary states, and they made levies and sold land, and after a long effort collected a portion of the tax assessed on them.

War Loans

As soon as Congress adjourned, Mr. Chase went to New York to effect the loan, and was met, Aug. 9th (Bolles, vol. iii., p. 20), by "bankers and other prominent men of New York." Bank-president Coe proposed a general organization of the banks for the purpose of advancing money to the government in exchange for bonds. The next day a committee was appointed to formulate a plan; Aug. 15th it reported its plan. The banks of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were represented at the meeting. "The report was cordially accepted and adopted by the banks of New York," while those in Boston and Philadelphia, through their representatives, "as zealously and cordially united in the organization" (Bolles, vol. iii., p. 21). The cooperation of the Western banks could not be secured. The aggregate capital of the united banks was $120,000,000. "They had $63,165,039 in coin to meet $142,381,956 in liabilities, or 45 per cent of the whole amount" (Bolles, vol. iii., p. 25). With this and the paper they might issue, supplemented by "clearing-house certificates and other well-known expedients," they proposed to furnish the funds desired.

Borrowing Money

The bankers' plan soon began to take shape as follows: 1. The public funds, instead of being held and safeguarded by the government, were to be deposited "in such solvent, specie-paying banks as he [the Secretary] may select." (Act of July 5, 1861, p. 9.) To this end the clause of the Sub-Treasury Act of 1846 forbidding such deposits was to be "suspended." Thus the government would keep its account in certain private banks. No interest, of course, was to be paid on such deposits.

When the secretary wanted money he was to obtain it by "draw[ing] checks upon some bank in each city representing the association, in small sums, as required in disbursing the money thus advanced. By this means his check would serve the purpose of a circulating medium, continually redeemed, and the exchanges of capital and industry would be best pro-

[1] Knox, U. S. Notes, pp. 31–32.
[2] Knox, p. 33.
[3] Knox, pp. 37–38.
[4] Knox, p. 46.
[5] Knox, p. 39.

moted." Bonds, of course, would accompany these checks, sooner or later, tho we do not find this fact stated. That this plan might be adopted, another provision of the Sub-Treasury Act of 1846—requiring the government to receive "gold and silver coin only," "or treasury notes issued under the authority of the U. S.," instead of "wildcat" bank-notes, etc.—was to be suspended. In other words, the banks were to enjoy the gratuitous use of the government's money; and, in addition, were to exchange their notes par for par for government checks as good as money, and receive an interest to boot. "To the astonishment of the committee who represented the associated banks, Mr. Chase refused" (Bolles, vol. iii, p. 26). And yet "this law [of Aug. 5, 1861] was passed for the purpose of enabling the secretary of the treasury to adopt the policy recommended by the banks" (Ibid., p. 26). Mr. Chase, instead, insisted on the banks furnishing him gold and silver if he was to borrow from them; he "was emphatically a 'hard-money man'; he well knew the evils caused by using any other medium of payment, and he believed the government could continue to do business on a purely specie basis. He did not in the least comprehend that the vastly greater payments required an entirely different mode of making them. The banks were far wiser than the secretary" (Ibid., p. 28). In other words, the banks were perfectly well aware that the war would have to be carried on with paper money of one kind or another; but if "by putting their coin into a common fund" and placing it where it might be in greatest demand, "and otherwise aiding each other" (Ibid., p. 23) in protecting their coin reserves—they could but maintain the farce of specie payments, they might enjoy the exclusive privilege of furnishing the paper money and lending it countless times over to the secretary; thereby easily buying bonds that, at a future day, would represent a gold-mine.

But the insistence of the secretary necessitated as it seemed loans in coin. The banks, therefore, reluctantly acquiesced, and, for a time, succeeded remarkably well. "As long as the secretary kept the treasury notes out of the channels of circulation, the disbursements of the government were so rapid, and the movements of trade so intense, that the coin paid on each instalment of the loan came back to the banks through the people in about a week" (Ibid., p. 31). That is, the banks were able to lend the secretary the same specie dollars over and over again at weekly intervals; which plan, so long as it could be maintained, was about as satisfactory and remunerative to them as lending the same paper dollars over and over.

Trouble, however, arose between the secretary and the banks over the demand notes. These were authorized by the Acts of July 17, 1861, Feb. 12, 1862, and March 17, 1862. They were payable on demand and were "receivable in payment of all public dues." This latter provision, combined with their limitation in quantity, constituted them an almost ideal form of money; throughout the war, both before and after suspension, they stood practically at a parity with gold (Knox, "U. S. Notes," p. 97; *Wall Street News*, quoted in *Public Opinion* for Sept. 2, 1893, p. 515; Bolles, "Financial History of U. S.," vol. iii, p. 78). Naturally a public money so perfect competed dangerously with private money, i. e., bank-notes; and, as an object lesson, menaced the latter in exactly the same way that a successful, publicly owned water, lighting, trolley, or steam-railway system menaces the privately owned. The secretary, adhering to his hard-money principles, insisted that these notes should be redeemed "in coin." The scarcity of coin rendered this impracticable either for him or the banks. This fact afforded a pretext for an attack upon the demand notes by the banks. They demanded of the secretary that he discontinue issuing them. He at first acquiesced; in Nov., 1861, however, he began issuing demand notes freely. The banks, thereupon, on Dec. 28, 1861, voted to suspend specie payments; the government followed their example. From that date until Jan. 1, 1879, a period of seventeen years, the business of the country was done with paper money and its representatives, and the subsequent war loans made by the banks to the government were made in paper.

Demand Notes

But more money was needed. Public sentiment favored the issue of treasury notes. Mr. Chase, in his report (see BANKS AND BANKING), had already proposed the creation of a national banking system, but it was seen that this could not be developed in time. Money was needed then. Mr. E. G. Spaulding, of New York, therefore, two days after the suspension of the banks, introduced a bill into the House authorizing the issue of $50,000,000 of treasury notes to be legal tender in payment of all debts in the U. S. and receivable by government for all dues to the U. S. It was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, which increased the amount to $100,000,000, and reported it favorably. It immediately created great discussion and interest. Delegates from the banks came to Washington and protested. James Gallatin, president of the Gallatin Bank of New York, proposed a counter plan of taxation, and to make a loan with the banks as depositories, the government to issue $100,000,000 treasury notes for two years, to be receivable for public dues except duties on imports. Meanwhile the $100,000,000 Legal-Tender Note Bill came before the House for debate Jan. 28. An amendment was passed increasing the amount to $150,000,000; but the $50,000,000 authorized by the July act of the previous year were to be retired. The act finally passed by a vote of 93 to 59.

Greenbacks

On Feb. 10th the bill was reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate, with various amendments—among others, that the notes should not be receivable for "interest on bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin," and an amendment relating to the issuing of certificates, which, said Mr. Fessenden, the chairman of the committee, "was very much desired by the banks in all the cities." This was opposed by Senator Sherman, and answered by Mr. Fessenden, who, however, opposed the bill as "a confession of bankruptcy," "bad faith," and "a stain on the national honor," altho he admitted that if it were necessary to issue legal-tender notes to sustain the government, he should have no hesitation in doing so. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 30 to 7. Returning to the House, after a strong contention with the Senate, its principal amendments were finally concurred in.

The bill finally passed as amended by a vote of 97 to 22.

On Feb. 25th the bill was signed by the president. The limitation or "Exception Clause" read as follows:

> Such notes herein authorized shall be receivable in payment of all taxes, internal duties, excises, debts, and demands of every kind due to the U. S., except duties on imports, and of all claims and demands against the U. S. of every kind whatsoever, except for interest upon bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin, and shall also be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the U. S., except duties on imports and interest as aforesaid.

The limitation on the greenback called forth vigorous opposition in the House. Mr. Spaulding, on Feb. 19, 1862, expressed himself in strong terms against it.

On Feb. 20th Thaddeus Stevens, closing the debate upon this bill, said:

> "I approach the subject with more depression of spirits than I ever before approached any question. No personal feeling influences me. I hope not, at least. I have a melancholy foreboding that we are about to consummate a cunningly devised scheme which will carry great injury and great loss to all classes of the people throughout this union, except one.
>
> "With my colleague I believe that no act of legislation of this government was ever hailed with as much delight throughout the whole length and breadth of this union by every class of people, without any exception, as the bill we passed and sent to the Senate. . . . It is true there was a doleful sound came up from the caverns of bullion brokers and from the saloons of the associated banks. . . . They fell upon the bill in hot haste, and so disfigured and deformed it that its very father would not know it. . . . It is now positively mischievous. . . . It makes two classes of money—one for the banks and brokers and another for the people."

In speaking of the mutilated bill, he said later:

> "We did not yield until we found that the country must be lost or the banks be gratified, and we have sought to save the country in spite of the cupidity of the wealthy citizens."

To the legal-tender act Judge Kelley, on Jan. 15, 1876, in Philadelphia, refers in these words:

"But the patriots to whom I have referred had studied the Constitution of the U. S. They knew that it had imposed upon them the duty of saving the nation. They knew that money is the sinew of war. . . . A marvelous child was that 'rag baby.' It lighted the fires in every forge and furnace in the country; it hired ships and bought others. . . . It rallied an army of 75,000 men, and we soon after heard ringing through the streets shouts of well-paid and well-clad soldiers—'We're coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 more.' It met all demands, and the free states, with the great war on its hands, were prosperous as they had never been before."

Of the Senate's limitations he said:

"That crime perpetrated by the Senate of the U. S., or that blunder worse than a crime, has cost the American people more than all the war would have cost had the House bill been adopted as originally passed."

Even Senator Sherman said, in 1862:

"If we can compel one citizen to take this paper money, why not another and another? Is it any less the violation of contracts in one case than another? Do not all citizens hold their property subject to unlimited power of taxation? Do not all share in the blessings of government, and should not all share in its burdens? Shall we inflict a loss only on those who furnish the labor for the government, and relieve the selfish, avaricious, idle, unpatriotic citizen who will neither fight for, lend to, nor aid the government?

"Sir, to make all these share in the burden of the war, and to relieve those who risk life and property in its defense, I would waive a constitutional doubt."

This exception clause was afterward justified by Mr. Sherman on the grounds that paying interest on bonds in coin increased the value of and thus made a market for the bonds; while collecting duties in specie caused specie to be imported, and thus increased our scarce stock. The effect of the provision was obviously the demonetization of government paper for the payment of duties on imports and interest on the public debt. This created a demand for coin with which to meet these two species of obligations. The coin would now travel first from the banks to the custom-house in payment of duties, thence to the treasury, and thence largely to the banks; a portion in payment of coin interest on the bonds held by the banks and the remainder on deposit, in accordance with the act suspending the provision of the sub-treasury law that required the secretary of the treasury to take charge of public funds, and permitting him instead to deposit the funds in such solvent pet banks as he might select.[1] In accordance with the law of supply and demand this exception clause by increasing the demand for coin would raise its price; and by curtailing the demand for greenbacks would cause this species of money to depreciate. With the now depreciated greenbacks, bonds could be bought cheap; while the depreciation of the greenback could be used as a weapon with which to destroy government paper issues, on the ground that only "intrinsic value" money or bank money is good. Further, if the bonds could afterward be made to appreciate, an unearned increment could be created that might in time handsomely reward the "enterprise" and "thrift" of the promoters of the policy.

Second Issue

Many who voted for the first bill strongly opposed the second; but it passed and became a law. The banks, tho prudently confining their issues for a time after suspending specie payments, turned a fresh issue into the swollen stream. Having suspended specie payment they could issue as much as they chose. As soon as the legal-tender notes appeared, the banks could legally use these for redeeming their own issues, and thus the way had been made easy for an enormous inflation. Some of the banks did, in truth, collect the legal-tender notes and substitute their own to a much larger amount. The increase in one year, after suspension of specie payment, was $56,000,000 (Treasurer's Report, 1866, p. 67). This was one of the causes of enmity on the part of Congress against the banks, and helped onward the creation of a rival system and the imposition of the tax of 10 per cent on the state bank issues, which finally drove them out of existence.

[1] Act of Aug. 5, 1861, § 6, p. 9.

At this time this was one of the strongest arguments made for issuing more treasury notes. Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, said in the debate:

"I confess that I can see no limit to a depreciation of the currency that may be produced by the banks; and were it not that I have great faith in the prudence and wisdom and patriotism of those who manage the banks, I should have great apprehension in regard to it, as no obligation is now recognized by them to redeem their circulation, many of the states having legalized the suspension of specie payments."

Another member said of the banks:

"They have authority to buy up our bonds in the market, to take up our circulation, and put their circulation in place of it, and that is what they are doing all the time, and the question is whether we shall pay these people 6 per cent upon our bonds for furnishing no better currency than we can furnish ourselves. . . . In other words, it is a struggle on the part of the banking institutions of the country to bleed the Government of the U. S. to the tune of 6 per cent on every dollar, which is necessary for the government to use in carrying on this struggle for our independence and our life." Senator Sherman said the same in milder form: "The legal-tender notes are actually kept out of circulation by the depreciated bank paper of the country; and every issue you make increases that tendency. Every new issue of treasury notes is only a bid for new inflation by the banks, and thus the better money of the U. S. is hoarded and laid away, and the paper money, which is issued on the credit of it, is thrown on the country, producing inflation and derangement of our monetary system, and I believe in the end will produce disaster." (A. S. Bolles's "Financial History of the U. S.," vol. iii., pp. 79, 80.)

Senator Chandler, of Michigan, spoke strongly against the issue, but it passed. Depreciation set in and gold rose. By August, Professor Sumner says that specie had disappeared. July 17th postage-stamps were made legal payment to the government in quantities not exceeding $10. Cities and towns issued small notes payable in taxes or lawful money. This was forbidden by Congress for amounts less than $1. In March, 1863, Congress authorized the secretary to issue fractional currency to an amount not exceeding $50,000,000. But already by Feb. 1863, Congress had issued $400,000,000 of treasury notes (the last $100,000,000 of these being in Jan., 1863, to pay the soldiers), and had indorsed $60,000,000 more of other notes with the legal-tender quality, besides the postage-stamps, etc.

The next step we give in the words of Mr. A. S. Bolles ("Encyclopedia Americana," article FINANCE):

The same law which authorized the first issue of legal-tender notes also authorized the issue of $500,000,000 of bonds bearing 6 per cent interest and payable after five and within twenty years. The interest was payable in gold collected from import duties, and at this early date Congress also provided that 1 per cent of the public debt should be discharged annually. At first the bonds sold very slowly, but, in the mean time, the government procured considerable funds by two kinds of temporary loans. The first consisted of certificates of indebtedness, which were nothing more than certificates given to such creditors of the government as would take them, payable in a year, or sooner if it desired, and bearing 6 per cent interest. The other kind of temporary loan consisted at first of $25,000,000, and finally increased to $100,000,000, of deposits of treasury notes by the banks to the government, which bore not exceeding 5 per cent interest, and which they could demand after thirty days' notice.

To some members of Congress this operation of the treasury seemed to be wholly for the benefit of banks, as the government could make no use of money which it was liable to pay at such a short notice. In truth, however, the government did use all of the money thus loaned, so that it was a highly favorable operation of the government. To provide more adequately for the payment of these deposits, if they should be demanded when the government was not able to respond, an issue of $50,000,000

legal-tender notes was authorized for this purpose.

Meanwhile the bill establishing the national banking system had been at last enacted. (See BANKS AND BANKING.)

It received the president's signature Feb. 25th. The bill (see BANKS AND BANKING) provided for an issue of $300,000,000. Yet no issues appeared till Dec. 21st, and conversions of the state banks did not take effect until after the amendments of the bill the next year, the Act of March 3, 1865, which forced their conversion by a tax of 10 per cent on all issues of state banks, and the decision that the act was constitutional. Then the process went on rapidly. Many claimed that the delay was because the banks wanted to send the treasury notes to a lower point before they bought them all and exchanged them for bonds, which meanwhile Mr. Chase was gradually placing. Into all the details of the placing of these bonds we need not enter. When Mr. Chase found that he could not place the bonds at 5 per cent he had recourse to the issue of more legal-tender notes which he induced Congress to authorize till the currency was depreciated to a point where he could place these bonds. Thus, wittingly or unwittingly, he played into the hands of the bond-buyers, who bought these bonds with a depreciated currency, and then held them for the contraction which later they forced. On the last day of the fiscal year 1864 Mr. Chase retired from the office of the treasury and Mr. William P. Fessenden, of Maine, took his place. Mr. Chase, not a banker by profession and without much experience in financiering, had yet proved himself obstinate and unwilling to learn. Whatever were his intentions—and it must be allowed that they were probably good and his difficulties great—he had, without consenting to what the bankers desired on many points, actually played into their hands. Mr. Fessenden was a man of different type. He determined, if possible, to issue no more treasury notes. He advertised for a loan, the lenders to receive treasury notes payable in three years, with semiannual interest at 7.3 per cent in lawful money. The response was not great—the soldiers themselves, however, taking over $20,000,000. Once more then he endeavored to sell bonds, and was successful. Bids reached nearly $70,000,000, and the premium offered was 4 per cent and higher. He continued this general policy till, being reelected to the Senate, he retired from the treasury on March 5, 1865, and Hugh McCulloch took his place. In April Richmond was captured, and soon after the Confederate armies surrendered. Mr. McCulloch knew that he would now need a large sum for transportation, pay, and bounties. To use his own words, "As it was important that these requisitions should be promptly met, and especially important that not a soldier should remain in the service a single day for want of means to pay him," the secretary perceived the necessity of realizing as rapidly as possible the amount —$53,000,000—still authorized to be borrowed under the Act of March 5, 1865. The 7.3 per cent notes had proved to be a popular loan, and altho a security on longer time and lower interest would have been advantageous to the government, the secretary considered it advisable, under the circumstances, to continue to offer these notes to the public, and to avail himself, as his immediate predecessors had done, of the services of Jay Cooke in the sale of them. The result was in the highest degree satisfactory. . . . No loan ever offered in the U. S., notwithstanding the large amount of government securities previously taken by the people, was so promptly subscribed for as this. Before Aug. 1st the entire amount had been taken. This was the last war loan. The other great war loans had been:

Inflation

$500,000,000, authorized Feb. 25, 1862; $900,000,000, March 3, 1863; $200,000,000, March 3, 1864; $400,000,000, June 30, 1864; $600,000,000, March 3, 1865.

The significance of the certificates referred to should be noted.

Certificates of Deposit

Section 4 of the act authorized the secretary to receive on deposit U. S. notes in sums not less than $100—thereby preventing the scheme from degenerating into a mere savings-bank arrangement for the common people—and to issue in return "certificates of deposit" bearing 5 per cent interest. Bolles explains the workings of this feature ("Financial History of U. S.," vol. iii., pp. 88–92). New York City banks belonging to the clearing-house deposited $20,000,000 of government notes with the assistant treasurer (the law authorized the deposit of only $25,000,000) "very soon after the law was passed, and used the certificates received from him in settling clearing-house balances. By such action the banks loaned permanently $20,000,000 to the government, because they were not likely to present these certificates for redemption. Funds of some kind must be kept for paying clearing-house balances, and the above arrangement was very beneficial to the banks as well as to the government. Having thus deposited four fifths of the amount authorized by law, the question was raised in the Senate whether the limit of deposits should not be extended to $50,000,000" (Ibid., pp. 88–89). Tho some senators strongly opposed the measure, it nevertheless passed. Its exceeding great popularity with the banks, and their influence in Congress is shown by the fact that the limit of deposits was raised as follows: Beginning Feb. 25, 1862,[1] with $25,000,000, it was raised to $50,000,000 March 17, 1862,[2] to $100,000,000 by the Act of July 11, 1862,[3] and to $150,000,000 by the Act of June 30, 1864.[4]

From Bolles's statement, its popularity was obviously due to the fact that it enabled the banks to trade to the secretary or his authorized agent $1 and receive in exchange what for them was as good as another dollar, and, in addition, a "boot" of 5 per cent interest. This privilege was confined to banks connected with the clearing-house. On this sum of $150,000,000 the government paid the banks a gratuity of 5 per cent. The Act of June 30, 1864, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to "increase the interest on deposits at less than 6 per centum to that rate."

The acts for legal-tender notes may be thus summarized:

$150,000,000, Feb. 25, 1862; $150,000,000, July 11, 1862; $150,000,000, Jan. 17 and March 17, 1863; $400,000,000, March 3, 1863; 6 per cent interest-bearing notes, running not longer than two years; $400,000,000, June 30, 1864, and Jan. 28, 1865, 7.3 per cent interest-bearing notes, running for three years or longer.

The cost of the war was estimated at $6,844,571,431.03 (Sen. Doc., No. 206, Forty-sixth Congress, Second Session). The expenditure by states and municipalities was $467,954,364 (Bolles's "Financial History," vol. iii., p. 245).

The leading provisions of the five great war loans are shown in the table on page 350.

The term "five-twenty" signifies that the bond so designated was payable by the government in not less than five nor more than twenty years; that is, the government could not require the bondholder to accept payment for his bond until five years had elapsed from the date of contract. From that date until after the twenty years had expired, the government enjoyed the option of paying whenever it pleased. At the expiration of the twenty years, however, the bondholder acquired the right to demand immediate payment, should he so desire. The terms "ten-forty," "five-thirty," and "five-forty" are to be similarly interpreted. The term "seven-thirty," however, as applied to the notes authorized in the fifth of these loans, signifies that such notes bore interest at the rate of 7.30 per cent, provided such interest were not payable in coin.

As elsewhere stated, the Civil War, like the War of the Revolution, was carried through by the federal government on paper money. Specie, always scarce, early disappeared. The

[1] Act, § 4. [2] Act, § 3.
[3] Act, § 3. [4] Act, § 4.

LEADING PROVISIONS OF THE FIVE GREAT WAR LOANS

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Number					
Form	Bonds	Bonds	Bonds	Bonds	Bonds or interest-bearing notes.
Date	Feb. 25, 1862	March 3, 1863	March 3, 1864	June 30, 1864	March 3, 1865.
Amount authorized	$500,000,000	$900,000,000	$200,000,0000	$400,000,000	$600,000,000
Designation	First 5-20's of 1862	10-40's of 1863	5-40's of 1864	{5-30's of 1864 {5-40's of 1864	5-40 bonds of 1865. 7-30 notes of 1865.
To be sold	At market value for U. S. coin; or for any treasury notes already authorized; or for U. S. notes provided for in this act.—*Sec. 2.*	Upon such terms as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem most advisable, for lawful money of U. S., or for any of the certificates of indebtedness or deposit that may at any time be unpaid, or for any of the treasury notes heretofore issued, or which may be issued under the provisions of this act.—*Sec. 1.*	Same as preceding (Sec. 1).	In U. S. or Europe, upon such terms as the Secretary of the Treasury may deem most advisable for lawful money of U. S., or at his discretion, for treasury notes, certificates of indebtedness, or certificates of deposit issued under any act of Congress.—*Sec. 1.*	Where, and under such conditions, and at such rates as the Secretary of the Treasury deems best, for coin or other lawful money, treasury notes, or certificates of indebtedness or deposit, and the like.—*Sec. 2.*
Principal payable in	Nothing said[1]	Coin	Coin	Nothing said	Coin or other lawful money.
Interest. Payable in	Nothing said	Nothing said	Nothing said	Coin	Coin or other lawful money.
Interest. Payable how	Semiannually	Semiannually	Semiannually	Semiannually	On bonds — semiannually; on treasury notes — semiannually, annually, or at maturity.
Interest. Rate	6 per cent.	Not over 6 per cent.	Not over 6 per cent.	Not over 6 per cent.	If in coin, not over 6 per cent. If not in coin, not over 7.3 per cent.

[1] See Bolles, pp. 316 *et seq.*

banks suspended specie payments at the close of the first year of the war; the uncertainties of the war impeded the use of credit; and paper money, as the banks foresaw from the start, became indispensable.

It will be seen that the issue of non-interest-bearing legal-tender notes was comparatively not large. Their ill effect has been greatly exaggerated by hostile interests. Prices rose not only because of inflation, but because of the enormous demand for arms and other commodities by the government. The price of gold was comparatively but slightly affected by the issue. It went up and down according as war reports were unfavorable or otherwise. Gold speculation was also rife. Hugh McCulloch, controller of the currency, said in his second report:

Speculation

> Hostility to the government has been as decidedly manifested in the effort that has been made in the commercial metropolis of the nation to depreciate the currency as it has been by the enemy in the field, and unfortunately the effort of sympathizers with the rebellion and of the agents of the rebellious states to prostrate the national credit has been strengthened and sustained by thousands in the loyal states whose political fidelity it might be ungenerous to question. Immense interests have been at work all over and concentrated in New York to raise the price of coin, and splendid fortunes have been apparently made by their success. . . . Gold has been a favorite article to gamble in. . . . The effect of all this has been not to break down the credit of the government, but to increase enormously the cost of the war and the expense of living; for, however small may have been the connection between the price of coin and our domestic products, every rise of gold, no matter by what means effected, has been used as a pretext by holders and speculators for an advance of prices, to the great injury of the government and the sorrow of a large portion of the people.

CONTRACTION AND CREDIT-STRENGTHENING

Scarcely was the war at an end when the demand arose from the financial classes that the public money should be destroyed. Protests, it is true, were not wanting. Senator Sherman, for one, expresst his condemnation of the contraction policy in the strongest terms. Speaking of England's passage from a paper currency to a gold standard after the War of 1815, he said:

Senator Sherman on Contraction

> When the war was over measures were slowly adopted for its appreciation to the gold standard. These measures resulted in a reduction of the paper currency from $231,000,000 in 1815 to $152,000,000 in 1821. Commercial paper, discounted at the Bank of England, fell from $75,000,000 in 1815 to $13,000,000 in 1821. It is only necessary to appeal to histories of the time to show the disastrous effect. The purchasing value of capital was increased 50 per cent. A thousand dollars in 1821 would buy more than $1,800 in 1815. Small traders, debtors, and laborers were reduced to the sorest distress. The loss to them was far greater than the actual depreciation of the currency, for all confidence and trust were lost. . . .
>
> If senators wish other examples of the severe process of passing from a depreciated currency to a gold currency, or to a paper currency convertible into gold, let them read the story of the times after the Revolution and the War of 1812, and after the revulsion of 1837, all of which were periods of transition from a depreciated paper currency to a convertible paper currency. Sir, it is not possible to take this voyage without sore distress. To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or to the salaried officer or annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, prostration of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprises, bankruptcy, and disaster. To every railroad it is an addition of at least one third to the burden of its debt; and, more than that, deduction from the value of its stock. To every bank it means the necessity of paying $150 for one hundred of its notes and deposits, except so far as the bank may transfer this to its debtors. It means the ruin of all dealers whose debts are twice their capital, tho one third less than their property. It means the fall of the agricultural productions without any very great reduction of taxes. To attempt this task suddenly, by a very surprise upon our people, by at once paralyzing their industry, by arresting them in the midst of lawful business and applying a new standard of value to their property, without any reduction of their debt,

or giving them an opportunity to compound with their creditors or distribute their loss, would be an act of folly without example in modern times.[1]

President Lincoln is also credited with the following declaration:

If a government contracts a debt with a certain amount of money in circulation, and then contracts the money volume before the debt is paid, it is the most heinous crime a government could commit against the people.[2]

It is, of course, true that the circulating mediums of the U. S. at the close of the Civil War was much greater than at the beginning. President Lincoln, in his annual message, said: "Five years ago the bank-note circulation of the country amounted to $200,000,000; now the circulation, bank and national, exceeds $700,000,000." And it is also true that a portion of this circulation should have been retired. The real question, however, was, Which kind of circulation should go: the U. S. treasury notes or the national bank-notes? Each represented a public utility, essential to economic, commercial, and industrial life. The first, however, represented public ownership and control; the second, private ownership and control of that utility. The fact which should be firmly grasped is that it was the public money upon which sentence of death was passed, while the private, corporation currency was preserved, and in every way safeguarded and cherished.

The effect of currency contraction upon the present value of debts is a large question, and played a vastly important part in the currency controversy. On this subject, E. Benjamin Andrews ("An Honest Dollar," p. 13) said:

Falling of Prices

Our national debt on Sept. 1, 1865, was about $2,750,000,000. It could then have been paid off with 18,000,000 bales of cotton or 25,000,000 tons of bar iron. When it had been reduced to $1,250,000,000, 30,000,000 bales of cotton, or 32,000,000 tons of iron, would have been required to pay it. In other words, while a nominal shrinkage of about 55 per cent had taken place in the debt, it had, as measured on either of these two world staples, actually been enlarged by some 50 per cent.

One chief pretext for the demand that our national currency should be destroyed was and still is the extraordinary theory that a national currency not made of metal (more recently one not made of a single metal, i. e., gold[3]) is a portion of the national debt, to be paid like any other debt; and the evidence of debt, i. e., the paper money itself, thereupon destroyed.

Why Contract?

The destruction of the greenback and consequent contraction of the currency was authorized by the Act of April 12, 1866, in the following provision:

The Contraction Act

Within the next six months after the passage of the act $10,000,000 worth of U. S. notes might be destroyed;[4] from that time on indefinitely a stream of $4,000,000 worth each month might pour into the publicfurnace. Not content with this the promoters of the contraction policy deliberately left open an avenue for further contraction, which again called forth an indignant protest even from Senator Sherman. While permitting the Secretary of the Treasury to destroy greenbacks it at the same time left it within his power to dispose of still more by simply locking them up in the vaults of the treasury. Of this provision Mr. Sherman said: "He [the secretary] might retire $200,000,000 of legal-tender notes by retaining them in his possession without consultation, or sell bonds for legal tenders and hold them in his vault, thus retiring them from the business of the country. He might, therefore, without violating the terms of the bill, contract the currency according to his own good-will and pleasure. My own impression is that the Secretary of the Treasury, in carrying out his known policy, will do so."[1]

Two years' steady pursuit of this policy of money destruction was all the country could or would endure, at least for one time. "When Congress convened in Dec., 1868, a considerable stringency existed in the money market. The price of commodities had declined and opposition to further contraction was loud and general. From all parts of the country complaints were heard of depression and paralysis in business, and many of those who suffered were certain that contraction of the currency was the cause."[2]

Contraction Checked

The greenback circulation had now fallen from $449,338,902[2] to $356,000,000;[4] and "so loud and general," in truth, "was the opposition to further contraction" that Congress on its assemblage made haste, and by vote of an overwhelming majority, to pass the Act of Feb. 4, 1868,[5] depriving the secretary of the power which he had used so freely and with such serious results.

The amount of U. S. notes actually destroyed is stated by the Treasury Department to have been "about $44,000,000."[6] This excludes $50,000,000 authorized as a "temporary issue for the redemption of a debt known as the temporary loan." It also takes no account of the contraction caused by the locking up of notes in the vaults of the treasury and of the banks.

Following the panic of 1873 came another imperious popular demand for an increase in the actual monetary machinery required to perform the exchanges of the country. The result was a reissue of $26,000,000 of the canceled notes not yet destroyed.[7] But the contraction policy had not yet reached its end. On Jan. 14, 1875,[8] was passed the "Act to provide for the resumption of specie payments." This act provided that the remaining sum of greenbacks should be cut down to $300,000,000, and more bonds issued. Thus the furnace was rekindled, to burn until Congress, on May 31, 1878, in obedience again to an imperative popular demand, extinguished its flames with the currency standing at $346,681,016.

At this point, despite vehement assertions that "the greenback must go," and that "the government must go out of the banking business," and despite determined attempts to supplant our national currency with the issues of banking corporations, the volume of U. S. notes still stands.

The next important act in the history of our financial legislation is that approved March 18, 1869, entitled "An act to strengthen the public credit."[9] Following is that portion of the act especially worthy of attention:

The Credit-Strengthening Act

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. S. of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the government to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions and interpretations of the laws by virtue of which such obligations have been contracted, it is hereby provided and

[1] Speeches and reports by John Sherman, pp. 198–199.
[2] Quoted by John Clark Ridpath, in *Arena* for Jan., 1896, p. 274, note.
[3] See e. g., Horace White's "Money and Banking."
[4] Burned. See Bolles, vol. iii., p. 279, note.

[1] Bolles, vol. iii., pp. 295–296. For Secretary McCulloch's views on contraction, see Knox, "U. S. Notes," p. 139.
[2] Bolles, pp. 278, 280. [3] Knox, "U. S. Notes," p. 139.
[4] Bolles, vol. iii., p. 279. [5] Laws, p. 45.
[6] Treasury circular No. 123, p. 10.
[7] Treasury circular No. 123, p. 10.
[8] Laws, p. 57. [9] Laws, p. 46.

declared that the faith of the U. S. is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the obligations of the U. S. not bearing interest, known as U. S. notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the U. S., except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver.

What ground was there for "doubt," or "conflicting questions and interpretations of the laws"? Reference to the chart will show that, contrary to the supposition of some, the bonds and treasury notes were sold not for specie simply, but, generally speaking, for coin or for any kind of government security the bond buyer chose to offer; moreover, that the bonds were sold not at par but at market price. Indeed, the original plan of the bankers was that the secretary should sell his bonds for the notes of private and state banks, "wildcat" and all.[1] From this plan, however, the secretary dissented. The original plan of Congress, it is true, provided that the bonds should not be sold at a discount.[2] This scheme, however, soon proved impracticable, and the secretary threw his wares on the market and took in return whatever price they would command.

Further, the bonds that were on a future day to command such a premium as to destroy the profit on national bank circulation were sold on a par with the depreciated paper currency. Senator Sherman declared:

> The notes were still received, *par for par*, for bonds during the war and after the war was over. The right to convert them into a particular form of bonds, that is, the five-twenties, was denied; still they were converted at par into seven-and-three-tenths treasury notes, into ten-forty gold bonds, and into every form of security except only the five-twenties.[3]

Next, in what were these bonds and treasury notes payable? A glance at the chart shows that, regarding loans 1 and 4, nothing whatever was said. Loan 5 specifies "coin or other lawful money," plainly leaving the option to the government. Loans 2 and 3, however, say "coin"; but the coin specification in even these two cases Bolles[4] says was "accidental."

Considering his general attitude on financial questions, Senator Sherman's opinion on this question may be quoted:

> I do not believe, and I never could reason myself into the belief, that the laws which authorized the issue of these bonds made a discrimination against the lawful-tender money of the U. S. I do believe that by a fair and reasonable construction of those laws the bonds of the U. S. might be paid in lawful money issued within the limits and according to the terms of those laws.[5]

The following letter, found in the *Congressional Globe*, for Dec. 14, 1877, p. 204, is, if possible, even stronger:

> UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,
> WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, March 20, 1868.
> *Hon. A. Mann, Jr., Brooklyn Heights.*
>
> DEAR SIR: I was pleased to receive your letter. My personal interests are the same as yours, but, like you, I do not intend *to be influenced by them.* My construction of the law is the result of careful examination, and I feel quite sure an impartial court would confirm it, if the case could be tried before a court. I send you my views as fully stated in a speech. *Your idea is that we propose to repudiate or violate a promise when we offer to redeem the "principal" in legal tenders.*
>
> *I think the bondholder violates his promise when he refuses to take the same kind of money he paid for the bonds.* If the case is to be tested by the law, I am right; if it is to be tested by Jay Cooke's advertisements, I am wrong. I hate repudiation or anything like it, but *we ought not to be deterred from doing what is right by fear of undeserved epithets.* If under the law as it stands the holders of the five-twenties can only be paid in gold, then we are repudiators if we propose to pay otherwise. *If the bondholder can legally demand only the kind of money he paid, then he is a repudiator and extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave.*
>
> Truly yours, JOHN SHERMAN.

Assurance Made Doubly Sure

This act next provides that where the government's right to pay in lawful money is unquestioned, that right may not be exercised until the debt has matured; unless, in the mean time, the lawful money has become as dear as coin. The provision reads: "But none of said interest-bearing obligations [i. e., those payable in lawful money] not already due shall be redeemed or paid before maturity unless at such time U. S. notes shall be convertible into coin at the option of the holder, or unless at such time bonds of the U. S. bearing a lower rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin."

That is, the bondholder must, in any case, be guaranteed his unearned increment.

REFUNDING THE PUBLIC DEBT

The Public Debt

The next series of acts is that providing for the refunding of the national debt. Previous to the Civil War the people of the U. S. had been unaccustomed to the thought of a public debt. The debt, ever since its establishment by Alexander Hamilton, had continued to exist, but it was never large, and at one time it fell so low as to be practically insignificant. Yet at the very beginning of the war it leaped to a considerable height, and by the end of the war it had attained a magnitude beyond the mind of man to conceive. The following figures will show its growth:

Jan. 1,	1791	$75,463,476.52
	1800	82,976,294.35
	1810	53,173,217.52
	1820	91,015,566.15
	1830	48,565,406.50
	1840	3,573,343.82
July 1,	1850	63,452,773.55
	1860	64,842,287.88
	1861	90,580,873.72
	1862	524,176,412.13
	1663	1,119,772,138.63
	1864	1,815,784,370.57
	1865	2,680,647,869.74
	1866	2,773,236,173.69

—"Report of Secretary of Treasury," 1894, p. xcvi.

The debt was indeed great, but all of the loans (see chart of "Five Great War Loans," p. 9) were contracted for comparatively short periods. The 5–20 bonds might at any time between five years and twenty years from the date of sale be paid by the government at its own option. Similarly, the 10–40's might be discharged in ten years, or at any time within the following thirty years, at the government's option. In the same way the 5–40's were payable at any time after five years and before forty years, and the 5–30's at any time after five years and before thirty years from the date of sale as the government might choose.

Further, the day of possible payment soon rolled around; 5–20's, sold in 1862, were payable in 1867, tho payment was not obligatory till 1882; 5–30's and 5–40's, sold in 1864, might be paid in 1869; 5–40's, marketed in 1865, might

[1] Bolles, vol. iii., p. 25 *et seq.*
[2] See Act of July 17, 1861, § 4, and Chapters of Erie, p. 314, *passim.*
[3] Speeches, pp. 416, 417.
[4] Vol. iii., p. 316.
[5] Speeches, pp. 204, 205.

Baroness BERTHA von SUTTNER
Disarmament

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST
Woman's Suffrage

WILL CROOKS, M.P.
Poor Law

Rev. STEWART D. HEADLAM, L.C.C.
Christian Socialism

be cleared away in 1870; and, slowest of all, the 10–40's of 1863 might, if sold in 1863, be paid off in 1873. Provided, then, its revenues were only sufficient, the U. S. might, according to the terms of the contract into which it had entered with the bondholder, rid itself of the burden of a national debt in 1873, or soon thereafter.

Had it felt unable to do so at so early a day it might, as Secretary Windom did, have exchanged its maturing bonds for new bonds payable at the government's option.

Instead, Congress pursued a wholly different course. The following table of refunding acts will show what was actually done:

Refunding Acts

No.	Date.	Bonds authorized—amounts	Rate	Redeemable	Payable	Conditions and application
I.	July 14, 1870.	[*a*] Not more than $200,000,000.	5 per cent payable semiannually in coin of present standard value.	In coin of present standard value.	After ten years at pleasure of U. S.	To be sold at not less than par for coin; proceeds to be applied to redemption of 5–20's at par; or exchanged for 5–20's par for par. To be used for no other purpose.
		[*b*] Not more than $300,000,000.	4½ per cent do.....	"	After fifteen years do.	" " "
		[*c*] Not more than $1,000,000,000.	4 per cent do.....	"	After thirty years do.	" " "
II.	Jan. 20, 1871.	Class [*a*], above, to be increased to $500,000,000; the $1,500,000,000 limit [200 plus 300 plus 1,000] is not to be passed.	.....	.....	.....	Secretary of Treasury may make interest on any of above bonds payable quarter-yearly.
III.	Jan. 25, 1879.	Secretary of Treasury may employ billion-dollar, 4 per cent bonds [above] in clearing away remaining 5–20's. When all such have been redeemed, "provisions of this section and all existing provisions of law authorizing refunding of national debt shall apply to any bonds of U. S. bearing interest at 5 per cent per annum or a higher rate which may be redeemable." Double interest for three months is provided for.				
IV.	Feb. 26, 1879.	The act authorized exchanges as follows: 1. Bondholder may present to Secretary of Treasury a 5 per cent bond of Act of July 14, 1870,[1] or a 5-20 bond and receive a legal tender. 2. Holder of legal tender may present same to Secretary of Treasury and receive a 4 per cent certificate of deposit. 3. Holder of $50 worth of 4 per cent certificates of deposit may present same to Secretary of Treasury and receive a thirty-year, 4 per cent bond.				

[1] These bonds, having but ten years to run, were in 1879 almost due.

Analysis of this legislation shows that its effect was to defer for many years the possibility of paying the public debt, and to provide an opportunity for investment to those able to avail themselves of it.

The effect of such legislation was well illustrated in President Cleveland's first term when the country was suffering from "a congested treasury and a depleted circulation."

The logical and rational solution would have been to apply the surplus to the payment of the national debt. Refunding acts, however, had made this impracticable. No bonds were due; and to go into the market and buy them at the existing premiums would have cost the government as much as to wait and pay interest on them. The refunding acts had practically closed the door in the face of the government to all opportunities advantageously to reduce its debt, however great might be its stock of cash. That such a situation was designed in order to furnish a permanent basis for a system of currency-issuing banks might be inferred from the following utterance of Secretary Chase in 1862 relative to the national banking system:

> The central idea of the measure is the establishment of a sound, uniform currency throughout the country *upon the foundation of national credit* (in other words, upon a national debt), *making this the settled policy of the country.*

Demonetization of Silver

Regarding the much-mooted question of the demonetization of silver in the U. S., the facts in brief are as follows:

By an order of Secretary Madison in 1806 the coinage of the silver dollar was discontinued, but the coinage of fractional silver was still permitted. Such silver was, from 1792 to 1853, a full legal tender.

In 1834 Congress changed the ratio between silver and gold from 15 to 1 to 16.002 to 1. In 1837 Congress again changed the ratio, this time to 15.988 + to 1. Neither the act of 1834 nor that of 1837 affected the amount of pure silver in the silver coins, nor the full legal-tender character of any coin.

In 1853 Congress demonetized fractional silver coins for payments of more than $5; this act, however, left intact the weight, fineness, and full legal-tender quality of the silver dollar. Except in 1858, silver dollars were coined constantly between 1853 and 1873.

In 1873 Congress dropped the standard, 412.5-grain silver dollar from the list of coins, and substituted, instead, the 420-grain silver trade dollar, good only for payments of $5 and under.

The movement leading to the general demonetization of silver originated in Europe after the great gold discoveries. The plan at first was to demonetize gold (see Report of U. S. Silver Commission of 1876, p. 15). In 1857 Germany and Austria demonetized their gold.

In 1865 the nations of France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, later reenforced by Greece and the papal states, all together constituting the "Latin Union," agreed to establish a system of international bimetalism, fixing the ratio between the precious metals at 15.5 to 1. In 1867 it was proposed to extend the principles of this bimetallic system to other countries. An internationa committee met at the Paris Exposition in 1867 On this committee the U. S. was represented by

Samuel B. Ruggles, a believer in an international gold standard. Correspondence between Mr. Ruggles and Hon. John Sherman, Chairman of the U. S. Senate Committee on Finance, himself at Paris, showed that Mr. Sherman also favored the international gold standard. (See Senate Executive Document No. 14, Fortieth Congress, second session, pp. 107–110.) Mr. Sherman exprest the belief that the U. S. Congress would share his view. His letter had much weight with the international committee.

The session of the international committee was immediately followed by that of the Paris Monetary Conference. Mr. Ruggles was the American delegate to this body also. Mr. Sherman's former letter was read, and exerted much influence on the conference. (See Senate Executive Document No. 14, Fortieth Congress, second session, pp. 9, 13, 55, 99, 100.) This conference recommended the establishment of "a single standard exclusively of gold." Of it Mr. Sherman said: "The single standard of gold is an American idea, yielded reluctantly by France and other countries." (Ibid., pp. 4–6.)

Returning home, Mr. Sherman, on Jan. 6, 1868, introduced into the U. S. Senate a bill (S., No. 217) dropping the silver dollar from the list of coins, and reducing the weight of the gold dollar to facilitate international coinage and the establishment of the international gold standard. Mr. Sherman accompanied this bill with a powerful report strongly advocating its passage. Senator E. D. Morgan, of New York, however, also of the Finance Committee, presented a minority report arguing strongly against the silver demonetization feature of Mr. Sherman's bill. Mr. Sherman thereupon moved that further consideration of the matter be postponed till the next session. It was, in fact, postponed until Mr. Morgan's retirement from the Senate.

This first and unsuccessful attempt to demonetize the U. S. standard silver dollar was followed by two others. The second attempt apparently emanated neither from Mr. Ruggles nor Mr. Sherman, but from the U. S. Treasury Department, in a bill prepared by Mr. John Jay Knox, and looking toward the revision of the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the U. S. It substituted for the standard silver dollar of 412.5 grains a silver dollar of 384 grains, whose use was limited to payments of $5 and under. This bill also made the gold dollar of 25.8 grains the unit of value in place of the standard silver dollar which Mr. Knox declared had, hitherto, been by law the dollar unit. This bill, in "rough draft," was submitted to some thirty "experts" in monetary matters. The correspondence may be found in "Documentary History of the Coinage Act of Feb. 12, 1873," issued by the U. S. Treasury Department without date. A few of the experts, e. g., E. B. Eliott, recognized and called attention to the fact that the bill demonetized the standard silver dollar. Chief attention, however, was given to other and minor matters.

Mr. Knox revised his bill and dropped the 384-grain dollar, omitting also the standard silver dollar. In this form the bill was submitted by Secretary of the Treasury Boutwell to Senator Sherman, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who, on April 28, 1870, introduced it into the Senate. It was known as the "Mint Bill." Table, "The Evolution of the Mint Bill" (p. 358), shows the various changes which, from time to time, were made in this bill. A table, "Tabular View of History of Act of Feb. 12, 1873, known as the 'Mint Bill'" (published in *The Industrialist*, Kansas State Agricultural College, Nov., 1898), epitomizes the legislative history of the measure. This bill passed the Senate of the Forty-first Congress, and appeared twice in the House. In no instance was demonetization mentioned. The bill died with the adjournment of this Congress.

The third and successful attempt was made in the Forty-second Congress, which immediately met. The Mint Bill was again introduced, this time by Representative Kelley, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, as H. R. No. 5. Later Mr. Kelley retired from the management of the bill; on Feb. 9, 1872, it reappeared, this time as H. R. No. 1,427, in charge of Mr. Samuel Hooper of Massachusetts, characterized by Mr. Blaine as the most competent financier in the House. Mr. Hooper's bill provided for a 384-grain or "five-franc" dollar, good only for payments of $5 and under.

Reference to the "Tabular View" will show that, throughout the entire history of the bill, the demonetization feature was never mentioned in the Senate, and on but a single day, viz., April 9, 1872, in the House; it was referred to by Messrs. Hooper, Stoughton, Potter, and Kelley. This feature attracted but little attention. Alleged "jobs" in the bill brought upon it bitter attacks. Although entitled to daily consideration until disposed of, the bill did not again appear in the House for nearly seven weeks, and then within forty-eight hours of adjournment. On this last appearance it was brought in by Mr. Hooper, "for the purpose," as he said, "of offering an amendment to the bill in the nature of a substitute, one which has been very carefully prepared, and which I have submitted to the different gentlemen in this House who have taken a special interest in the bill. I find that it meets with universal approbation in the form in which I offer it. I move that the rules be suspended and that the substitute be put on its passage." In the midst of a stormy discussion, in which the demonetization feature was not mentioned, a former opponent of the bill, Mr. McNeely, declared his thorough familiarity with it, and his belief that it ought to pass. It therefore did so, 110 to 13. The demonetization clauses of the Hooper "substitute" were the same as those of the bill for which it was a substitute.

Throughout the Senate history of this bill, as of its predecessor in the Forty-first Congress, the demonetization feature was, as stated, not once mentioned. Senator Sherman had constant control of the bill, and allayed all suspicions as to its character. He substituted for the Hooper 384-grain silver dollar the 420-grain silver trade dollar, good also only for payments of $5 and under. The differences in the House and Senate bills were referred to a conference committee dominated by Senator Sherman and Representative Hooper. The bill as recommended by this committee passed both houses and, on Feb. 12, 1873, was signed by President Grant.

That congressmen actually did not know that the bill they were passing demonetized the standard silver dollar is shown by the following statements: Senator Conkling, *Congressional Record*, March 30, 1876, p. 2062, column 2; Senators Thurman and Allison, ditto, p. 1064, column 1, and p. 1058, column 1; Senators Voorhees and

Blaine, ditto, p. 1063, column 2; Senator Beck, ditto, p. 260, column 2, and *Congressional Record* for Jan. 10, 1878, p. 261, column 2; Senator Hereford, *Congressional Record*, for Feb. 13, 1878, p. 989; Senator Howe and Representative Garfield, *Cong. Rec.*, Feb. 5, 1878, p. 764; Representative Bright, *Cong. Rec.*, Jan. 26, 1878, p. 584, column 2; Representative Holman, *Cong. Rec.*, p. 4561, and Appendix, p. 193, column 1; Representative Cannon, *Cong. Rec.*, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, Appendix, p. 197, column 1; Representative Burchard, *Cong. Rec.*, July 13, 1876, p. 4560, column 1; Representative Kelley, *Cong. Rec.*, vol. vii., part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, p. 1605, column 1, and *Cong. Rec.*, p. 1231, column 2.

It is clear, however, that Senator Sherman and Representative Hooper were well aware of the fact that the bill demonetized the standard silver dollar. That the general public did not, for some time after the passage of the bill, so understand is shown by testimonials on both sides of the subsequent controversy, including those of Murat Halstead, the Chicago *Tribune*, Hon. Thomas B. Reed, President F. A. Walker, Hon. W. S. Groesbeck, and J. K. Upton. That President Grant, when signing the bill, was ignorant of its effect upon our silver coinage, is shown by his celebrated "Cowdrey letter." Senator Sherman, in his speech delivered Aug. 30, 1893, virtually admitted as much, saying: "It is sometimes said that General Grant did not know of the demonetization of silver. Well, what of it? General Grant was not a financier, nor a metalist, nor a monetary expert."

The act of 1873 closed the mints of the U. S. against the coinage of additional full legal-tender silver dollars. Such, however, as had before been coined were unaffected by this act. Their demonetization came one year later in the revision of the statutes of the U. S. The revisers were authorized simply to revise, not to legislate. When their work in completed form came before Congress for acceptance, the question at once arose whether the revisers had made changes in the laws. Senators Butler, of Massachusetts and Poland of Vermont declared positively that they had not. In fact, by section 3,586, which reads, "The silver dollar coins in the U. S. shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment," they had demonetized the outstanding standard silver dollars save for payments of $5 and under.

On Jan. 14, 1875, the free-coinage system was applied to gold by the discontinuance of the coinage charge of one fifth of one per cent.

On July 22, 1876, by a joint resolution, the trade dollar was deprived of all legal-tender qualities, Senator Sherman declaring that it was never intended to make it a legal tender for any sum whatever. In Feb., 1887, the trade dollars were retired.

That the above was but a part of a world-wide movement to demonetize silver is shown by U. S. Treasury Circular No. 123, pp. 35–36.

Resumption of Specie Payments

On Jan. 14, 1875, the act for the resumption of specie payments was passed. This act provided for the redemption of paper money with coin, for unlimited issues of national bank-notes, for the reduction in volume of "greenbacks" to $300,000,000, and for the selling of bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury that funds might be obtained with which to effect resumption. The same act provided for the discontinuance of the charge made for coining gold bullion.

The discovery that silver had been demonetized occasioned a tremendous agitation, and demand for remonetization. In consequence Congress, on Feb. 28, 1878, passed the Bland-Allison Compromise Silver Act. This act authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from $2,000,000 worth to $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion per month, and coin the same into standard silver dollars of 412.5 grains. Coinage of silver on private account was prohibited. Standard silver dollars, old or new, were made full legal tender save where otherwise provided by contract, i. e., demonetization by private contract was permitted. Silver certificates, redeemable in silver, were provided for. The president was directed to call an international conference to fix the ratio between gold and silver, and establish international bimetalism. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto.

The Bland-Allison Act

By Act of May 31, 1878, at which time the amount of U. S. treasury notes had been reduced to $346,681,016, the further cancelation of this form of money was forbidden, notes redeemed being required to be reissued. Thus was established the so-called "endless chain," to remedy which it was later proposed by some that the greenbacks be abolished; by others, that the redemption feature be abolished; and, by still others, that the secretary redeem in silver as freely as in gold.

The year 1881 saw a renewed monetary agitation, when France and the U. S. jointly issued a call to a monetary conference. It met in Paris on April 19th, fourteen governments being represented at the opening, and delegates from Great Britain, India, and Canada being present a part of the time. This conference, which continued its sessions with some breaks for nearly two months, indicated a strong approval of the theory of bimetalism, but came to no agreement or line of action, England and Germany being unwilling to act. The U. S., therefore, were still left to act alone. No change, however, was made in our currency, these years being marked by large decreases in the public debt and a discussion of what to do with the "surplus" in the treasury.

The year 1883, however, was marked by financial depression and many failures, caused partly by poor crops and overspeculation, and fell particularly on the iron trade. Yet there was no panic till May, 1884, when it fell in force, altho in speculative rather than in commercial circles. In 1885 there was a general improvement, yet the Secretary of the Treasury and the president alike in their annual messages recommended the repeal of the Silver Bill of 1878; but Congress declined to act, and the next year likewise, altho it also declined to pass a free-silver bill. In 1887, a year of prosperity, there was still more discussion of the "surplus" in the treasury, and again an effort to repeal the Silver Bill of 1878, but still Congress refused. In 1888 the revenue of the U. S. was over $1,000,000 a day. The circulation of the national banks was, however, contracting, and Congress could still not be prevailed upon to repeal the silver law. In 1890 the failure of several London houses, and notably Baring Brothers, owing mainly to a crisis in the Argentine Republic, was

to some extent followed by a stringency in the market here.

On July 14, 1890, the so-called Sherman Silver Purchase Act was passed. This law required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase each month 4,500,000 ounces of silver, paying for the same with treasury notes ("Sherman notes") not more than $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver. These notes were made redeemable on demand, *in coin*, at the discretion of the secretary. The act declared it to be "the established policy of the U. S. to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law." When redeemed, these notes, like the notes comprehended in the Act of May 31, 1878, might be reissued. Unless otherwise provided for by contract, these notes were legal tender. They might be used as national bank reserves. Until July 1, 1891, the secretary was required to coin 2,000,000 ounces monthly; thereafter he was required to coin enough to redeem the treasury notes presented. The price of silver being such that the amount of silver requisite for the coinage of a dollar could be purchased with less than a dollar, a difference called the "seigniorage" was foreseen; this seigniorage was to be preserved. The silver-purchase clause of the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 was repealed.

The Sherman Law

A stormy period followed the enactment of this law. "Raids" were made on the treasury gold reserve, "Sherman notes" being presented in large quantities for redemption. The Secretary of the Treasury uniformly redeemed these notes in gold, leaving the silver idle in the treasury; he gave as his reason that only by paying out the coin demanded could he "preserve the parity" between the two metals. The so-called "endless chain" thus depleted the treasury of its gold. In the spring of 1893 there burst the most fearful panic in American history, the financial classes accounting for it on the ground that "confidence was destroyed" by the exhaustion of the treasury gold-supply; while others attributed it to a conspiracy among certain New York national bank presidents and officers of the national government. (See J. W. Schuckers's "The Black Crime of 1893.")

President Cleveland called Congress together Aug. 7, 1893, in special session to repeal the silver-purchase clause of the "Sherman Act." After a long and bitter session the clause was repealed. Congress, however, passed a bill requiring the coinage of the seigniorage, at that time lying idle in the treasury. On March 29, 1894, this bill was vetoed by the president.

The theory that repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act would stop the raids on the treasury proved groundless. Drains on the treasury gold stock continued. The gold thus drafted away was recouped by four bond sales. The first occurred Jan. 14, 1894. Authority, dubious at best, for all these sales was found in the Act of Jan. 14, 1875. The secretary borrowed $50,000,000 in gold, redeemable in coin after ten years. By November the gold-supply had again fallen so low as to cause a crisis. At a time when the "balance of trade" should have brought it to the U. S., gold was again going abroad. The secretary now sold to a syndicate $50,000,000 worth of bonds, payable in coin after ten years. Late in the same winter heavy withdrawals of gold again occurred; less than one half of this gold was exported, the balance being hoarded at home. On Feb. 8, 1895, the secretary, at the direction of the president, sold to August Belmont & Co. on behalf of the Rothschilds and themselves, and to J. P. Morgan & Co. on behalf of J. S. Morgan & Co., of London, and themselves, bonds amounting to $62,315,435. The bonds were payable in coin after thirty years, and bore interest at the rate of 4 per cent, payable quarterly. The syndicate agreed to "protect the treasury." The syndicate bought at 104½; on Feb. 20th they offered one half of the entire amount purchased ($62,315,435) in New York at 112½, and the remaining one half in London at about the same rate. Subscriptions in New York amounted to $200,000,000; in London, to $590,000,000. In consequence the price in New York went to 120.

By the holiday season of 1895–96 the gold stock had again dropt to the danger line, and the secretary arranged again to sell bonds, amounting this time to $100,000,000, to the Morgan syndicate. A loud protest was now raised against bond sales to private syndicates, and a popular loan was demanded. Over $568,000,000 were, accordingly, bidden for. In consequence the syndicate, which would have paid 104¾, was obliged to pay 110.6877 for its bonds, the government saving, in consequence, over $8,000,000.

Bond Sales

The total of bonds issued in these four sales amounted to $262,315,435.

Currency "Reform"

The financial legislation of 1893–94 was accompanied and followed by a series of demands from financial circles for currency "reform." Numerous "plans," the Baltimore, Rhodes's *Journal of Banking*, Eckels, Carlisle, and, later, the McCleary, Fowler, and Gage bills, all variations of the same general measure, were proposed. These measures contemplated the ultimate elimination of government paper money, the substitution therefor of national bank-notes, and the reduction in the cost to bankers of securing these notes, notably by the substitution of the banks' "assets" for government bonds, whose advancing premium reduced the profits on national bank circulation. These proposals, in a word, all looked to the private ownership and monopolization of a prime public utility. In view of the popular hostility to greenback destruction, the process of "impounding," i. e., locking up this form of money in the national treasury and thus protecting the bank-note against the competition of the greenback, met with much favor. Silver dollars, which also competed with bank-notes, were characterized as "fiat" money and their redemption in gold was advocated. None of these plans, however, found expression in legislation.

The money question constituted the paramount and almost the exclusive issue in the national political campaign of 1896. The Republican National platform declared: "We are . . . opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved." The Democrats declared for the "free and unlimited coinage of both silver and

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gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation," i. e., the restoration of silver to the position it occupied in the currency system of the U. S. prior to 1873. The "National" or "Gold" Democrats declared for the gold standard.

In intensity and earnestness the campaign of 1896 surpassed all others since that of 1860. Under the leadership of Mark Hanna, the Republicans employed money to a degree unparalleled in political history. The avowedly gold standard party, the "National" Democrats, carried one county—in western Kansas. The Republicans won, and announced the result as a victory for the gold standard.

In accordance with his party's platform pledge to promote international bimetalism, President McKinley appointed a commission, consisting of Messrs. Walcott, Stevenson, and Payne, to visit Europe and, if practicable, negotiate an international bimetalic agreement. In France the commission found the prospect very favorable; in England they received much encouragement from Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister, and others. The British financial classes, however, abetted, it was widely believed, by the government at Washington, vetoed the proposal, and the commission returned home empty-handed. The agitation was thereupon dropt, and the "single standard exclusively of gold," for which Messrs. Ruggles and Sherman began working in 1867, but for which the American people had never voted, was accepted as final.

President McKinley

In his message of Dec., 1897, President McKinley proposed legislation providing for the redemption of greenbacks in gold, the greenbacks thereupon to be retained in the treasury unless called for in exchange for gold. Inasmuch as redemption would be demanded mainly by bankers and speculators, constitutionally opposed to the existence of the greenbacks, such a law, as pointed out by Congressman Walker, of Massachusetts, would have enabled a single individual with $1,000,000, or less, in greenbacks to impound the entire $346,000,000 of greenbacks. To do this it would have been necessary only, first, to present the greenbacks at the sub-treasury in Wall Street for gold; then, crossing the street to a bank, to exchange the gold for greenbacks; then, recrossing the street to the sub-treasury, to redeem these greenbacks in gold, and so continue until all the greenbacks in the country, as they gravitated to the financial center, were safely locked in the vaults of the sub-treasury. The proposal was not carried out.

The Gold Standard Law of 1900

On March 14, 1900, the "single standard exclusively of gold" was enacted into law. This law designated the gold dollar of 25.8 grains, nine tenths fine, as "the standard unit of value," and directed the treasurer of the U. S. to maintain all of the forms of money issued by the U. S. at a parity with this standard. The gold reserve of the national treasury, traditionally assumed to have been fixt by the law of July 12, 1882, at $100,000,000, was definitely put at $150,000,000, and the Secretary of the Treasury was directed to maintain it, if necessary, by selling bonds. The legal-tender quality of the silver dollar and greenback was retained. Divisions of issue and redemption were established in the national treasury. Silver certificates were made to replace treasury notes. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to coin silver purchased under the Act of July 14, 1890, into subsidiary coins, canceling an equal value of treasury notes of 1890; national banks with capitals of $25,000 were authorized for towns of 6,000 population or under; bonds maturing in 1904, 1907, and 1908 were permitted to be refunded, at a lower interest rate, into gold bonds payable in thirty years and exempt from duties and all species of taxation, national, state, municipal, or local; and national banks were permitted to issue circulation up to the par value of their bonds, the tax upon such circulation, if based upon the new bonds, being at the same time reduced one half.

National Bank Money

In the second session of the Fifty-ninth Congress a bill (H. R. 23,017), drawn in accordance with the carefully prepared recommendations of a convention of bankers, and indorsed by the president, was introduced by Representative Charles N. Fowler. It provided that any national bank which had been doing business for a year, and had a surplus equal to 20 per cent of its capital, might issue credit notes equal to 40 per cent of its outstanding bond-secured currency, but not exceeding 25 per cent of its capital; upon these credit notes an annual tax of 3 per cent was to be laid. In addition, the bank might, in time of emergency, issue credit notes equal to 12½ per cent of its capital, upon which a tax of 5 per cent was to be laid. The government would hold, as trustee, a 5 per cent security fund out of which to pay the notes of insolvent banks.

This bill was correctly characterized as a "revival of the old Baltimore plan of non-secured asset currency," "contrived in formidable banking circles twelve years ago, and, periodically, when stock jobbers and speculators on the 'street' had been pinched and squeezed by a high call rate of interest, put forward with constantly increasing vehemence." By its friends this measure was described as "merely another patch on a patchwork system"; by its opponents as providing for currency inflation, certainly of $213,000,000, and possibly of $320,000,000, at a tax to the banks of 3 per cent on the smaller sum, and 5 per cent on the $106,000,000 additional, and by the banks upon the borrowers of two or three times that amount; as calculated to stimulate the spirit of speculation and gambling at the money centers; as failing absolutely to provide, like the Scotch and Canadian systems after which it was nominally modeled, for prompt redemption; as unnecessary to meet an alleged lack of money, inasmuch as national banks were already issuing but 62½ per cent of the amount of circulation to which they were entitled by law; as merely enabling banks, unwilling to issue expensive bond-secured currency, to issue a cheaper form of money at a greater profit to themselves; and as utterly uncalled for by the business community in general. Critics might also have added that the scheme provided for fiat money, pure and simple; the 5 per cent security fund serving as but the shadow of that metallic basis which bankers, when criticizing government-issued and -secured money, have been accustomed to maintain is essential to the "soundness" and "honesty" of a medium of exchange. Further, in the light of our financial history, they might also have pointed out that this bill was but another long step toward the realization of the national bankers' dream, name-

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MINT BILL

Chart showing forms assumed by important sections of the Mint Bill at various stages of its progress

NUMBERS AND FORMS	1. GOLD SECTION			2. SILVER SECTION				3. PROHIBITORY SECTION	
	Number of section	Effect		Number of section	Effect			Number of section	Effect
		Amount of value provided	Legal tender of gold coins		Silver dollar		Legal tender of silver coins		
1. "Rough draft" first sent to experts...	10	Gold dollar of 25.8 grains.	All gold coin a legal tender in all payments.	11	412½ grain dollar dropt.	384-grain dollar introduced.	All silver coins named in bill a legal tender in payment of debts for all sums not exceeding $5, except duties on imports.	Wanting.	
2. Bill submitted to Senator Sherman, April 25, 1870, by Secretary of Treasury. Step I.	14	"	"	15	"	No silver dollar whatever.	All silver coins named in bill a legal tender for sums less than $1.	18	No coins to be minted other than those named.
3. Bill introduced into Senate by Senator Sherman, April 28, 1870. Step II, S. 859.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
4. Bill submitted to Speaker Blaine, June 25, 1870, by Secretary of Treasury. Step VI, S. 859.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
5. Chairman Kelley's "Substitute" of Feb. 25, 1871. Step XIV, S. 859.	"	"	"	"	"	"	All silver coins *named in bill* a legal tender for sums not exceeding $5.	"	"
6. Bill newly introduced by Chairman Kelley, March 9, 1871. Step XV, H. R. 5.	"	These sections are cut away from the only extant copy of the bill.		"	"	"	"	"	"
7. Bill reported by Chairman (pro tem.) Hooper, Feb. 9, 1872. Step XVIII, H. R. 1427.	"	Gold dollar of 25.8 grains.	All gold coin a full legal tender in all payments.	16	"	384-grain dollar reintroduced.	"	"	"
8. Chairman (pro tem.) Hooper's "Substitute" of May 27, 1872. Step XXI, H. R. 1427.	"	"	"	"	"	384-grain dollar remains.	"	"	"
9. Bill read (twice by title) in Senate, May 29, 1872. Step XXII, H. R. 2934.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
10. Bill reported in Senate with amendments, Dec. 16, 1872. Step XXIII, H. R. 2934.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
11. Bill after amendment in Senate (?) Jan. 17, 1873 (?). Step XXV, H. R. 2934.	"	"	"	[16] 15	"	420-grain substituted for 384-grain dollar.	"	[18] 17	"
12. Bill approved by President Grant, Feb. 12, 1873. Step XXXVIII, H. R. 2,934.	"	"	"	15	"	420-grain dollar remains.		17	"

ly, a currency system created and indorsed by government and turned over to national banks at a nominal cost, to be contracted and expanded by them at pleasure, and employed in exploiting the public to their own enrichment.

This scheme, providing for what is usually styled "credit currency," "elastic currency," and, derisively, "rubber money," again ignominiously failed. An act, however, approved March 4, 1907, and bearing the name of Senator Aldrich, was passed. Aside from some features of minor interest, it conceded, in part, two of the bankers' demands. The first of these, omitted, however, from the above bill, was that the Secretary of the Treasury should be required to turn over to the national banks all the funds in the national treasury save such as were needed for the safe conduct of the daily business of the treasury. The Aldrich bill met this demand in part through the following clause:

"All national banking associations, designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be depositories of public money, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the secretary"; i. e., banks specified by the secretary may have free use of the public funds. What percentage of such funds might thus be placed at their disposal the act does not indicate.

The second demand of the bankers, namely, that they should be provided with a less expensive money than a currency based on government bonds, was conceded in part by a provision that a national bank may, upon deposit of lawful money, withdraw its circulating notes, the maximum of such withdrawals for all national banks in a given month being fixed at $9,000,000. This provision saves the bank, now entrusted with public funds, the cost of the premium paid for government bonds with which to secure its circulation, and enables it to secure a higher interest rate upon its own money than that borne by government bonds. The measure is a step toward asset or "elastic currency"; it permits contraction of the currency by national banks to the extent of $9,000,000 per month. "Elasticity" requires that the banks shall be permitted both to contract and to expand. Naturally, their next demand should be, again, for "asset" or "credit" currency that they may thus expand.

"Elastic Currency"

The Aldrich law also contains the following provision:

> The Secretary of the Treasury shall require the associations thus designated (as depositories of public money), to give satisfactory security, by the deposit of U. S. bonds *and otherwise*; for the safe-keeping and prompt payment of the public money deposited with them.

What do the words "and otherwise" mean? In answer, the *Wall Street Journal* said:

> By the passage of the Aldrich bill Congress has made lawful, if there was any doubt about the legality before, the acceptance by the Secretary of the Treasury of other bonds than those of the U. S. as security for U. S. deposits in national banks.

This statement has been interpreted to mean that hereafter "when it is not convenient for the bankers to deposit U. S. bonds they may give state bonds, municipal bonds, or railway bonds, and when it suits their purpose not to give any bonds whatever, then the personal notes of the officers of the banks will be accepted."

Commenting upon this situation, *The Commoner* (April 12, 1907, p. 3) said: "Why did it (the *Wall Street Journal*) not tell its readers that the very men who had laughed to scorn the Populists' subtreasury proposition, which, as described by one Republican, meant 'the loan of the public money on haystacks, hogs, and hominy,' had provided for loaning the public money without interest upon the personal notes of national bankers?"

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Data: *Laws of the U. S. relating to loans, paper money, banking and coinage, 1790–1895*; *U. S. Treasury Circular No. 123*; *Report of U. S. Silver Commission, 1876*; *Senate Executive Document, No. 14, Fortieth Congress, Second Session*; *U. S. Senate Report, No. 117, Fortieth Congress, Second Session*; *Congressional Globe*; *Congressional Record*.
Theory: Alexander Del Mar, *The Science of Money*; Horace White, *Money and Banking*; Stanley Jevons, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*; E. Benjamin Andrews, *An Honest Dollar*; Frank Parsons, *Rational Money*; Albert Griffin, *The Keynote*.

CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM: American editor and civil service reformer; born in Providence, R. I., 1824. He began a commercial career in New York City, and later, together with his elder brother, joined the community at Brook Farm, being the youngest member of that company. Mr. Curtis remained four years at Brook Farm, going thence to Concord, Mass., keeping up the friendship formed with Emerson, Hawthorne, and others.

In 1846 Mr. Curtis went to Europe, and during his travels contributed letters to the New York *Tribune*. On his return, in 1851, he became connected editorially with that paper. In 1852 he became one of the editors of *Putnam's Monthly*, and in 1853 began a career as a lyceum lecturer, soon becoming one of the most popular speakers of the day. In 1857 he became permanently associated with the Harpers, as editor of the "Easy Chair," the remarkable series of papers which he had commenced in 1853. The previous year he had become chief editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly*, a position he held till his death.

In 1860 Mr. Curtis was a delegate to the convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln, and in *Harper's Weekly* and on the platform he enthusiastically advocated the cause of the union and emancipation. In 1871 General Grant appointed him one of the commissioners to draw up rules to regulate the civil service. A civil service league had been formed in New York State in 1876, and in 1880 it was revived, and Mr. Curtis became its president. This was superseded a year later by the National Civil Service Reform League, which was essentially of his organization. In 1890 Curtis became chancellor of the University of the State of New York, of which he had been a regent since 1864. He died at his home on Staten Island, Aug. 31, 1892. Among his works may be mentioned: "Lotus Eating" (1852); "Trumps" (1862); "Eulogy on Wendell Phillips" (1865); "Motley's Correspondence" (1890); and "From the Easy Chair" (1892).

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DANGEROUS TRADES, THE (see also ACCIDENTS): American legislature seems almost to have ignored a branch of factory legislation considered elsewhere of the utmost importance. While most of the countries of Europe, especially England, have considered the special regulations of dangerous trades as a necessity of modern industry, in only one case have the American states enacted special laws on the subject. This is the law with reference to emery wheels that has been adopted by several of our states.

The expression "dangerous trades" is used in a somewhat technical sense. It does not include all trades that are dangerous, but has been especially applied to those trades in which some form of poison or disease is incidental to the trade itself as at present carried on. It is not generally used with reference to those trades in which sudden injury and death are caused by dangerous machinery or unguarded perils (see ACCIDENTS), but rather refers to those slower acting causes which, while not so sensational in their horrors, are even more frightful in their results. On the other hand, the term is not applied to those dangers of poor sanitation and poor ventilation that are incidental to all trades.

In our present era of sharp international competition the smallest difference in the technic of an industry may give a nation a great commercial advantage, such as the United States enjoys in many cases to-day; but with the spread of technical education all the nations are turning out men able to bring each industry up to the highest level of efficiency, so that in the great majority of processes the same methods prevail in all countries. In England the U. S. has her greatest competitor, and in England this question of the dangerous trades has for the last ten years claimed a very large share of public attention. It has been foremost in the unions, has filled columns of the press day after day for years, has been the subject of parliamentary acts and exhaustive parliamentary reports.

Looking to her as leader in this matter, the following is a classified list of those trades which have been considered dangerous either in the acts of Parliament, in the recent reports above mentioned, or in the annual reports of the factory inspector:

1. Trades in which lead is a poisonous element: The manufacture of earthenware and china. File cutting. The manufacture of white lead; Lead smelting. The use of lead in print or dye works. The manufacture of red, orange or yellow lead. Glass polishing. Enameling of iron plates. Enameling and tinning of hollow metal ware and cooking utensils. Processes in which yellow chromate of lead is made, or in which goods dyed with it undergo the process of building, winding, weaving, etc.

2. Trades which produce other chemical poisons: Manufacture of paint and color. Extraction of arsenic. Dry cleaning. Paper staining, coloring and enameling. Hatters' and furriers' work. The manufacture of matches. Chemical works. Bronzing and metallochrome powder in lithographic works. India-rubber work. Dyeing with certain dyes. Mixing and casting of brass, gun metal, bell metal, white metal, phosphor-bronze, and manila mixture.

3. Trades in which anthrax or lockjaw is an incident: Wool sorting. The handling of hides and skins. Hair factories. Brushmaking. Bone factories. Fellmongers' works. Furriers' works. Tanneries; Wool combing. Blanket stoving and tentering. Warp dressing. Carbonizing and grinding of rags. Flock-making. Feather cleaning.

4. Trades in which the danger arises from injurious particles in the air or from dust: Basic slag works. Manufacture of silicate of cotton. File cutting. Flour mills. Trades which use grindstones or emery wheels. China scouring. Silk combing. Flax scutching.

5. Trades in which sudden accidents are so frequent as to demand special legislation: Metal works which use converters. Electrical generating works. Bottling and bottle testing. Quarries. Manufacture of salt.

6. Processes which require a sudden change from great heat to cold and vice versa, such as lacquering and japanning, galvanizing of iron, and the work carried on in furnaces and foundries.

7. Processes that require artificial humidity: Cotton spinning, weaving, etc. Flax spinning, weaving, etc. Wool spinning. Silk spinning.

Remedies

Legislation has been provided by Parliament to cover all these trades, and is in many cases very effective. The method followed is to give the Home Secretary power to declare a certain trade dangerous and to require whatever preventives he may consider necessary. If the manufacturer objects he may appeal to arbitrators, whose decisions are then binding. These provisions are very generally enforced. Out of fifty-six cases before the courts in 1898 the inspectors won forty-nine.

The first essential point in the regulations is that sickness from these cases is required to be reported. This is essential both for the enforcement of the rules and as a guide for future action.

These rules may be said to have the following objects:

1. To prevent fumes of dust from arising in the first instance.
2. To carry off the fumes and dust before they reach the worker.
3. To prevent the fumes or dust from reaching the worker or those parts of the body they might injure.
4. To keep clean the person and clothes of the worker where he is exposed to injurious dust.
5. To furnish an antidote before any poison taken into the system has had its effect.
6. To bring immediate relief after an injury, whether the worker is aware that he has been injured or not.
7. To prevent poisoning from reaching a more serious stage.
8. To eliminate persons unfitted for dangerous occupations, whether this unfitness results from youth, sex, personal idiosyncrasies, or even from the accumulated effects of labor at the trade.

In the U. S. the success of the emery-wheel laws should give encouragement and show the practicability of special legislative enactments in this field. Two or three states have a general law which may be stretched to cover some of the evils, but, as experience in Great Britain has shown, this is not sufficient.

The INTERNATIONAL LABOR ASSOCIATION is agitating for international legislation upon the making of phosphorus matches, etc.

DANTE AND SOCIAL REFORM (1265–1321): The influence exerted by the great Italian poet on the social movement of his day was not small. As is well known, he took an eager part in public affairs. Altho of a family traditionally Guelph, he was a Ghibelline, favoring the empire against the Church, and therefore, for what he believed to be the deepest good of Florence and Italy, opposing the popular party. It was as a result of the strife and intrigues arising out of this controversy that he was expelled from Florence, and given the bitter, sad, noble life out of which has come his great, mystic, unfathomable song. His one great work on social themes is his "De Monarchia," written in Latin in rigid dialectical method, perhaps about 1302, tho more probably later. In any case, it represents his mature Ghibelline views. He asks three questions concern-

ing the Roman Empire ("De Monarchia," i., ii.): 1. Whether it was necessary for the welfare of the world. 2. Whether the Roman people took to itself by right the office of monarchy or empire. 3. Whether the authority of monarchy comes from God directly or only from some other minister or vicar of God. He believes that the authority of the empire came from God direct; he advocates the theory which became the ruling thought of the Middle Ages, and which has affected all European history—that the empire and the Church are two parallel coordinate powers, both divine, both owing respect, but neither owing obedience, to the other. It is this ideal that is revived in the German ideal advocated by Bismarck—e. g., of the Christian State. (See GERMANY.)

DANTON, GEORGE JACQUES: French revolutionist; born at Arcis-sur-Aube, 1759; received a good education and entered the practise of law in Paris. Of radical views, he was one of the leaders of the club of the Cordeliers, which was from the first the center of the extreme popular party in the French Revolution, and became prominent in 1792. He is credited with instigating the rising of the bloody insurrection of Aug. 10th of that year, which began the Reign of Terror. The next day he was raised to the post of minister of justice. On Sept. 2d, when Paris was in a panic, Danton made a bold, powerful speech in the assembly, closing with the words: "Dare, dare again, and forever dare." That evening several hundred prisoners were massacred in the prisons. His admirers claim that Danton adopted this attitude because he believed that a little audacity on the part of the people then would really in the end most preserve life as well as liberty. As a member of the convention he joined the Mountain, as the extremists were called, and voted for the death of the king. He was prominent in the establishment of the revolutionary tribunal; was a member of the committee on public safety; aided in overthrowing the Girondists; but was not a member of the new committee on public safety, being unable to approve its excesses. He could not, however, prevent them, and fell into a sort of apathy till at last Robespierre moved against Danton. He was brought before the Tribunal, sentenced, and guillotined April 5, 1794.

REFERENCES: *Ca Ira*, or *Danton in the French Revolution*, by Grönlund' (this work gives the favorable view of Danton); *Life of Danton*, by Beesly; *Danton, a Study*, by Belloc. (See also FRENCH REVOLUTION.)

DARROW, CLARENCE S.: American lawyer and worker for reform; born at Kinsman, Ohio, 1857; educated in the public schools; admitted to the bar in 1875; acted for some time as attorney for the Northwestern Railroad. In politics he is a radical or independent democrat, practically a Socialist. He was counsel on the side of labor for Eugene DEBS, as well as in a large number of labor injunctions and conspiracy cases. He represented the United Mine Workers of America before the Anthracite Coal Commission which was appointed by President Roosevelt in 1903, and at present (1907) is defending the officials of the Western Federation of Miners who were indicted for conspiracy to murder former Governor Steunenburg of Idaho. He was special traction counsel for the city of Chicago in the recent litigation against the gas and traction companies. He is the author of: "The Persian Pearl"; "Resist not Evil"; "Farmington"; and "An Eye for an Eye." *Address:* 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago.

DAUM, ADOLFUS: Austrian reformer; born in Vienna, 1850; studied at the university of his native city, and was admitted to the bar in 1880. In 1887 he became a member of the Gemeinderat (common council). He is very active in charity organization and temperance work, and together with Baron Oppenheimer he founded an association for improving working men's dwellings. He is joint founder with Dr. Proskowetz of the first Austrian temperance society (Oesterreichischer Verein gegen Trunksucht), has been its secretary since its foundation, and edits its monthly paper. Daum is author of articles and pamphlets on temperance, housing, and charity organization. *Address*: 19 Spiegelgasse, I. Vienna, Austria.

DAVIDSON, THOMAS: Philosophist and reformer; born near Tetterangus, Scotland, 1840; graduated at Aberdeen University, 1860; in 1866 removed to Canada; in 1867 to the United States, and in 1870 settled at Cambridge, Mass. He however, studied, wrote, and lectured on both sides of the Atlantic, mainly on philosophical themes. He also established a summer camp in the Adirondacks for the study of philosophy and ethics. Deeply interested in social reforms, he conducted a class of Russian Jews in New York, tho his main reform influence, however, was his inspiring personality. Out of his classes and lectures have come various reform efforts, some of them, however, not at all on the lines he approved, notably among these the Fabian Society of London. He himself was a strong individualist and a religious and violent freethinker, but large enough to encourage all workers for humanity and seekers for truth. His published writings are all philosophical. Died 1900.

DAVITT, MICHAEL: Founder of the Irish Land League; born in the village of Straide, Mayo County, 1846. When five years old he saw his parents evicted from their home. The family emigrating to Lancashire, he was employed in a cotton-mill, and at the age of eleven lost his right arm through a machinery accident. He attended school at Harlingden until fifteen, when he obtained work in a printing-office, remaining seven years. In 1865 he joined the Fenian Brotherhood, and in 1870 was arrested on charge of treason and sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. After seven and a half years he was released on ticket of leave. After a visit to America he returned to his native country. In 1879 he started the land agitation, and in conjunction with Parnell and others founded the Land League. In 1880 he went to the United States to organize land leagues; and on his return (1881) he was again arrested, but after fifteen months was released anew on ticket of leave, and was accorded a reception by Mr. Parnell and the Irish leaders. In February, 1883, he was once more arrested for a speech against rent and landlordism, and was incarcerated four months. While in prison in Portland in 1882 he was elected M.P. for Meath, but was disqualified by vote of the House of Commons. In 1890 Mr. Davitt, siding with Mr. Gladstone, demanded the retirement of Mr. Parnell because of his proved immorality, Mr. Davitt believing this to be the only way of saving the Home Rule cause. The conflict in the Irish Party

and in Ireland became bitter, but Mr. Davitt found a large following, and in 1892 was returned to the House of Commons. In 1895 he was again returned, serving until 1899, when he resigned. Afterward he traveled extensively. He died in 1906. He is the author of: "Leaves from a Prison Diary" (1889); "Defense of the Land League" (1891); "The Boer Fight for Freedom" (1902); "The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland" (1904); besides works on Australia, etc.

DAWSON, HON. ANDERSON: Senator for Queensland in the Australian Federal Legislature; born at Rockhampton, Queensland, 1863. He educated himself, and afterward engaged in the grocery business, later becoming a mining prospector. In 1901 he was elected to the first Commonwealth Parliament. Dawson is leader of the Queensland Labor Party, and in 1899 he was premier for a brief period. *Address*: George Street, Fitzroy, Victoria.

DEAF AND DUMB AND BLIND SCHOOLS AND ASYLUMS: The first public institution for the deaf and dumb was opened at Leipzig in 1788 and the first in England, in London, in 1792, tho in 1760 Abbé de l'Épée, in Paris, and Thomas Braidwood, in Edinburgh, had gotten together classes of the deaf and dumb. The first institution of the kind in America was opened at Hartford, Conn., in 1817, owing to the efforts of Dr. Gallaudet.

The first blind school or asylum was founded at Paris in 1785. England followed in 1791, in a school at Liverpool. A London school was established in 1799.

The first American school for the blind was opened in Boston in 1831 through the efforts of Dr. J. D. Fischer. (See also Howe.)

The first embossed book for the blind was invented by Victor Haüy, in Paris, 1785.

The total number of deaf-mutes in the United States, 1890, was 40,592—whites, 37,447; negroes, 3,115; others, 30; males, 22,429; females, 18,163; native-born whites, 33,278; foreign-born whites, 4,169.

The number of persons so deaf as to be unable to hear loud conversation June 1, 1890, was 121,178, of whom 80,611 were able to speak. The latter were 49,278 males, 31,338 females, 77,308 whites, 3,308 negroes.

Deaf-mutism is an affection of childhood. The steady decrease after the age of twenty shows the greater mortality among these unfortunates.

The total number of the blind in the U. S., 1890, was 50,568—whites, 43,351; negroes, 7,060; others, 157; males, 28,080; females, 22,488; native-born whites, 34,205; foreign-born whites, 9,146. The number blind in one eye only was 93,988.

The U. S. Census of 1900 reports deaf and blind asylums together. There were, in 1904, 66 public, 34 private, and 15 ecclesiastical schools or asylums for the deaf and blind. These had Dec. 31, 1904, 7,923 male and 6,808 female inmates. The cost of maintenance was (1903) $3,523,683. Annual subsidies to private and ecclesiastical institutions, $884,772. Pay from inmates, $100,693.

Statistics

In Great Britain, under Blind and Deaf Children Act, 1893, there are 39 schools and institutions for blind and 54 for deaf children, with 1,683 and 3,248 inmates. London, Bristol, Birmingham, and Nottingham, voluntary after-care committees, take the blind, deaf, and defective children as they leave school, find them work, and generally supervise their welfare.

Professor Mayo-Smith ("Statistics and Sociology," p. 213) gives the following table, but reminds us that it is of doubtful comparative value, owing to the different degrees to which the deficient are registered in different countries:

Deficient for 1,000,000 of Population: 1890

Countries	Blind	Deaf-Mutes
Austria	806	1,292
England and Wales	809	489
Hungary	1,051	1,089
Ireland	1,135	715
Norway	1,289	1,080
Scotland	695	528
Sweden	825	1,019
United States	805	659
North Atlantic Division	777	670
South Atlantic Division	888	634
North Central Division	783	731
South Central Division	895	581
Western Division	561	430

DEAKIN, ALFRED: Prime minister of the Australian commonwealth; born at Melbourne, 1856; educated in the Church of England Grammar School and at Melbourne University; called to the Victorian bar in 1877; elected to the legislature in 1879, but resigned; reelected in 1880, serving till 1889. He was solicitor-general and minister of public works and water supply in the service ministry, 1883–86; and leader of the Liberal Party, 1886, holding various offices. Deakin is the author of the first factory act, and of the first act for public irrigation on an extensive plan; and he is president of the royal commission on irrigation. He was a member of the Federal Council in 1889, 1895, and 1897, took a prominent part in the movement for federal union, was a member of the convention which framed the commonwealth constitution (1897–98), was a delegate to London to urge the passing of the Commonwealth Bill (1900), attorney-general for the first federal ministry (1901–3), acting prime minister and minister for external affairs in 1902, prime minister from 1903 till April, 1904, and leader of the Protectionists. In July, 1905, he was again made prime minister. He is also president of the Imperial Federation League in Victoria since 1905. In 1887 he declined knighthood. *Address*: Llanarth, South Yarra, Melbourne.

DEARMER, PERCY: English clergyman and author; born in London, 1867; educated at Westminster School, abroad, and at Christ Church, Oxford. He has been successively curate of St. Anne's, South Lambeth; St. John's, Great Marlborough Street; and Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair. Since 1901 he has been vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's Church, Primrose Hill. Mr. Dearmer is greatly interested in the social conditions and problems of the time, and has written many tracts on social questions, besides editing and contributing to several volumes on the same subject, notably "The Church and the New Century Problems." Since 1891 he has been the secretary of the London branch of the Christian Social Union. He is the author of: "Oxford Cathedral" (1897); "Religious Pamphlets" and

"Wells Cathedral" (1898); "The Parson's Handbook" (1899); "The Little Lives of the Saints" and "Highways and Byways of Normandy" (1900); "The English Liturgy" (1903); "The Server's Handbook" (1904); "The Sanctuary" (1905), etc. *Address*: St. Mary's Vicarage, Elsantly Rd., London, England.

DEATH PENALTY: The infliction of the death penalty has existed among all peoples and in all times. Only recently has there been any serious agitation for its abandonment. In the earliest times and through the Middle Ages it was often accompanied with the most terrible tortures. Death on the wheel, by quartering, by flaying alive, by burning, by crucifixion, by immersion in boiling oil, by disemboweling—these were but a few of the simpler methods.

The death penalty was in former times inflicted for all manner of crimes. It was once the ordinary punishment for all felonies; in England it was the certain doom of all who could not avail themselves of benefit of clergy—i. e., it was inflicted on all who could not write. Moreover, numerous acts of Parliament created felonies without benefit of clergy. Things grew worse rather than better. Llorente estimates the number that were buried alive under the Inquisition alone at 31,912. Rowe divides this by 10. Protestant England has her shame. Blackstone mentions 160 offenses as punishable by death. Four fifths of these had been added during the reign of the first three Georges. Among these offenses were stealing in dwelling-houses to the amount of 40s.; stealing in a shop to the value of 5s.; counterfeiting stamps used in the sale of hair powder and perfumery. In the latter part of the reign of George III., due to the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly, much of this was abolished. In Pennsylvania, under Penn's code of laws, murder and treason were the only crimes punishable by death. In Massachusetts there were twelve causes. Capital punishment has been defended in all times and by the greatest philosophers. The Mosaic and the Germanic law allowed retaliation—a life for a life. Plato argued for its limitation to incorrigible culprits, whose death would serve the public good. Grotius treats the question from a religious point, basing his argument on the laws of Moses. Montesquieu defends it as a sort of retaliation by society, based on the nature of things. Rousseau, following Hobbes, defends it on the ground that the criminal is a rebel to the social contract. Kant says that in the social contract man consents to the penal law, and so can be put to death. Beccaria, in his "Essay on Crimes and Punishments" (1775), was the first to argue for its total disuse. He did so on the ground that society had no right to take away life, since it did not give life, and that it was not the punishment most deterrent to crime. Bentham argued that it was the most deterrent. Romilly argued that if it is not the supreme penalty, and society has the right to inflict worse penalty, it surely has that right.

The main arguments for capital punishment have been based on the absolute justice of demanding life for life, on Scripture warrants, and, above all, on the asserted teaching of experience that the death penalty is actually the most deterrent punishment, and therefore the most effective. Men have striven to show that where the death penalty has been abolished murder has decreased. This, on the other hand, is strenuously denied; and the argument against the death penalty is based on the denial of the right of the State to take life, on Christian charity, and, above all, on the claim that it works evil, brutalizes the community, making it think life cheap, even adding a horrible fascination to murder, and delivering juries from convicting murderers, etc.

In the United States the death penalty may be given in most states for treason, murder, arson, rape, piracy, robbery of the mails with jeopardy to life, rescue of a convict going to execution, burning a vessel of war, and corruptly destroying a private vessel. It has been abolished in Michigan (1846), Wisconsin (1852), Rhode Island (1852), Iowa (1877), Maine (1887), and New York; but has been restored in Iowa and New York. In 1888 the latter state substituted death by electricity for hanging.

In Europe it seems going out of use. In Holland there have been no executions since 1860, and the penalty was abolished in 1870. In Rumania it was abolished in 1864, and in France and Portugal in 1907. Switzerland abolished it in 1874, but murders increasing, in 1879 the cantons reestablished it where the canton so votes. It remains abolished in fifteen cantons. From 1870–79, of 805 persons sentenced to death in Austria, only 16 were executed; in Sweden, only 3 out of 32; in Norway, 3 out of 14; in Denmark, 1 out of 94; in Bavaria, out of 249 committed for murder, only 7 were executed. In North Germany, from 1869–78, 1,301 were convicted of homicide, 484 sentenced, but only 1 executed—Hödel, who attempted the assassination of the emperor. The death penalty for political crimes is all but universally abolished. The French Revolution of 1830 declared for this, and it was abolished in France by the Constitution of Nov. 4, 1848, and the law of June 8, 1850. In Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and most of the states of the U. S., the method of execution is by hanging; in New York and Massachusetts by electrocution; in Germany by beheading; in Spain by garroting. See Penology.

References: *The Death Penalty* (*Questions of the Day Series*, 1891), by A. J. Palm; *On the Punishment of Death*, by Basil Montagu, 1809–13; *Memoirs of Sir S. Romilly*, 1840; *Rationale of Punishment*, by Jeremy Bentham, 1830; *Report of Select Committee on Capital Punishment*, New York State Assembly, 1851; *Essays on Crimes and Punishments*, by Beccaria, 1775; Articles: *Westminster*, April, 1901, May, 1906; *Annals Am. Acad.*, March, 1901.

DEATH-RATES: Two facts stand out in the study of death-rates from the standpoint of social reform. First, the marked falling of the death-rate in almost all civilized countries and cities, clearly indicating advance in national and civic cleanliness and hygiene, together with increasing successful provision for the sick and for old age. Second, the varying death-rates between city and country, the poor and the rich, the overcrowded and the well-circumstanced, showing to what extent the death-rate is a matter of economics and of environment. These questions, however, are better considered after the statistics:

General Statistics

Death-Rate per 1,000 Population

(From U. S. Census Bulletin 15, 1904)

	1890	Twenty-five years 1876–1900	1900
Austria	29.4	28.6	25.4
Belgium	20.6	20.1	19.3
Denmark	19.0	18.3	16.9
England and Wales	19.5	19.1	18.2
France	22.8	21.9	21.9
German Empire	24.4	24.2	22.1
Prussia	24.0	23.7	21.8
Hungary	32.4	32.3	26.9
Ireland	18.2	18.2	19.6
Italy	26.4	26.5	23.8
Netherlands	20.5	20.3	17.8
Norway	17.9	16.6	15.9
Scotland	19.7	19.2	18.5
Spain	32.5	30.3	28.7
Sweden	17.1	17.0	16.8
Switzerland	20.8	20.6	19.3
United States (registration area)	19.6	....	17.8

In the United States the "registration" area means areas where there are adequate official returns. "Non-registration"

areas are those where the census enumerators made the reports, or where the official reports were too defective to be adequate. The registration area embraces ten registration states—namely, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont—and outside these states 153 registration cities. These are all states and all cities having at least 8,000 inhabitants, for which the registration of deaths under local laws and ordinances was found to be sufficiently accurate for use by the Census Office. The population of the registration area in 1900 was 28,807,269, or about 38 per cent of the entire population of continental U. S. In the registration area it is estimated that the death-rate of 1900 was 17.8, but the census states that as the non-registration area was largely rural the real death-rate was between 17.8 and 15.4 (the rural registration rate).

The United States

Death-Rates per 1,000 Population by Race and Nativity: 1900

(Twelfth Census, vol. iii., pp. lvii., lxx., lxxiv., and 286)

Registration Area	Total	White	Negro, Indian and Mongolian	White	
				Native	Foreign born
Summaries:					
Registration area	17.8	17.3	29.6	16.6	19.4
Registration cities	18.6	17.9	30.5	17.3	19.7
Registration states	17.3	17.1	25.3	16.7	18.3
Cities	18.6	18.4	27.6	18.3	18.5
Rural	15.4	15.3	19.0	14.9	17.8
Registration states:					
Connecticut	17.0	16.9	23.4	16.8	16.9
District of Columbia	22.8	19.1	31.0	17.6	32.0
Maine	17.5	17.5	16.1	17.7	16.2
Massachusetts	17.7	17.7	19.5	18.3	16.4
Michigan	13.9	13.8	16.4	13.1	16.4
New Hampshire	18.0	18.0	15.1	19.3	13.1
New Jersey	17.4	17.1	23.3	16.7	18.6
New York	17.9	17.8	26.2	17.0	20.1
Rhode Island	19.1	18.9	24.9	19.7	17.3
Vermont	17.0	16.9	28.7	16.6	19.1

Death-Rates

Certain Causes, for the Registration Area, 1900 and 1890

(From the Twelfth Census)

Cause	Death-Rate per 100,000		Increase or Decrease in Death-Rate, 1890 to 1900	
	1900	1890	Increase	Decrease
Pneumonia	191.9	186.9	5.0	
Consumption[1]	190.5	245.4		54.9
Heart disease[2]	134.0	121.8	12.2	
Diarrheal diseases[3]	85.1	104.1		19.0
Diseases of the kidneys[4]	83.7	59.7	24.0	
Apoplexy	66.6	49.0	17.6	
Cancer	60.0	47.9	12.1	
Old age	54.0	44.9	9.1	
Bronchitis	48.3	74.4		26.1
Cholera infantum	47.8	79.7		31.9
Debility and atrophy	45.5	88.6		43.1
Inflammation of the brain and meningitis	41.8	49.1		7.3
Diphtheria	35.4	70.1		34.7
Typhoid fever	33.8	46.3		12.5
Influenza	23.9	6.2	17.7	
Diseases of the brain	18.6	30.9		12.3
Croup	9.8	27.6		17.8
Malarial fever	8.8	19.2		10.4

[1] Including general tuberculosis.
[2] Including pericarditis.
[3] Including cholera morbus, colitis diarrhea, dysentery, and enteritis.
[4] Including Bright's disease.

Death-Rates by Age Periods per 1,000 Population of Corresponding Age: 1900

(Twelfth Census, vol. iii., p. lxxx.)

Registration Area	Age Period							
	Under 1	Under 5	5 to 14	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 64	65 and over
Summaries:								
Registration area	165.4	52.1	4.3	6.4	9.0	11.5	22.1	86.6
Registration cities	179.9	57.6	4.7	6.7	9.6	12.6	24.8	93.3
Registration states	159.3	49.9	3.8	5.7	8.3	10.5	20.3	82.8
Cities	184.7	59.7	4.3	5.9	9.1	12.1	24.3	90.9
Rural	117.4	34.4	3.2	5.3	6.8	8.0	15.7	76.8
Registration states:								
Connecticut	156.8	46.4	3.6	5.4	7.4	9.5	19.8	83.8
District of Columbia	274.5	81.0	7.0	9.7	11.2	13.0	27.3	103.3
Maine	144.1	41.9	3.5	6.5	7.9	8.7	17.0	78.1
Massachusetts	177.8	54.4	3.8	5.6	7.8	9.7	20.7	86.3
Michigan	121.3	36.0	3.2	5.3	7.0	8.0	15.6	74.5
New Hampshire	172.0	51.8	3.9	5.4	6.3	8.2	16.1	79.2
New Jersey	167.4	52.7	4.2	5.5	8.3	10.9	21.0	85.5
New York	159.8	52.3	3.9	5.6	9.1	11.8	22.1	83.6
Rhode Island	197.9	63.3	4.0	5.9	8.0	10.6	22.5	91.7
Vermont	122.1	34.4	3.4	6.0	7.4	9.5	16.6	80.4

Death-Rates from Principal Causes per 100,000 Population: 1900

(Twelfth Census, vol. iii., p. cxiii.)

Registration Area	Cause of Death									
	Measles	Scarlet fever	Diphtheria and croup	Whooping-cough	Diarrheal diseases	Typhoid fever	Malarial fever	Influenza	Pneumonia	Consumption
Summaries:										
Registration area	13	11	45	12	132	33	8	23	192	187
Registration cities	14	12	52	13	144	36	9	20	210	204
Registration states	14	10	40	14	132	25	5	29	193	175
Cities	18	13	52	16	156	25	4	25	233	204
Rural	9	7	22	10	97	25	5	34	135	134
Registration states:										
Connecticut	17	6	35	13	140	27	12	70	161	168
District of Columbia	13	9	75	13	175	80	22	41	185	305
Maine	7	7	24	14	113	28	2	35	164	164
Massachusetts	11	13	45	13	139	22	2	39	187	186
Michigan	15	9	22	11	104	28	6	17	109	100
New Hampshire	10	7	26	19	122	16	4	44	212	152
New Jersey	10	12	48	17	133	21	5	23	194	180
New York	16	11	45	13	138	24	4	20	228	194
Rhode Island	47	8	29	25	185	23	5	75	209	195
Vermont	6	4	18	11	73	31	2	37	183	152

Great Britain

Death-Rates per 1,000 Population

(Statistical Abstract, 1906)

	England and Wales	Scotland	Ireland	United Kingdom
1891	20.2	20.7	18.4	20.0
1892	19.0	18.5	19.4	19.0
1893	19.2	19.3	18.0	19.0
1894	16.6	17.1	18.2	16.8
1895	18.7	19.4	18.5	18.7
1896	17.1	16.6	16.7	16.9
1897	17.4	18.4	18.5	17.6
1898	17.5	18.0	18.2	17.7
1899	18.2	18.1	17.7	18.2
1900	18.2	18.5	19.6	18.4
1901	16.9	17.9	17.8	17.1
1902	16.2	17.2	17.5	16.5
1903	15.4	16.6	17.5	15.8
1904	16.2	16.8	18.1	16.5
1905	15.2	15.9	17.1	15.5

The More Important Causes of Death—Deaths per 100,000 People in 1903

Compiled from statistics of the Imperial Health Department of the German Empire, 1906

Per 100,000 Inhabitants

	Smallpox	Malarial fevers	Typhoid fever	Diphtheria	Measles	Scarlet fever	Whooping-cough	Tuberculosis (lungs)	Tuberculosis (other organs)	Pneumonia	Other diseases of respiratory organs	Total diseases of respiratory organs	Influenza	Diarrhea, dysentery, etc.	Cancer and ulcers
German Empire	0.03	0.01	7.4	33.5	26.9	26.5	30.0	186.2	21.1	134.0	133.2	453.4	....	249.6	77.3
Switzerland	0.1	.....	5.0	15.9	16.1	4.8	16.5	188.1	76.2	183.6	183.6	371.7	.....	112.4	131.1
Italy	18.1	.....	35.3	12.3	22.4	6.0	19.7	111.6	47.5	251.3	188.5	551.4	21.6	328.4	.....
England and Wales	2.3	0.2	10.0	19.5	27.5	12.5	28.5	120.2	53.9	121.1	132.8	375.1	18.9	79.5	87.2
Scotland	0.9	0.3	12.1	15.6	24.7	8.9	42.5	144.8	67.6	141.4	137.3	423.5	21.1	79.9	82.9
Ireland	0.9	1.7	10.9	8.5	15.5	4.8	24.1	216.6	59.4	79.2	214.1	509.9	35.2	24.8	69.1
Belgium	23.3	.....	15.6	19.9	33.1	10.0	39.1	108.6	30.0	89.2	194.2	392.0	13.6	115.7	58.5
Netherlands	0.4	0.02	8.6	12.8	22.9	2.5	16.1	133.6	57.1	76.6	58.0	268.1	14.1	147.9	100.0
Norway	.....	0.2	6.2	14.7	13.2	5.3	19.4	198.1	60.8	89.4	86.1	373.5	4.6	49.0	93.2
Russia	40.5	5.6	22.8	60.1	73.7	114.9	87.0	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	286.1	.....
323 largest cities of Germany, 1904	0.04	0.04	7.3	25.1	20.0	20.5	6.6	191.2	....	219.4	219.4	410.6	3.8	256.1	.....
18 largest cities in Switzerland	0.3	.....	5.7	13.9	18.1	6.1	16.5	240.2	95.6	157.4	157.4	397.6	....	120.8	.....
71 cities of France with 30,000 or more people	23.0	0.05	21.0	12.4	18.8	4.2	9.3	315.4	59.7	93.1	216.7	625.3	19.2	119.0	106.8
75 cities of Denmark	.....	.....	6.0	13.0	8.3	6.6	28.5	140.4	50.0	42.4	116.7	299.6	17.0	91.7	125.4
76 large cities of England	2.8	.....	.....	19.7	36.4	14.3	32.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	70.4	.....
72 cities of Belgium	34.8	.....	13.8	14.3	27.3	1.6	15.6	121.5	28.4	86.2	178.0	385.8	5.4	166.9	61.0

The More Important Causes of Death in the Largest Cities of Europe

Compiled from statistics of the Imperial Health Department of the German Empire, 1906

Per 1,000 Inhabitants

		Smallpox	Malarial fevers	Typhoid fever	Diphtheria	Measles	Scarlet fever	Whooping-cough	Tuberculosis (lungs)	Tuberculosis (other organs)	Pneumonia	Other diseases of respiratory organs	Total diseases of respiratory organs	Influenza	Diarrhea, dysentery, etc.	Cancer and ulcers
Berlin	1904	.....	.....	4.0	18.1	21.3	21.6	23.6	207.5	32.6	140.1	101.0	448.5	13.3	136.7	0.3
Breslau	1904	.....	.....	7.7	19.7	10.8	5.1	12.4	312.6	.....	196.6	70.4	579.5	9.5	294.9	.....
Munich	1904	.....	.....	3.4	17.0	25.6	6.3	20.4	257.8	.....	21.2	182.8	461.8	.....	593.5	.....
Hamburg	1904	.....	.....	4.2	17.0	11.9	11.1	21.8	158.5	35.1	99.1	105.9	363.5	5.7	195.3	0.3
Vienna	1904	0.1	.....	3.3	21.5	56.8	3.6	4.8	314.4	95.4	164.5	60.1	539.0	0.8	176.3	0.3
Prague	1904	.....	.....	36.8	16.4	33.7	5.8	21.7	707.7	707.7	146.1	.....	.....	.....	112.0	4.0
Milan	1904	.....	0.2	38.2	27.9	6.9	0.8	5.4	234.9	74.0	214.9	103.5	553.4	2.7	166.2	0.4
London	1904	0.5	.....	6.4	16.2	48.6	7.9	32.4	166.4	56.1	142.2	157.5	466.1	15.3	126.3	.....
Edinburgh	1904	4.5	.....	6.6	19.0	19.9	9.3	55.4	122.9	74.1	70.5	174.4	367.8	8.1	41.0	0.6
Antwerp	1904	26.1	.....	18.0	6.4	37.3	2.4	13.2	134.0	23.8	120.5	149.0	403.5	5.4	232.1	0.7
Hague	1904	.....	.....	7.4	9.1	79.6	0.4	13.9	92.2	55.3	87.0	50.9	230.2	7.4	149.7	.....
Amsterdam	1904	1.3	.....	8.4	12.1	85.1	1.6	32.6	142.4	69 5	101.4	30.2	273.9	4.8	90.2	0.4
Copenhagen	1904	.....	.....	2.6	7.3	14.7	5.7	52.2	149.4	52.7	32.6	171.4	353.4	8.0	122.2	.....
Stockholm	1904	.....	.....	2.5	16.2	7.0	11.5	16.2	222.3	67.5	165.0	75.5	462.8	6.4	67.5	.....
Christiania	1904	.....	.....	0.9	26.1	4.5	4.9	9.9	219.9	73.3	97.6	133.6	451.0	8.1	95.8	.....
Moscow	1904	11.8	1.1	9.2	47.6	66.8	51.4	17.2	287.3	55.7	74.3	496.5	858.1	36.9	397.5	16.8
Warsaw	1904	106.2	2.6	21.9	55.4	36.0	86.2	13.0	242.6	94.1	299.3	139.0	681.4	1.7	244.6	7.0
Bucharest	1904	.....	.....	18.7	35.0	19.4	44.5	5.3	433.0	.....	385.3	.....	.....	.....	181.5	.....
Athens	1904	.....	.....	104.9	22.1	4.9	6.6	1.6	382.6	130.3	289.2	113.1	784.9	41.8	290.9	.....
Rome	1903	0.4	.....	41.9	7.5	12.7	2.1	11.2	169.0	46.9	247.9	122.1	539.0	11.6	176.1	....
Zurich	1903	0.6	.....	3.0	4.9	0.6	14.6	10.4	212.2	78.1	.....	114.7	326.9	.....	126.2	.....
Paris	1903	0.8	.....	11.0	14.7	16.4	5.0	7.5	383.2	32.2	56.5	200.1	639.7	8.7	76.2	. .
Marseilles	1903	23.2	.....	39.5	11.8	16.5	3.7	6.1	237.0	26.1	230.3	367.3	834.6	52.1	147.8	.....
Lyons	1903	0.2	.....	13.1	15.0	2.0	2.6	5.4	296.2	75.8	186.7	162.5	645.4	41.6	70.6	.....
Brussels	1903	31.6	.....	20.0	11.6	17.9	.....	13.7	204.6	40.5	80.0	207.8	492.3	....	201.5	1.1
Madrid	1903	146.1	24.8	41.8	15.4	91.3	7.5	5.4	256.7	96.4	271.3	318.0	846.1	61.9	253.7	.....

DEATHS IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE, 1851–1904

YEARS	Deaths	Still-born	Per 1,000 including still-born	Still-born per 100
1851–60....	1,013,903	54,251	27.8	4.0
1861–70....	1,123,864	62,363	28.4	4.1
1871–80....	1,232,854	69,045	28.8	4.0
1881–90....	1,247,470	66,763	26.5	3.7
1891–1900..	1,233,843	63,812	23.5	3.2
1900.....	1,300,900	64,518	23.2	3.1
1901.....	1,240,014	65,522	21.8	3.1
1902.....	1,187,171	64,679	20.6	3.1
1903.....	1,234,033	63,128	21.1	3.1
1904.....	1,226,683	63,500	20.7	3.0

Concerning the interpretation of these and other vital statistics caution must be exercised. Says Professor Mayo-Smith ("Statistics and Sociology," p. 149):

The ordinary basis for comparison of mortality is to take the number of deaths per 1,000 of the population. As the death-rate, however, is greater among males than among females, and at certain age periods than at others, it is obvious that comparison would only be fair between two populations where the sex and age distribution was exactly the same. This never happens, and even in the same population, in course of time, the sex and age distribution may vary. The use of the crude death-rate has given rise, therefore, to many criticisms. In 1881 the general rate in England and Wales was 18.9 per 1,000 of all ages, while in France it was 22.0—i. e., 3.1 higher. But had the age distribution of the French population been identical with that of England, the general death-rate would have been 20.9 and not 22.0. Thus, of the 3.1 difference between the two rates, 2.0 was due to difference of health condition and 1.1 to difference of age distribution.

Various plans, therefore, have been proposed for correcting the death-rate by reducing the population to a common standard.

Professor Edgeworth, of Oxford, has summed up in Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" the generally received conclusions as to death-rates, which we condense as follows:

One class of causes in variations in death-rates, since they can be little changed, are mainly important because they must be allowed for in estimating the causes which can be changed. Among these, in the main, unvariable causes of differences in death-rates is sex.

At the early ages the difference between the mortality of the two sexes is marked. At the zero point of age it appears that the proportion of male to female still-born children is 139 to 100. For the period 0–5 the proportion of mortality is 72 to 62 (according to Dr. Farr's life-table for England and Wales). At the age of adolescence female mortality gains upon male, but again lags behind at later ages. The disturbing effect which this cause exercises on inferences drawn from the general death-rate is not so considerable as the effect of age. Mr. Humphreys, in his paper "On the Value of Death-Rates" (*Journal of Stat. Soc.*, xxxvii., p. 444), contrasting the English towns which have the greatest and the least proportion of male to female inhabitants, argues that the extreme perturbation of the general death-rates which may be expected from this cause is not more than two per mille.

Here may be mentioned the effect on mortality of the variations of the seasons. Of the four quarters of the year, the first is the most fatal; next comes the fourth; the mortality of the second quarter is for this country on an average in excess, but occasionally below, that of the third quarter ("Reports of the Registrar-General," tables showing death-rates in each quarter of the years since 1838).

Other causes, not admitting of such exact measurement, are race and climate (including properties of soil, water, etc.).

Also it may be expected that the mortality of unmarried persons will, *cæteris paribus*, be particularly large. The married have the advantage at almost all ages, as is shown by Dr. Farr ("Vital Statistics," p. 441, and references there given). But it is a nice question whether celibacy can be regarded as a cause of high death-rate. The high death-rate attending celibacy may be a case of *post hoc* not *propter hoc*; the finest individuals being selected for marriage; while "men with a weak constitution, ill health, or any great infirmity of body or mind will not often wish to marry, or will be rejected" (Darwin, "Descent of Man," part i., ch. v.).

Among the causes which can be remedied are (1) vice, (2) unhealthy occupations, (3) indigence, and (4) insanitary residences—agencies which are apt to be entangled with each other as well as with the first set of causes.

Vice

(1) There is much truth as well as exaggeration in Süssmilch's dictum ascribing the chief differences in mortality to "the manner of life, the moral circumstances, virtue and vice, indolence and industry." One example is the great mortality of illegitimate children. Dr. Farr cites instances in which the death-rate of illegitimate infants is double that of the legitimate. The vice of drunkenness is also conspicuously fatal. The mortality of hotel keepers and their servants is appalling. It is difficult to say, however, in many instances how far alcoholism is to blame and how far occupation and economic causes.

The other three causes of death which Professor Edgeworth mentions—unhealthy occupations, indigence, and insanitary residences—may be summed up in one word—poverty. How far death is due to poverty few realize. From England we have the most abundant testimony. Some years ago Dr. Drysdale, in England, wrote:

At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry, and professional classes in England and Wales was fifty-five years; but among the artizan classes of Lambeth it only amounted to twenty-nine years; and while the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes was such that only eight children died in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent succumbed at that age among the children of the poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real causes of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lay in the fact that at the bottom of society wages were so low that food and other requisites of health were obtained with too great difficulty" (Dr. C. R. Drysdale, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 130).

One great cause of the short and miserable lives of the poor is the insanitary condition of the slums in which many of them are compelled to dwell. The strongest testimony to the evil effects of such surroundings comes from the insurance companies. The industrial friendly societies have in each large town their "proscribed streets." The Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society proscribes, for Liverpool alone, on account of their insanitary character, 167 "streets wherein no members of the society may be entered" (Circular of Oct. 13, 1886). Yet these unhealthy streets are not too bad to be the only homes of thousands of the poorer citizens of that commercial center.

The relation between overcrowding and death-rate is only too plainly seen in the following tables for London:

Proportion of total population living more than two in a room (in tenements of less than five rooms)	Death-rate, "all causes," 1885–92
Districts with under 15 per cent.....	17.51
Districts with under 15 to 20 per cent.....	19.51
Districts with under 20 to 25 per cent.....	20.27
Districts with under 25 to 30 per cent.....	21.76
Districts with under 30 to 35 per cent.....	23.92
Districts with over 35 per cent.....	25.07

"London Government," p. 68.

In the United States similar facts exist. In 1904, in Boston's wealthy wards the death-rate was 13.45; in the thirteenth ward, a working-class district, it was 18.45. Speaking broadly, the rural death-rate in the U. S. registration area 1900–4 averaged 14.3, and for the cities 17.5. In Paris, the rich quarters of the Elysée and the Opéra had, according to Levasseur ("Pop. Française, Vol. II., p. 403), a death-rate of 13.4 and 16.2 when Ménilmontant had a death-rate of 13.3.

For the terrible effect of occupations upon death-rates, see ACCIDENTS, RAILWAYS, and DANGEROUS TRADES.

It is, however, among the children that is seen the most fatal effects of poverty. For this, however, see INFANT MORTALITY.

REFERENCES: Report of the U. S. Census on *Mortality Statistics*, 1905; Great Britain, *Reports of Registrar-General;* Germany, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich.* Arthur Newsholme, *Vital Statistics* (1899); Mayo-Smith, *Science of Statistics*, 1895–99; G. Newman, *Infant Mortality*, 1906; *Trades* (dangerous), Thomas Oliver (1902); *Facts for Socialists*, Fabian Tract No. 5; Articles: *Harpers' Weekly*, Feb, 1904; *Nation*, Nov., 1903; *American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1897; *Ann. Amer. Acad.*, May, 1906; *Independent*, June, 1906.

DEBS, EUGENE VICTOR: American Socialist and labor leader; born at Terre Haute, Ind., 1855. He was educated in the common schools, and worked first as a railway fireman (1871–74) and later in the wholesale grocery trade (1875–79). In 1879 he was elected city clerk of Terre Haute, which position he held until 1883, being elected to the state legislature two years later. He was grand secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen from 1880 to 1893, in which latter year he formed the American Railway Union, an effort to organize all railway men in one aggressive union rather than on the more conservative lines of the American Federation of Labor. He was president of this union from 1893–97. In 1894 he led the great PULLMAN STRIKE, having first done his best to procure a peaceable settlement. He was charged with conspiracy, but acquitted, was then charged with violation of an injunction, imprisoned without trial, and held in prison for six months for contempt of court. Joining the Socialists he has traveled and delivered brilliant addresses in all parts of the United States. In 1900 and again in 1904 he was the presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party. His views are those of international and "class conscious" socialism. *Address*: Terre Haute, Ind.

DEBTS. See FINANCE.

DE COLINS. See COLINS.

DEGENERATION: To whatever school of social reform one belong, whatever be his view of the cause of present ills and the methods to be followed to remove those ills and to advance to any ideal condition, whatever that ideal may be, one cannot escape the question of the ability of the individuals who compose society to conduct the methods of reform believed in, and to realize the ideal conditions that may be desired. The Socialist, who dwells most upon the power and function of society in developing progress, must meet the question whether the individual be capable of socialism no less than the individualist must consider individual ability. We therefore consider in this article the causes which tend to lower individual ability and to produce that personal degeneration which makes the individual lower than the norm (*de*, from, and *genus*, class or norm), unfitted to play his proper part in life. This is all that we mean here by the degenerate. All forms of unfittedness for life are more or less connected, and pass by degrees from the slightest unfittedness to the extremes of vice, intemperance, and disease.

The conception of degeneration which prevails to-day in the study of mental disease, and which lies at the basis of Max Nordau's well-known book, "Degeneration," was first clearly defined by Dr. Morel in his "Traité des Dégénérescences Physiques Intellectuelles et Morales de l'Espèce Humaine et des Causes qui Produisant ces Variétés Maladives," published in Paris in 1857. He says (p. 5): "The clearest notion we can form of degeneracy is to regard it as a morbid deviation from an original type. This deviation, even if at the outset it was ever so slight, contained transmissible elements of such a nature that any one bearing in him the germs becomes more and more incapable of fulfilling his functions in the world; and mental progress, already checked in his own person, finds itself menaced also in his descendants." Such degeneracy shows itself, according to many writers, and particularly LOMBROSO, in his "L'Uomo Delinquente," in certain physical characteristics termed *stigmata*, such as deformities, stinted growth, asymmetry, etc. Max Nordau, however, argues that there are also certain mental stigmata which appear in degeneracy when coupled with affinity for art or literature. Such higher degenerates he considers to dwell in the borderland between reason and pronounced madness. These mental stigmata he considers to be the lack of moral sense or of moral proportion, egoism, impulsiveness, emotionalism, despondency, fear; a predilection for idle reverie, doubts, and curious surmisings as to the causes of the universe, mysticism, etc. His book, which has been by many received as an able contribution to modern thought, and by others as a weak and sometimes ignorant criticism upon new forms of art and literature, is a minute analysis of many of the foremost works of art and literature of the day, with the result of convicting most of the artists and litterateurs of the day of being, according to Nordau, degenerate.

We have referred to this book to show how wide is the range that has been covered by the word degenerate. The causes that produce such an undefined and such an undefinable phenomenon must be themselves undefined and undefinable. Only some of them can be here noted, and one must beware of too exact statements, especially as to the degree to which different causes contribute to producing character and ability below the norm. The main causes we can here only name, for a discussion of them referring the reader to their respective heads. In the first place, we are met by the old question, how far environment and heredity contribute to the formation of character, and how far men form their own characters. Without entering into questions of philosophy, it is not difficult to show the results of modern careful investigation upon this point. Mr. A. G. Warner, in his "American Charities" (p. 34), has tabulated the results of careful investigations as to the prime causes of poverty, conducted by trained charity organization visitors in Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and New York, by Mr. Charles Booth in London, and results tabulated by Böhmert for seventy-six German cities. This tabulates practically all the scientific investigations that have been made. The details are given in the article POVERTY, in the section on its causes. We here simply point out some of its results. According to this table, in all the different investigations taken by men and women, humanitarians, tho not socialistically inclined, only from 2.7 to 42.2 per cent of the cases were found to be primarily due to causes indicating misconduct, while the causes indicating misfortune are put at from 46.4 to 92.5 per cent. According to this showing, then, poverty—and since poverty and degeneration usually are as-

sociated, degeneration—is very much more due to misfortune than misconduct. And even in cases of poverty due to misconduct, one can by no means be sure how much of the misconduct is due to bad environment or bad heredity. Misconduct causes much poverty—of that there is no question; but that poverty also causes much misconduct, such as drinking, prostitution, crime, theft, can no more be questioned. How much tendency, too, to drinking, prostitution, and crime is inherited, who can say? Cases like the Jukes show the terrible power of heredity. The extent to which people thus form their own characters, as taught by modern science, is reduced to the lowest proportions. That people can, however, rise out of the lowest environment to the highest character, numerous instances indicate; but how far this is due to heredity remains still to be ascertained.

Misconduct or Misfortune

Coming to the question as to whether heredity or environment is the more effective cause, we are again on a contested field in biological controversy.

Mr. Spencer's philosophy is mainly based on the belief that heredity accounts for much, and that acquired characteristics can be transmitted to posterity. Professor Weismann denies this. Science to-day is undecided upon the point, tending perhaps, however, to the position that while Weismann may not be wholly right, and acquired characteristics may sometimes be transmitted, yet for the future race selection has more to do with character than environment, and acquired character cannot largely be transmitted. This, however, does not prevent environment from being for the individual more important than heredity, which seems to-day largely proved. For further details upon this point, however, see HEREDITY.

Heredity or Environment

Coming to the question of what are the principal factors in environment that produce degeneration in the individual, perhaps the first that should be named is lack of employment. This has the highest percentages of *any single cause* of poverty in Professor Warner's table, its percentages running from 2.2 per cent to 32.5 per cent, while insufficient employment and poorly paid employment carry the percentage much higher. Not, perhaps, so much as a cause of poverty, since it is rather a result of poverty, but certainly among the very foremost causes of degeneration is the lack of a good home. This is probably the supreme cause of degeneration as far as environment goes, mainly because it is that which most affects the early years, when, by all experience, character is the most impressionable. The point is too well known, however, to need dwelling upon here. For confirmation of it, see POVERTY.

It should, perhaps, however, be suggested, too, that in noticing the terrible effects upon character of lack of homes and poor homes, one should not forget the terrible results upon character of unhappy homes, of unhappy marriages, and family quarrels. (See FAMILY.)

Professor Warner puts as a most palpable social cause of degeneration accidents, and shows how in one year, ending June 30, 1892, 28,268 men in railway employ were injured on the railways of the United States, or one man for every twenty-nine. (See RAILWAYS.) It must not be forgotten that the worst results of accidents are often not the direct results, but the indirect, when homes are broken up through the inabilty of the breadwinner to maintain the family. Akin to this is the effect of unhealthy trades. The effect of this, however, on the individual and the family can be seen only in studying the relative death-rates, and perhaps even more the relative sick-rates that prevail in different occupations. According to statistics prepared by Josef Körösi, as quoted by Professor Warner (idem., p. 104), if we start at the age of twenty-five with 1,000 persons of each class, there will be alive at the end of thirty-five years, of merchants, 587; of tailors, 421; of shoemakers, 376; of servants, 290; of day laborers, only 253. The total number of years of life for the merchants will be 28,501, and of the laborers only 22,317, while, worse yet, of the years falling to the laborer, 1,493 will be years of sickness, while of the merchants' years only 824 will be years of sickness. Such are some of the social causes of degeneration.

Among the causes which may be considered under misconduct, the most recent thought gives a larger place to sensuality than to intemperance. It is often not easy to tabulate this as a cause; but, says Professor Warner: "Careful observers believe it to be a more constant and fundamental cause of degeneration than intemperance. It certainly effects degeneration of a more or less pronounced type in a much larger number of persons. It persists almost to the end in the most degenerate stock, while at the same time it is operative among the healthier classes." It has, however, been comparatively little studied. The effects of venereal disease have been treated at length, but the amount of vitality burned out through lust has never been and, perhaps, never can be adequately measured. Above all, it brings multitudes of unhealthy children into the world, often to be neglected after birth. (See ILLEGITIMACY.)

Sensuality

Intemperance is much more readily recognized as a cause of degeneration. Says Professor Warner: "Probably nothing in the tables of the causes of poverty, as ascertained by cold counting, will more surprize the average reader than the fact that intemperance is held to be the chief cause in only from one fifteenth to one fifth of the cases, and that where an attempt is made to learn in how many cases it had a contributory influence, its presence cannot be traced at all in more than 28.1 per cent of the cases. (See POVERTY.) Professor Warner sums up the case by saying: "The general conclusion regarding drink as a cause of poverty is sufficiently well formulated by Mr. Booth. 'Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met.'" Such are the chief social causes of degeneration, but by no means all. Speculation in the market, hopelessness and discouragement in business—all are causes. Perhaps the most powerful causes of personal degeneration have not yet been mentioned—the psychic causes. These may be often connected with religion. When in early years moral teachings have been combined with certain religious dogma, it often happens that when in later years the religious dogmas are given up, there results, for a time at least, a moral chaos,

Intemperance

Probably far more demoralizing both in extent and degree, and especially to the young, is the skepticism as to honor and virtue which results from seeing those whom they have been taught to respect at the church commit acts contrary to their profession. The degeneration of character that arises from this source can never be measured, but it must be among the most operative causes. Such considerations, however, lead us into fields too wide to be covered here, and apart from the limitations of this cyclopedia. Yet this and a hundred other similar psychological forces must never be forgotten in their effect upon character.

How far such an analysis of the causes of degeneration affect the question of the wisest methods in social reform different minds will differently estimate. Socialists argue that all modern science tends to show that character is almost wholly the result of environment, and hence that by giving right environment vice and crime will disappear, and gradually a race be developed capable of what is to-day impossible. Individualists, while not denying the power of environment upon character, fear that socialism will result in weakened character and impaired individuality, by tending to make men rely too much upon society. (See EVOLUTION; INDIVIDUALISM; PHYSICAL DEGENERATION; POVERTY; PROSTITUTION; SOCIALISM.)

REFERENCES: *American Charities*, by A. G. Warner, chaps. ii.–v., 1895; *Principles of Biology*, by Herbert Spencer, concluding chaps., 1891; *Heredity*, by August Weismann; *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, by Lester Ward, 1893; *Abnormal Man*, by Arthur McDonald, 1893; *Degeneration*, by E. R. Lankester; *Degeneration*, by Max Nordau; *Ueber den Rückschritt in der Natur*, by Weismann.

DE LEON, DANIEL: Socialist; editor of *The People*; born in Curaçao, Dutch West Indies, off the coast of Venezuela, 1852. Came to the United States from Europe, 1872; graduate Columbia Law School. Lectured on diplomacy at Columbia School of Political Economy; supported Henry George 1886; joined Knights of Labor 1888; became interested in Nationalism 1889; joined Socialist Labor Party 1890. Growing more revolutionary in his methods, and opposing working with the trade-unions as the Social Democratic Party does a split resulted, and Mr. De Leon led in founding the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance 1895. He has since been the leader of the Socialist Labor Party as opposed to the Social Democratic Party. (See SOCIALISM.) In 1892 he founded *The People* (a weekly paper) and in 1900 *The Daily People*. A lessening number of irreconcilable Socialists stand with him as opposed to the main Socialist Party, altho his party perhaps correctly claims to represent the original Socialist Party. *Address*: 2–6 New Reade Street, New York.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY: In political economy demand and supply may best be considered together as correlatives. *Demand* is the desire to purchase and possess coupled with the power of purchasing; sometimes called, by way of distinction, effectual demand—a phrase originated by Adam Smith. Cairns ("Political Economy," I. ii., sec. 2) defines demand as "the desire for commodities or services seeking its end by an offer of general purchasing power." *Supply* is the amount or quantity of any commodity that is on the market and is available for purchase. Cairns defines it (ibid.) as "the desire for general purchasing power, seeking its end by an offer of specific commodities or services." As, then, the things are correlate, the laws of supply and demand are correlated. Marshall states them thus; first of *Demand* ("Economics of Industry," pp. 69–71):

It is a matter of common experience that the larger the stock which sellers determine to sell, the lower will be the price at which it can be got rid of. Vice versa, the lower the price at which anything is offered for sale, the greater is the amount of it which can be sold off. Examples occur to us every day. In a good apple year, the price of apples is low; in a bad year it is high. At the end of the season a fashionable shop sells off at a great reduction, and so gets many customers. . . .

The lower the price that a man has to pay for a thing, the more of it is he likely to buy. A fall in price will not, indeed, make every purchaser increase his purchases. It might in the case of sugar; it would not in the case of carpets. But a fall in the price of carpets would induce some of the householders in a large market to buy new carpets; just as an unhealthy autumn increases the mortality of a large town, tho many persons are uninjured by it. For in a large market there must be some who are doubting whether to replace an old carpet by a new one; and their decision will be affected by a fall in the price of carpets. There will not be any exact relation between the fall in price and the increase of demand. A fall of one tenth in the price may increase the sales by a twentieth or by a quarter, or it may double them. But in a large market every fall in price will cause an increase of demand. The law of demand then is:

The amount of a commodity which finds purchasers in a market in a given time depends on the price at which it is offered for sale, and varies so that the amount demanded is increased by a fall in price and diminished by a rise in price. Its price measures its final utility to each purchaser—that is, the value in use to him of that portion of it which it is only just worth his while to buy.

Of *Supply* Marshall says (p. 76):

The interest of every producer of a commodity is always to calculate the amount of it that is being produced for market. If this amount seems likely to be small, so that its price will rise above its expenses of production, he will produce as much as he can, so as to derive as much benefit as possible from the high price which he anticipates. If, on the other hand, the amount brought to market seems likely to be so great that its price will fall below its expenses of production, then he will check his own production so far as he conveniently can. So that if the price of a commodity is likely to be higher than its expenses of production, it is the interest of each producer to do what he can to increase the supply; and the effect of this is to lower the price toward its expenses of production. And if its price is likely to be lower than its expenses of production, it is the interest of each producer to do what he can to check the supply; and the effect of this is to raise the price toward the expenses of production. That is to say:

Every producer of a commodity calculates the price at which he will be able to sell it, and the expenses of producing it. He thus determines whether to increase or diminish his production. If there is free competition—that is, if he is not acting in combination with other producers—he increases or diminishes his supply according as the price of the commodity seems likely to be greater or less than its expenses of production. Thus he is led by his own interests to act in the same way as he would if his only object were to regulate the amount produced so that it could just be sold off at a price equal to its expenses of production.

This law of supply may be called the law of normal supply, because it refers to the results that are in the long run brought about by free competition. Of course, all the expenses of production of a thing are themselves liable to variation. Wages may rise and fall, the rate of interest may rise and fall; and so on.

Putting these two laws together, Marshall goes on to say:

The laws of demand and supply tell us that a rise in price lessens the amount demanded and increases that supplied, and that a fall in price increases the amount demanded and lessens that supplied. This competition tends to make the exchange value such as just to "equate supply and demand," i. e., such that the amount that people are willing to sell at that value is equal to the amount which can find purchasers at that value. This tendency of competition to equate supply and demand is the central fact of the theory of exchange, whether applied to normal values or to market fluctuations of value.

Mill says on this point ("Political Economy," Book III., chap. ii., sec. 4):

Demand and supply, the quantity demanded and the quantity supplied, will be made equal. If unequal at any

moment, competition equalizes them, and the manner in which this is done is by an adjustment of the value. If the demand increases, the value rises; if the demand diminishes, the value falls; again, if the supply falls off, the value rises; and falls, if the supply is increased. The rise or the fall continues until the demand and supply are again equal to one another; and the value which a commodity will bring in any market is no other than the value which, in that market, gives a demand just sufficient to carry off the existing or expected supply.

The above are, perhaps, the best statements of the law of supply and demand, which has played such a large part in economic thought from the days of Adam Smith to the present time. It refers, however, as already stated, only to articles which are not monopolized, and also which cannot be multiplied indefinitely at pleasure. For a discussion of the first case, see MONOPOLY. Other articles have no *exchange value* and these need not be studied in the science of exchange, to which the subject of demand and supply belongs. Nevertheless, these exceptions should always be borne in mind, especially at the present, when there is so little of free competition in many industries and so much of combination. The importance of the so-called law of supply and demand, which has hitherto played a part in economic thought, is thus being very rapidly diminished. Certainly, at least, generalizations that have been so rashly made on the subject must be carefully scrutinized, if not avoided. To say, as is not infrequently done, that demand is the cause of supply, is as rash as to say that supply creates demand. Many inventions have come into the market before there was an (effectual) demand for them; and for many demands, as for flying machines, there is no supply. No amount of demand will supply a Shakespeare, and no amount of supply can compel a demand for professors of Sanskrit. These are but a few illustrations of the many limits there are to the working of this boasted law. One school of economic thought, the eight-hour philosophy, denies that demand has anything to do, for example, in determining either price or wages; but for this, see VALUE; WAGES.

DEMOCRACY: A system of government, or the state where a government exists, according to which the sovereign power is vested in the people as a whole, and is exercised directly by them or by representatives chosen by them. In Greece, whence we derive the name (δῆμος, people, and κρατεῖν, to rule), most of the republics or cities, and notably Athens, were, at their best periods, democracies, if by the word *people* in the definition of democracy is meant *citizens*. Yet they were by no means true democracies, because large classes of the people—some say a large majority—were slaves and not considered citizens, and had no voice in the government. Some even question whether the United States is a democracy, since even here a large half of the people—the women—do not vote. (See WOMAN SUFFRAGE.) Many writers, like Aristotle, claim that it is not necessary, however, that all classes of the people vote to constitute a democracy. He believes that suffrage should be limited to the citizen class. Where all vote, he says, it is an ochlocracy, or mob government. A modern author, Professor Burgess, of Columbia ("Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. i., p. 72), defines democracy as applied to the State as the rule of the majority. On the other hand, John Stuart Mill, in his "Representative Government," makes the rule of all, not of a majority, and certainly not of a class, the essence of democracy. He says:

> The pure idea of democracy, according to its definition, is the government of the whole people by the whole people equally represented. Democracy, as commonly conceived and hitherto practised, is the government of the whole people by a mere majority of the people, exclusively represented. The former is synonymous with the equality of all citizens; the latter, strangely confounded with it, is a government of privilege, in favor of the numerical majority, who alone possess practically any voice in the State. This is the inevitable consequence of the manner in which the votes are now taken, to the complete disfranchisement of minorities.
>
> The confusion of ideas here is great, but it is so easily cleared up, that one would suppose the slightest indication would be sufficient to place the matter in its true light before any mind of average intelligence. It would be so, but for the power of habit; owing to which the simplest idea, if unfamiliar, has as great difficulty in making its way to the mind as a far more complicated one. That the minority must yield to the majority, the smaller number to the greater, is a familiar idea; and accordingly men think there is no necessity for using their minds any further, and it does not occur to them that there is any medium between allowing the smaller number to be equally powerful with the greater, and blotting out the smaller number altogether.

He then goes on to make a strong plea for PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, and says:

> Nothing is more certain than that the virtual blotting out of the minority is no necessary or natural consequence of freedom; that, far from having any connection with democracy, it is diametrically opposed to the first principle of democracy, representation in proportion to numbers. It is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be adequately represented. No real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it.

Of the advantages of democracy, he says:

> There is no difficulty in showing that the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community; every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty, but being, at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government, by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general. . . .
>
> It is a great discouragement to an individual, and a still greater one to a class, to be left out of the constitution; to be reduced to plead from outside the door to the arbiters of their destiny, not taken into consultation within.
>
> **Advantages** The maximum of the invigorating effect of freedom upon the character is only obtained when the person acted on either is, or is looking forward to becoming a citizen as fully privileged as any other. What is still more important than even this matter of feeling is the practical discipline which the character obtains from the occasional demand made upon the citizens to exercise, for a time and in their turn, some social function. It is not sufficiently considered how little there is in most men's ordinary life to give any largeness either to their conceptions or to their sentiments. Their work is a routine; not a labor of love, but of self-interest in the most elementary form, the satisfaction of daily wants; neither the thing done nor the process of doing it introduces the mind to thoughts or feelings extending beyond individuals; if instructive books are within their reach, there is no stimulus to read them; and in most cases the individual has no access to any person of cultivation much superior to his own. Giving him something to do for the public supplies, in a measure, all these deficiencies. If circumstances allow the amount of public duty assigned him to be considerable, it makes him an educated man. Notwithstanding the defects of the social system and moral ideas of antiquity, the practise of the dicastery and the ecclesia raised the intellectual standard of an average Athenian citizen far beyond anything of which there is yet an example in any other mass of men, ancient or modern. The proofs of this are apparent in every page of our great historian of Greece.
>
> Still more salutary is the moral part of the instruction afforded by the participation of the private citizen, if even rarely, in public functions. He is called upon, while so engaged, to weigh interests not his own; to be guided, in case of conflicting claims, by another rule than his private partialities; to apply, at every turn, principles and maxims which have for their reason of existence the common good; and he usually finds associated with him in the same work minds more familiarized than his own with these ideas and operations, whose study it will be to supply reasons to his understanding, and stimulation to his feeling for the general interest. He is made to feel himself one of the public, and whatever is for their benefit to be for his benefit. Where this school of public spirit does not exist, scarcely any sense is

entertained that private persons, in no eminent social situation, owe any duties to society, except to obey the laws and submit to the government. There is no unselfish sentiment of identification with the public. Every thought or feeling, either of interest or of duty, is absorbed in the individual and in the family. The man never thinks of any collective interest, of any objects to be purchased jointly with others, but only in competition with them, and in some measure at their expense. A neighbor not being an ally or an associate since he is never engaged in any common undertaking for joint benefit, is therefore only a rival. Thus even private morality suffers, while public is actually extinct.

Morality

So conceiving of democracy, we notice here, tho briefly, its growth and steady development in the world. The first democracies of the world were undoubtedly the city-states of ancient Greece. In Sparta the constitution of Lycurgus (about 850 B.C.), tho maintaining the ancient double monarchy, introduced institutions largely democratic. The kings became little more than presidents of a senate elected by the general assembly of citizens over sixty years of age. This assembly (ἀπέλλα) could accept or reject all laws and decide on war and peace, etc. Ephors were created to watch over the constitution. The immediate result was to raise Sparta into preeminence in Greece—a position she never wholly lost till she finally fell, last of the Greek states, before the power of Macedon. Yet her democracy was little more than a military oligarchy based upon birth and age. Athens was more really democratic in her best period. After Codrus, the last of her kings (1050 B.C.), the Eupatrids (nobles) ruled with a council (βουλή) on Mars Hill (*Areopagus*), tho all citizens could meet in the agora and express assent or dissent. The Eupatrids elected archons, first for life and later for ten years. In 594 B.C., the legislation of Solon created constitutional government, admitting all citizens to a share in power, but giving the higher orders a preponderating influence. This gave way to the dictatorship of the Pisistratidæ till the constitution of Clisthenes (about 509 B.C.) introduced a complete democracy, so far as free citizens went. All such could vote. Ten strategi, elected annually, were the officers. Then came Athens' classic period of the wars with Persia and of art and letters. By a law of 478 B.C. the last property qualification for office was swept away. Yet the continual reelecting of a favorite statesman gave the republic the continuity of brilliant leadership like that of Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles. Yet within a century dissatisfaction with a Sicilian expedition induced the citizens to change their constitution in the direction of aristocracy, resulting finally in defeat by the Macedonian kingdom. (For the ideals and spirit of Greek democracy, see ARISTOTLE; ATHENS; PLATO; POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

Greek Democracy

Democracy in Rome begins 508 B.C., when the patricians expelled Tarquin, the last of the kings. Rome was now ruled by two prætors or consuls elected by the centuries, in which all freemen were enrolled. Then came the long struggle between the patricians and plebeians; the oppressions of the former; the secessions of the latter from the city; the creation of tribunes to defend the rights of the people; the election of the decemvirs; the return to the consulate; the creation of censors and military tribunes; the growing militarism; the division between the rich and the poor; the agrarian laws of the Gracchi; the triumph of the aristocracy; the creation of the triumvirs; the development of the empire. Yet through all these changes ran the ideal of the people as sovereign. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.) Lecky says ("History of European Morals," vol. i., chap. ii.) that even under the empire "the theory of the Roman Empire was that of a representative despotism. The various offices of the republic were not annihilated, but they were gradually concentrated in a single man."

Rome

Democracy among Germanic nations begins with the mark or clan where the eorls or earls (leading men) elected their chief or voted war and peace, while the free ceorls or churls declared assent by the clash of arms. This early democracy, however, gradually disappeared in the development of feudalism, save in the rights maintained in communities like the Russian *mir*, and, above all, in the *Landsgemeinde*, the Swiss cantons. (See COMMUNISM; REFERENDUM.)

The real democracy of the Middle Ages is to be found in the rise of the free cities and centers of art, trade, and commerce, like Florence, Pisa, Venice, and Genoa in the south, and Hamburg, Nuremberg, and Frankfort in the north. (See CITY.) The southern cities aimed at avowed republicanism, perhaps, more than the northern, but save for fitful periods, as in Florence, were really under dukes and aristocracies more than the northern cities. In the northern free cities one finds the real parent of modern democracy.

Modern democracy begins as an idea with the Christian teaching of the brotherhood of man, the Protestant teaching of the right of private judgment, and of the responsibility of the individual to God alone. It is developed in theory in the social compact by Locke, Rousseau, and the various French writers of the eighteenth century. (For the ideas of this period, see NATURAL RIGHTS.)

Modern Times

But all history enters into modern democracy. Says De Tocqueville in the introduction to his "Democracy in America":

> We shall scarcely meet with a single great event in the lapse of 700 years which has not turned to the advantage of equality. . . . The gradual development of the equality of conditions is therefore a providential fact, and it possesses all the characteristics of a divine decree; it is universal; it is durable; it constantly eludes all human interference, and all events as well as all men contribute to it.
>
> Democracy began, according to De Tocqueville, with the Church, when the clergy opened her ranks to all classes, and "the being who as a serf must have vegetated in perpetual bondage took his place as a priest in the midst of nobles, and not infrequently above the head of kings." Next, he says, the need of civil laws gave the legal functionary a place by the mailed baron. Thirdly, the nobility being exhausted by wars and the lower classes enriched by commerce, the man of money gained position by the side of the man of birth. Next, education, science, and literature opened to any one of ability avenues to power. "In the eleventh century nobility was beyond all price; in the thirteenth it might be purchased; it was conferred for the first time in 1270. . . . It sometimes happened that in order to resist the authority of the crown or to diminish the power of their rivals, the nobles granted a certain share of political rights to the people, or, more frequently, the kings permitted the lower orders to enjoy a degree of power, with the intention of repressing the aristocracy. . . . Some assisted democracy by their talents; others by their vices. Louis XI. and Louis XIV. reduced every rank beneath the throne to the same subjection; Louis XV. descended himself and all his court unto the dust.

But modern democracy finds its first chief actual development in the United States, tho descended from English ancestry. Parliament was in a sense the continuation or revival of the ancient Witenagemote, or meeting of the wise men (eorls) of all England. If it did not rule England in form, it did rule through the purse. The con-

nection between taxation and representation, the idea that no man could be taxed save by his own consent—that and the kindred idea embodied in the Great Charter won from King John, that no man could be condemned without a trial by his peers—"by the country" (see JURY), lie at the basis of English and American ideas of freedom. The overthrow of feudalism, the struggle with Charles, the Revolution of 1688, the development of constitutional government, had made England to an extent democratic by confiding its government to a Parliament elected by a limited suffrage to represent the people. The American colonies held the same ideal of democracy, no more and no less. The doctrines of natural rights and the social compact to some extent found acceptance in America; but this was balanced by the constructive common sense of an English race and in the true spirit of Burke, the consciousness of national development. "No men were less revolutionary in spirit," says Bryce, "than the fathers of the American Revolution." The spirit of George Washington and John Adams was opposed to the ideas of Paine, of Rousseau, and even of Jefferson. Hamilton openly preferred monarchy to democracy, which he feared would overthrow morals and property and end in despotism. American democracy was thus a healthy natural development almost forced by circumstances on the people, and developed by a race jealous for rights. (For the constitutional development of American democracy, see CENTRALIZATION; CONSTITUTION.)

De Tocqueville's View

De Tocqueville, who studied America in 1831, found one of its fundamental characteristics and safeguards to be its connection between liberty and religion. "The safeguard of morality," he says, "is religion, and morality is the best security of law and the surest pledge of freedom." Another great tendency which he finds in the United States at this period is one to decentralization. The town meeting is the ideal. This results in weak, irregular administration, but its political results are admirable in interesting all portions of the land in government. "The town meeting is to liberty what primary schools are to science." De Tocqueville believed very much more in the future of the states than of the union; he believed that would go to pieces when the states desired it or differed in policy. How completely his view has been disproved is well known, but he touched here on the burning question of American politics for more than half a century. The constitution of the federal government, however, he highly praises. Its balanced division of powers he considers necessary and admirable. The election of the president by electors he terms a most happy device. He deplores, however, the custom of electing representatives as mere delegates bound by instructions as tending to destroy representative government. The practise of electing judges he criticizes, and praises the independence of the supreme court; tho, speaking of the power of that court to judge as to the constitutionality and therefore legality of any bill, he says, "A more imposing judicial power was never constituted by any people." He fears the power of majorities, and says that the main evil of democratic institutions in the U. S. arises "not from their weakness, but from their overpowering strength"; he is "not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country as at the very inadequate securities which exist against tyranny. . . . If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minority to desperation and oblige them to have recourse to physical force." This danger, however, is mitigated by the absence of centralized power, the wise laws, and especially by the morality, religion, and intelligence of the people. "Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot."

With these institutions, De Tocqueville says, "the union is as happy and free as a small people and as glorious and strong as a great nation."

The effects of democracy upon the people of the U. S., he considers to be to produce mediocracy. They worship equality more than liberty. Great political parties, he says, have disappeared. The country contains few germs of revolution; America has factions but not conspiracies, the race of statesmen has dwindled. Universal suffrage does not guarantee wise choice of officers. Democracies are better in times of peace than of war. They develop the activities of the individual. De Tocqueville says: "This ceaseless agitation which democratic government has introduced into the political world influences all social intercourse. I am not sure that upon the whole this is not the greatest advantage of democracy. And I am much less inclined to applaud it for what it does than for what it causes to be done."

Such was the view of the most careful critic of American institutions at the close of the first third of the present century. How accurately he judged upon some points, how utterly events have proved him wrong upon others, is apparent. The union is stronger to-day than the states; democratic government in the U. S. has not been proved weak in war or fickle in time of peace. Majorities have rarely been tyrannical. Of the faults which have appeared, Mr. Bryce, writing in 1888, says ("American Commonwealth," 1st ed., chap. xcv.):

We have seen that the defects commonly attributed to democratic government are not specially characteristic of the United States. It remains to inquire what are the peculiar blemishes which the country does show. . . .

First, a certain commonness of mind and tone, a want of dignity and elevation in and about the conduct of public affairs, an insensibility to the nobler aspects and finer responsibilities of national life.

Secondly, a certain apathy among the luxurious classes and fastidious minds, who find themselves of no more account than the ordinary voter, and are disgusted by the superficial vulgarities of public life.

Thirdly, a want of knowledge, tact, and judgment in the details of legislation, as well as in administration, with an inadequate recognition of the difficulty of these kinds of work, and of the worth of special experience and skill in dealing with them. Because it is incompetent, the multitude will not feel its incompetence, and will not seek or defer to the counsels of those who possess the requisite capacity.

Fourthly, laxity in the management of public business.

Mr. Lecky, however, in his still more recent "Democracy and Liberty" (1896), is much more severe on the U. S. Its success he considers largely due to its wise constitution and the very favorable circumstances of its trial. Yet he points out no little corruption (see CORRUPTION), and then adds:

Lecky's View

There is, however, one thing which is worse than corruption. It is acquiescence in corruption. No feature of American life strikes a stranger so powerfully as the extraordinary indifference, partly cynicism and partly good nature, with which notorious frauds and notorious corruption in the sphere of politics are viewed by American public opinion. Of one other point Mr. Lecky says: "It must, I think, be added, that modern democracy is not favorable to the higher forms of intellectual life. Democracy levels down quite as much as it levels up. The belief in the equality of man, the total abstinence of the spirit of reverence, the apotheosis of the average judgment, the fever and the haste, the advertising and sensational spirit which American life so abundantly generates, and which the American press so vividly reflects, are little favorable to the production of great works of beauty or of thought, of long meditation, of sober taste, of serious, uninterrupted study. Such works have been produced in America, but in small numbers and under adverse conditions."

So far Mr. Lecky. He seems to consider most of these faults the direct natural and all but inevitable result of democratic institutions, tho he considers them "aggravated" by the unnecessary rule that congressmen must belong to the states they represent, and that senators should receive large salaries.

Mr. Lecky, however, does not seem to see how far political corruption in America is the result, not of democracy, but of commercialism and that moneyed aristocracy which De Tocqueville bade democrats fear sixty years ago. Lecky does, indeed, say that the industrialism of American life is one of its most characteristic features, and that its influence on politics has been by no means

wholly good; he does also notice the fact that in wealthy America, in 1893 alone, 30,000 miles of our railways passed into the hands of receivers, and says, "What an amount of gigantic and deliberate dishonesty as well as unscrupulous gambling does such a state of things represent!" But he does not seem to have a suspicion how far corporations corrupt democracy, and not democracy corporations. Of this, however, we shall speak later. We pass on to notice briefly the result of democracy in other lands.

French democracy was born of ideals of natural rights falling on a nation perhaps more despotically ruled than any in Europe. These ideals, with those of altruism, as Mr. Kidd has pointed out in his "Social Evolution," made even the aristocracy aware that their position was unjust, and prevented their effectually opposing the uprising of the oppprest. The result was an explosion. Says De Tocqueville of French democracy (Introduction to "Democracy in America"):

Europe

> The existence of democracy was seemingly unknown when on a sudden it took possession of the supreme power. . . . The theory was then submitted to its caprices; it was worshiped as the idol of strength, until, when it was enfeebled by its own excesses, the legislator conceived the rash project of annihilating its power, instead of instructing and correcting its vices. The consequence of this has been that the democratic revolution has been effected only in the material parts of society, without that concomitant change in laws, ideas, customs, and manners which was necessary to render such a revolution beneficial.

This view of a French opponent of democracy, written sixty years ago, is to a less extent true to-day. The French Revolution was one of the middle classes rather than of the lowest. The mass of the people were not ready for it. France, therefore, during the century has vibrated between emperor and commune. Plebiscites have served tyrants. Between 1800 and 1881 France had eleven revolutions and nineteen successive constitutions, and between 1870 and 1894, thirty-two ministries.

Still democracy has steadily grown, and is now probably more firmly established in France than ever. Her suffrage is all but universal, the main restrictions on her democracy being in the Senate, and, for Paris, in its lack of self-government. (See PARIS.) No one is enthusiastic over the French Government. Panama scandals, coquetting with Russia, the steady growth of her national debt and of taxation, in spite of her widely diffused land property and her popular loans, have made socialism and, to a less extent anarchism, the popular idols in France.

Switzerland is undoubtedly the most democratic and one of the most prosperous countries in Europe. Her well-known referendum and initiative we consider under that head. In Switzerland far more than in America the people rule. This is undoubtedly in part because of the smallness of her territory and of the fact that her commercial and industrial interests have not called into existence the great corporations which dominate and corrupt American politics; but believers in democracy argue that Switzerland shows that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. France and America, they say, are plutocracies. With the referendum and the initiative, so that the legislative power is with the people, with a president (see SWITZERLAND) who is little more than a figurehead, with a government largely decentralized between cantons and municipalities, with a judiciary not allowed to enslave a people by interpreting a constitution framed in other days for other needs, Switzerland is really democratic, and tho not a land of extreme wealth, she holds high rank in popular learning, industry, and prosperity for her people.

Other countries in Europe, tho nominally monarchies, are, as in England, Germany, and Belgium, almost as democratic in many respects as America or France. In the extent of national as opposed to municipal suffrage, they rank almost with America. (See ELECTIONS.) They groan under standing armies, but so does republican France. Their legislatures represent the classes more than the masses; but England has some sixty labor men in Parliament, Germany forty-three Socialists in her Reichstag, France seventy-five, Austria eighty-two in their various Parliaments, while in the Congress of the United States there are no working men. Where do the people most truly rule?

Coming now to the arguments for and against democracy, Mr. Lecky, its latest critic, says of its evil results:

Unfavorable View

> "Sometimes the voter will be directly bribed or intimidated. He will vote for money or for drink or in order to win the favor or avert the displeasure of some one who is more powerful than himself. . . . A still larger number of votes will be won by persistent appeals to class cupidities. . . . If the poorest, most numerous, and most ignorant class can be persuaded to hate the smaller class, and to vote solely for the purpose of injuring them, the party manager will have achieved his end. . . . As education advances newspapers arise which are intended solely for this purpose, and they are often almost the only reading of great numbers of voters. As far as the most ignorant class have opinions of their own, they will be of the vaguest and most childlike nature. . . . A man will vote blue or yellow as his father did before him. . . . A few strong biases of class or creed will often display a great vitality. Large numbers, also, will naturally vote on what is called 'the turnabout system.' . . . A bad harvest or some other disaster over which the government can have no more influence than over the march of the planets will produce a discontent that will govern dubious votes. . . . The evil of evils in our present politics is that the constituencies can no longer be fully trusted, and that their power is so nearly absolute. . . . One of the great divisions of politics in our day is coming to be whether, at the last resort, the world should be governed by its ignorance or by its intelligence." Some results of democracy Lecky considers to be a lowered character of parliamentary government over all Europe and America. All countries give a sigh of relief when legislatures are prorogued. Wealth still rules, but wealth of the worst kind. Taxes and debts are increased, one class "has the power of voting taxes, which another class must almost exclusively pay." Group system and log-rolling are developed, machines govern parties.

There is, however, another side to this. Even Lecky has to admit that democratic institutions have enormously advanced both the quantity and the quality of popular education, have made enormous strides in caring for the public health, have aided factory legislation, have been favorable to religious liberty.

Favorable View

> It is true that he carefully shows that popular education does not accomplish all the good sometimes claimed, but yet he cannot bring himself to actually oppose, and he has to admit that opposition to much education for the toiling classes was a Tory doctrine, and that under democracy "hardly any change in our generation has been more marked than that which has made education of the poor one of the main functions of the government. . . ." "At the same time," he says, "the standard of popular and free, or, in other words, state paid education, seems steadily rising." Sanitary reform he calls "perhaps the noblest legislative achievement of our age." Of religious liberty he says, "On the whole, democracies, at least in the Anglo-Saxon race, seem to me favorable to religious liberty." No forms of liberty are more loved by English democracies than the liberty of expression, discussion, and association. Incidentally he speaks of "the higher wages, the better payment of functionaries and workmen of every order which has followed in the track of a higher standard of life and

aspect." He refers to the "intense and many-sided intellectual and moral energy that pervades the country." He thinks there never was a period when more time, thought, money, and labor were bestowed on the alleviation of suffering. He says, "No feature of our century is more remarkable than the skill with which by reformatories and industrial and other schools, by factory laws, by the diminution of insanitary dwellings, and by the better regulation of the drink traffic, modern philanthropy has succeeded in restricting or purifying the chief sources of national crime." . . . "Not less conspicuous is the improvement that has taken place in the decorum, civilization, and humanity of the bulk of the poor. . . . [while] the skilled artizans in our great towns within the memory of living men have become not only the most energetic, but also one of the most intelligent and orderly elements in English life." The closing chapter in Mr. Lecky's book in which he shows the almost revolutionary improvements that democracy has introduced in respect to women is one long argument for democracy. Surely if a critic of democracy has to admit all this, we need not regret that, as Mr. Lecky says, democracy is for a considerable time at least "an inevitable fact."

The main charge Mr. Lecky brings against democracy is that it makes the poor tax the rich, but most will think that that is an advance on the Toryism under which the rich tax the poor. Probably, too, it is true that democratic legislatures will be for some time in some ways inferior to aristocratic legislatures, because they admit representatives of classes whom aristocrats have long kept ignorant. But if democracy educates the people and raises their life, it will soon raise the standard of the representatives of the people. Democracy, as De Tocqueville discovered, is best because of its indirect results.

There are, indeed, those in America—and the number is at present growing—who ask if democracy is not a failure; they see the voters of our cities bought and sold; they see offices put up at auction, legislation obtained by corrupt means. They think this due to the ignorance and corruption of the people, and therefore they desire from good motives to restrict the ballot. They look with envy to the institutions of Great Britain and of Germany, where they find less political corruption and more efficient government. This class forgets that political corruption may be due, not to the ignorance of those who are bought, but to the corrupt power of the educated, who buy. They forget that England and Germany have recently made rapid advances in democracy, and that as they have advanced in trust of the people they have advanced and not retrograded in political and municipal purity. The reason for their comparative municipal purity and our municipal corruption may be, not that they are less democratic than we, but because with them the government rules the corporations; with us corporations rule the government. (See CITY.) This, at least, is a view that needs to be remembered. Whatever be the truth, the fact cannot be denied that a growing class in America desires to restrict the suffrage, to have less frequent elections, to take power from the common people. One of the "reforms" prest before the recent Constitutional Convention in New York was the restriction of the suffrage. In Massachusetts the effort for less frequent elections has been very strong. In many states "educational and sometimes property qualifications" are being mooted. In Ohio, the counsel of a great trust recently said, in a United States court, that "too many people vote." It is equally clear that this does not represent the view of the masses of the country, nor of some of the most experienced thinkers. Professor Ely (*Christian Union*, Oct. 9, 1890) quotes Mr. Seth Low, when Mayor of Brooklyn, as saying that universal suffrage is not the cause of bad city government. Professor Commons, in "Outlines of Lectures on City Government," quotes him as saying: "In a country where wealth has no hereditary sense of obligation to its neighbors, it is hard to conceive what would be the condition of society if universal suffrage did not compel every one having property to consider, to some extent at least, the well-being of the whole community." Mr. Albert Shaw, who perhaps has studied municipal administration more widely than any other writer, in an interview published by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1888, makes it the second most important principle of municipal administration to "trust the people."

Cause of Plutocracy

The masses of this country want not less democracy, but more. They want not a limited suffrage, but industrial democracy added to political democracy. Their problem is not how to limit the suffrage, but how to save the political liberties of the people. Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, in an address before the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Chicago, December, 1893, speaking of present evils in America, said:

> The pioneers who saw a generation ago the thread that would lead us through this labyrinth and into the free air have now become a multitude. That thread is the thread of democracy, whose principles must and will rule whreveer men coexist, in industry not less surely than in politics. It is by the people who do the work that the hours of labor, the conditions of employment, the division of the produce is to be determined. It is by them the captains of industry are to be chosen, and chosen to be servants, not masters. It is for the welfare of all that the coordinated labor of all must be directed. Industry, like government, exists only by the cooperation of all, and, like government, it must guarantee equal protection to all. This is democracy, and democracy is not true only where men carry letters or build forts, but wherever they meet in common efforts.
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> The declaration of independence yesterday meant self-government, to-day it means self-employment, which is but another kind of self-government. Every dollar, every edifice, every product of human toil is the creation of the cooperation of all the people. But in this cooperation it is the share of the majority to have no voice, to do the hardest work and feed on the crumbs of life. Not as an exception, but universally, labor is doing what it does not want to do, and not getting what it wants or what it needs. Laborers want to work eight hours a day; they must work ten, fourteen, eighteen. Crying to their employers, to Congress, to legislatures to be rescued, they go down under the murderous couplers and wheels of the railroads faster than if they were in active service in war, marching out of one battle into another. They want to send their children to school; they must send them to the factory. They want their wives to keep house for them; but they, too, must throw some shuttle or guide some wheel. They must work when they are sick; they must stop work at another's will. . . . This is an impossible situation. No human society ever held together on such terms. This is contrary to the most sacred principles of American society. This is government without consent and it is the cornerstone and rooftree of American life that we will have none of it. The men who think it can continue are our idlest dreamers and most impracticable theorists. . . .
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> Democracy must be progressive or die. It was by a divine instinct of right, whether they knew it or not, that the hundreds of men who found themselves these winter nights in Chicago without a roof went to the city hall. That is the house of democracy. It stands on the foundation principle that the people live and work for the people. The city hall means nothing if it does not mean that the general welfare, not the advantages or privileges of a few, is the object of society. It means more—the general welfare can be properly planned only if all have a voice, and the plans can be properly carried out only when all join their efforts. The city hall represents an institution ready made for any purpose of the common good for which the common people choose to use it—an institution in which they are equal partners, and no thanks to any one but themselves. The old democracy is the father of this new democracy. The old trade-union is to herald this greater union. The people who vote are bound on their own recognizance to get the independence and knowledge to vote right and free. The public schools are a pledge of the public honor that every citizen shall be able to buy books and shall have time to read and digest.
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> The progressive genius of democracy is at one with its progressive necessities. "A house divided against itself

Need of Industrial Democracy

cannot stand," said Lincoln. "This union cannot permanently endure half slave and half free." It is equally true that all cannot remain politically free if all are not economically free. Political freedom is but the first instalment of economic freedom.

Nor is this the view of those alone who are socialistically inclined. Mr. George Gunton, who opposes socialism, says ("Wealth and Progress," p. 205):

> Freedom does not consist in the mere absence of legal barriers, but in the actual power to go and to do. The poor can never be *free* in any true sense of the term. Whoever controls a man's living can determine his liberty. Freedom means independence, which nothing but wealth can impart. Even intelligence cannot give independence, except as it can give wealth. Poverty and freedom are incompatible with each other.
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> Whatever may be, theoretically, the form of government, the political *freedom*—real power and influence—of the masses is always proportionate to their industrial prosperity and progress. Thus, the political influence of the masses is far greater under the present European monarchies than it was under the ancient republics. And the political influence of the masses is greatest to-day in those countries where the industrial conditions—real wages—are the highest. The laboring classes possess more political influence and freedom in England under a monarchy with higher wages, than they do in France under a republic with lower wages; and there is still more real democracy with higher wages under a republic in America than with lower wages under a monarchy in England. . . .
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> It is not and never was true that liberty enlightens the world. On the contrary, our democratic institutions are the natural consequence of our industrial prosperity and superior civilization; and liberty, like morality, instead of enlightening the world, is the golden result of the world's being enlightened by the material and social progress of society. Were this otherwise, the industrial depressions which afflict the Old World would be unknown here. The notorious fact is that the frequency and severity of industrial depressions are as great under the democracies of France and America as under the monarchies of England, Germany, and Belgium.

Such is a view of democracy that is growing to-day. Be this, however, as it may, democracy unquestionably, for weal or for wo, has the future. Mr. Kidd, in his "Social Evolution," shows that it is the underlying principle of all modern progress. Of this progress, he says (p. 164):

> It has consisted essentially in the gradual breaking down of that military organization of society which had previously prevailed in the emancipation and enfranchisement of the great body of the people, hitherto universally excluded under that constitution of society from all participation on equal terms in the rivalry of existence. From a remote time down unto the period in which we are living, we have witnessed a continuous movement in this direction. The progress may not have been always visible to the current generation among whom the rising waves surge backward and forward, but looking back over our history, we mark unmistakably the unceasing onward progress of the slowly advancing tide. . . . And it tends to culminate in a condition of society in which there shall be no privileged classes.

Growth of Democracy

Accepting democracy, the only question then is how to save it from defeat, from corruption, from misdirection. For this see various views: Direct Representation, through which it is claimed all the people can legislate, and thus take away from corrupt representatives the power to sell legislation; Proportional Representation, by which it is urged that all parties and all views and all interests can be represented in legislation, the rights of minorities being specially protected; Industrial Reform, by which all being put on the same plane economically and being able to earn a living by a moderate amount of honest toil, will not be easily tempted to either sell their vote or buy legislation. (See also ANARCHISM; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; INDIVIDUALISM; MUNICIPAL REFORM; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM.

REFERENCES: *The Theory of the State*, by J. C. Bluntschli; *The Science of Rights*, by J. G. Fichte; *Popular Government*, by Sir H. Maine; *Representative Government*, by J. S. Mill; *Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe*, by Giuseppe Mazzini; *The American Commonwealth*, by James Bryce; *A True Republic*, by Albert Stickney; *Democracy, and Other Addresses*, by J. R. Lowell; *Democracy*, a lecture by Wordsworth Donisthorpe; *Problems of Modern Democracy*, E. L. Godkin (1896); *Democracy and Liberty*, W. E. H. Lecky (1896); *Democracy and Reaction*, L. T. Hobhouse (1904).

DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE: A signed statement abridged from Mr. William J. Bryan's addresses on the subject.

"The aim of the Democratic Party in relation to social reform is the abolition of privilege. The Democratic Party is not the enemy of property or of property rights; it is, on the contrary, the best defender of both, because it defends human rights and human rights are the only foundation upon which property and property rights can rest securely. If we can but repeal the laws which enable men to reap where they have not sown—laws which enable them to garner into their overflowing barns the harvests that belong to others—no one will be able to accumulate enough to make his fortune dangerous to the country. Special privilege and the use of the taxing power for private gain—these are the twin pillars upon which plutocracy rests. To take away these supports and to elevate the beneficiaries of special legislation to the plane of honest effort ought to be the purpose of our party.

"The paramount issue to-day is the trust question, and for the purposes of this discussion it is sufficient to draw the line at the point where competition ceases to be effective and to designate as a trust any corporation which controls so much of the product of any article that it can fix the terms and conditions of sale.

Trusts

"Legislation which prevents monopoly not only does not injure legitimate business, but actually protects legitimate business from injury. We are indebted to the younger Rockefeller for an illustration which makes this distinction clear. In defending the trust system he is quoted as saying that as the American beauty rose cannot be brought to perfection without pinching off ninety-nine buds, so that the one hundredth bud can receive the full strength of the bush, so great industrial organizations are impossible without the elimination of the smaller ones. It is a cruel illustration but it presents a perfectly accurate picture of trust methods. The Democratic Party champions the cause of the ninety-nine enterprises which are menaced; they must not be sacrificed that one great combination may flourish.

"There must be no mistaking of the issue and no confusing of the line of battle. The trust, as an institution, will have few open defenders. The policy of the trust defenders will be to insist upon 'reasonable regulation' and then they will rely upon their power to corrupt legislatures and to intimidate executives to prevent the application of any remedies which will interfere with the trusts. Our motto must be: 'A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable,' and our plan of attack must contemplate the total and complete overthrow of the monopoly principle in industry. We need not quarrel over remedies. We must show ourselves willing to support any remedy and every remedy which promises substantial advantage to the people in their warfare against monopoly. Something is to be ex-

pected from the enforcement of the criminal clause of the Sherman antitrust law, but this law must be enforced not against a few trusts as at present, but against all trusts, and the aim must be to imprison the guilty, not merely to recover a fine. What is a fine of $1,000 or even $10,000 to a trust which makes $100,000 while the trial is in progress?

"If the criminal clause is not going to be enforced it ought to be repealed. If imprisonment is too severe a punishment for the eminently respectable gentlemen who rob 80,000,000 of people of hundreds of millions of dollars annually, the language of the statute ought to be changed, for nothing is more calculated to breed anarchy than the failure to enforce the law against rich criminals while it is rigidly enforced against petty offenders. But it is not sufficient to enforce existing laws. If ten corporations conspiring together in restraint of trade are threatened with punishment, all they have to do now is to dissolve their separate corporations and turn their property over to a new corporation. We need, therefore, new legislation.

"Recent investigations have brought to light the fact that nearly all the crookedness revealed in the management of our large corporations have been due largely to the duplication of directorates. A group of men organize, or obtain control of, several corporations doing business with each other and then proceed to swindle the stockholders of the various corporations for which they act. Many of the trusts control prices by the same methods. The same group of men secure control of several competing corporations and the management is thus consolidated. It is worth while to consider whether a blow may not be struck at the trusts by a law making it illegal for the same person to act as director or officer of two corporations which deal with each other or are engaged in the same general business.

"A still more far-reaching remedy was proposed by the Democratic platform of 1900, namely, the requiring of corporations to take out a federal license before engaging in interstate commerce. This remedy is simple, easily applied, and comprehensive. The requiring of a license would not embarrass legitimate corporations—it would scarcely inconvenience them—while it would confine the predatory corporations to the state of their origin.

"If corporations were required to take out a federal license the federal government could then issue the license upon the terms and conditions which would protect the public. A corporation differs from a human being in that it has no natural rights and as all of its rights are derived from the statutes it can be limited or restrained according as the public welfare may require. The control which Congress has over interstate commerce is complete and if Congress can prevent the transportation of a lottery ticket through the mails, by the express companies or by freight, it can certainly forbid the use of the mails, the railways, and the telegraph lines to any corporation which is endeavoring to monopolize an article of commerce, and no party can long be credited with sincerity if it condemns the trusts with words only and then permits the trusts to employ all the instrumentalities of interstate commerce in the carrying out of their nefarious plans.

"The tariff question is very closely allied to the trust question and the reduction of the tariff furnishes an easy means of limiting the extortion which the trusts can practise.

Tariff

While absolute free trade would not necessarily make a trust impossible, still it is probable that very few manufacturing establishments would dare to enter into a trust if the president were empowered to put upon the free list articles competing with those controlled by a trust. The protective tariff has been the fruitful source of a great deal of political corruption as well as the mother of many of our most iniquitous trusts.

"But one of the worst features of the tariff, levied not for revenue, but for the avowed purpose of protection, is that it fosters the idea that men should use their votes to advance their own financial interests. The manufacturer has been assured that it is legitimate for him to vote for congressmen who, whatever their opinions on other subjects may be, will legislate larger dividends into his pockets; sheep-growers have been encouraged to believe that they should have no higher aim in voting than to raise the price of wool; and laboring men have been urged to make their wages their only concern.

"There never was a time when tariff reform could be more easily entered upon, for the manufacturers by selling abroad cheaper than at home, as many of them do, have not only shown their ingratitude toward those who built the tariff wall for them, but they have demonstrated their ability to sell in competition with the world. The high tariff has long been a burden to the consumers in the U. S. and it is growing more and more a menace to our foreign commerce because it arouses resentment and provokes retaliation.

"The railroad question is also interwoven with the trust question. Nearly all the private monopolies have received rebates or secured other advantages over competitors. Absolute equality of treatment at the hands of the railroads would go far toward crippling the trusts, and I rejoice that the president has had the courage to press the question upon Congress. While the law, as it was finally distorted by the Senate, is not all that could be wished, it deserves a fair trial.

"Rate regulation was absolutely necessary and it furnishes some relief from the unbearable condition which previously existed, but we must not forget that the vesting of this enormous power in the hands of a commission appointed by the president introduces a new danger. If an appointive board has the power to fix rates and can, by the exercise of that power, increase or decrease by hundreds of millions of dollars the annual revenues of the railroads, will not the railroads feel that they have a large pecuniary interest in the election of a President friendly to the railroads? Experience has demonstrated that municipal corruption is largely traceable to the fact that franchised corporations desire to control the city council and thus increase dividends of the franchised corporations. If the railroad managers adopt the same policy, the sentiment in favor of the ownership of the railroads by the government is likely to increase as rapidly throughout the country as the sentiment in favor of municipal ownership has increased in the cities.

Railroad Question

"Railroads partake so much of the nature of a monopoly that they must ultimately become pub-

lic property and be managed by public officials in the interest of the whole community in accordance with the well-defined theory that public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible. I do not know that the country is ready for this change; I do not know that a majority of my own party favor it, but I believe that an increasing number of the members of all parties see in public ownership the only sure remedy for discrimination between persons and places and for extortionate rates for the carrying of freight and passengers.

"Believing, however, that the operation of all the railroads by the federal government would so centralize the government as to almost obliterate state lines, I prefer to see only the trunk lines operated by the federal government and the local lines by the several state governments. Some have opposed this dual ownership as impracticable, but investigation in Europe has convinced me that it is entirely practicable. Nearly all the railroads of Germany are owned by the several states, the empire not even owning trunk lines, and yet the interstate traffic is in no wise obstructed. The ownership and operation of the local lines by the several state governments is not only feasible but it suits itself to the conditions existing in the various states. In those states where the people are ripe for a change the local lines can be purchased or new lines be built at once, while private ownership can continue in those states in which the people still prefer private ownership. Some States have been more careful than others to prevent the watering of stock and in the acquiring of roads each state can act according to the situation which it has to meet.

"As to the right of the governments, federal and state, to own and operate railroads there can be no doubt. If we can deepen the water in the lakes and build connecting canals in order to cheapen railroad transportation during half of the year, we can build a railroad and cheapen rates the whole year; if we can spend several hundred millions on the Panama Canal to lower transcontinental rates, we can build a railroad from New York to San Francisco to lower both transcontinental and local rates. The U. S. mail is increasing so rapidly that we shall soon be able to pay the interest on the cost of trunk lines out of the money which we now pay to railroads for carrying through mails. If any of you question the propriety of my mentioning this subject I beg to remind you that the president could not have secured the passage of the rate bill had he not appealed to the fear of the more radical remedy of government ownership, and nothing will so restrain the railroad magnates from attempting to capture the Interstate Commerce Commission as the same fear. The high-handed manner in which they have violated law and ignored authority, together with the corruption discovered in high places, has done more to create sentiment in favor of public ownership than all the speeches and arguments of the opponents of private ownership.

"I have referred to the railroad question as a part of the trust question because they are so interwoven that it is difficult to consider one without the other.

"Political liberty could not long endure under an industrial system which permitted a few powerful magnates to control the means of livelihood of the rest of the people.

"Landlordism, the curse of Europe, is an innocent institution in comparison with the trust carried to its logical conclusion. The man who argues that there is an economic advantage in private monopoly is aiding socialism. The Socialist, asserting the economic superiority of the monopoly, insists that its benefits shall accrue to the whole people, and his conclusion cannot be denied if his assumption is admitted.

Socialism

The Democratic Party, if I understand its position, denies the economic as well as the political advantage of private monopoly and promises to oppose it wherever it manifests itself. It offers as an alternative competition where competition is possible and public monopoly wherever circumstances are such as to prevent competition.

"Socialism presents a consistent theory, but a theory which, in my judgment, does not take human nature into account. Its strength is in its attack upon evils the existence of which is confest; its weakness is that it would substitute a new disease—if not a worse one—for the disease from which we suffer. The Socialist is honest in the belief that he has found a remedy for human ills, and he must be answered with argument, not with abuse. The best way to oppose socialism is to remedy the abuses which have grown up under individualism but which are not a necessary part of individualism, and the sooner the remedy is applied the better.

"There is noticeable everywhere a distinct movement toward democracy in its broadest sense. In the U. S. this trend toward democracy has taken the form of a growing demand for the election of U. S. senators by a direct vote of the people. It would be difficult to overestimate the strategic advantages of this reform, for since every bill must receive the sanction of the Senate as well as the House of Representatives before it can become a law, no important remedial legislation of a national character is possible until the Senate is brought into harmony with the people.

"I am within the limits of the truth when I say that the Senate has been for years the bulwark of predatory wealth, and that it even now contains so many members who owe their election to favor-seeking corporations and are so subservient to their masters as to prevent needed legislation. The popular branch of Congress has four times declared in favor of this reform by a two-thirds vote and more than two thirds of the states have demanded it, and yet the Senate arrogantly and impudently blocks the way.

"The income tax, which some in our country have denounced as a socialistic attack upon wealth, has, I am pleased to report, the indorsement of the most conservative countries in the Old World. It is a permanent part of the fiscal system of most of the countries of Europe and in many places it is a graded tax, the rate being highest upon the largest incomes. England has long depended upon the income tax for a considerable part of her revenues and the English commission is now investigating the proposition to change from a uniform to a graded tax.

"It is little short of a disgrace to our country that while it is able to command the lives of its citizens in time of war, it cannot, even in the most extreme emergency, compel wealth to bear its share of the expenses of the government which protects it.

Labor and Capital

"Concerning disputes between labor and capital, arbitration, I believe, defends the highest interests of the three real parties to these disputes, viz., the employers, the employees, and the public.

"The question sometimes asked, 'Can I not conduct my business to suit myself?' is a plausible one, but when a man in conducting his business attempts to arbitrarily fix the conditions under which hundreds of employees are to live and to determine the future of thousands of human beings, I answer without hesitation that he has no right to conduct his own business in such a way as to deprive his employees of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To support this position, I need only refer to the laws regulating the safety of mines, the factory laws fixing the age at which children can be employed, and usury laws establishing the rate of interest.

"But if it is unwise to make the employer the sole custodian of the rights and interests of the employees, it is equally unwise to give the employees uncontrolled authority over the rights and interests of the employer. The employees are no more to be trusted to act unselfishly and disinterestedly than the employers.

"The strike, the only weapon of the employee at present, is a two-edged sword and may injure the workman as much as the employer, and even when wholly successful, is apt to leave a rankling in the bosom of the wage-earner that ought not to be. Society has, moreover, something at stake as well as the employer and employee, for there can be no considerable strike without considerable loss to the public. Society, therefore, is justified in demanding that the differences between capital and labor should be settled by peaceful means. If a permanent, impartial board is created to which either party of an industrial dispute may appeal, or which of its own motion can institute an inquiry, public opinion can be relied upon to enforce the finding. If there is compulsory submission to investigation it is not necessary that there shall be a compulsory acceptance of the decision, for a full and fair investigation will in every case bring about a settlement.

"No reference to the labor question is complete that does not include some mention of what is known as government by injunction. As the main purpose of the writ is to evade trial by jury, it is really an attack upon the jury system and ought to arouse a unanimous protest. However, as the writ is usually invoked in case of a strike the importance of the subject would be very much reduced by the adoption of a system of arbitration, because arbitration would very much reduce, even if it did not entirely remove, the probability of a strike.

"Another word in regard to the laboring man. The struggle to secure an eight-hour day is an international struggle and it is sure to be settled in favor of the workingman's contention. The benefits of the labor-saving machine have not been distributed with equity. The producer has enormously multiplied his capacity, but so far the owner of the machine has received too much of the increase and the laborer too little. Those who oppose the eight-hour day do it, I am convinced, more because of ignorance of conditions than because of lack of sympathy with those who toil. The removal of work from the house to the factory has separated the husband from his wife and the father from his children, while the growth of our cities has put an increasing distance between the home and the workshop. Then, too, more is demanded of the laboring man now than formerly. He is a citizen as well as a laborer, and must have time for the study of public questions if he is to be an intelligent sovereign. To drive him from his bed to his task and from his task to his bed is to deprive the family of his companionship, society of his service, and politics of his influence.

Bimetalism

"Thus far I have dwelt upon subjects which may not be regarded as strictly partizan, but I am sure that you will pardon me if in this presence I betray my interest in those policies for which the Democratic Party stands. I have not had an opportunity to make a Democratic speech for almost a year, and no one—not even a political enemy—could be so cruel as to forbid me to speak of those policies on this occasion. Our opponents have derived not only partizan pleasure but partizan advantage as well from the division caused in our party by the money question. They ought not, therefore, begrudge us the satisfaction that we find in the fact that unexpected conditions have removed the cause of our differences and permitted us to present a united front on present issues. The unlooked-for and unprecedented increase in the production of gold has brought a victory to both the advocates of gold and the advocates of bimetalism—the former keeping the gold standard which they wanted and the latter securing the larger volume of money for which they contended. We who favor bimetalism are satisfied with our victory if the friends of monometalism are satisfied with theirs. And we can invite them to a contest of zeal and endurance in the effort to restore to the people the rights which have been gradually taken from them by the trusts.

"The investigations which have been in progress during the past year have disclosed the business methods of those who a few years ago resented any inspection of their schemes and hid their rascality under high-sounding phrases. These investigations have also disclosed the source of enormous campaign funds which have been used to debauch elections and corrupt the ballot. The people see now what they should have seen before, namely, that no party can exterminate the trusts so long as it owes its political success to campaign contributions secured from the trusts. The great corporations do not contribute their money to any party except for immunity expressly promised or clearly implied. No party can afford to receive contributions even from individuals when the acceptance of those contributions secretly pledges the party to a course which it cannot openly avow. In other words, politics should be honest, and contributions public and not from corporations.

International Arbitration

"In regard to international relations and imperialism the U. S. should lead in the movement for international arbitration. The cause of arbitration is making real progress. At the last session of the Interparliamentary Union which convened in London last July, twenty-six nations were represented. I believe that if our nation would propose to make with every other nation a treaty providing that all questions in dispute between the parties should be submitted to The Hague Court for in-

vestigation and report before any declaration of war or commencement of hostilities, it would find many nations willing to enter into such a compact.

"Another subject connected with our foreign relations: I venture to suggest that we may not only promote peace but also advance our commercial interests by announcing as a national policy that our navy will not be used for the collection of private debts. While protecting the lives of our citizens everywhere and guaranteeing personal safety to all who owe allegiance to our flag, we should, in my judgment, announce that persons engaging in business and holding property in other lands for business purposes must be subject to the laws of the countries in which they engage in business enterprises.

"The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the nineteenth century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapons of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

"When Lord Howe asserted that the acts of Parliament which brought on the Revolution were necessary to prevent American trade from passing into foreign channels, Franklin replied:

"'To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, howsoever valuable, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood.'

"Lincoln said that the safety of this nation was not in its fleets, its armies, its forts, but in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy this spirit without planting the seeds of despotism at their own doors.

"Even now we are beginning to see the paralyzing influence of imperialism.

"A colonial policy means that we shall send to the Philippine Islands a few traders, a few task-masters, and a few office-holders, and an army large enough to support the authority of a small fraction of the people while they rule the natives.

"That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended by Republican leaders is not a matter of conjecture, but a matter of fact. In his message of Dec. 5, 1898, the president asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1896 the army contained about 25,000. Within two years the president asked for four times that many, and a Republican House of Representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed, and when no country was at war with the U. S.

"It is argued by some that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government and that, therefore, we owe it to the world to take control of them. Admiral Dewey, in an official report to the Navy Department, declared the Filipinos more capable of self-government than the Cubans, and said that he based his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But I will not rest the case upon the relative advancement of the Filipinos.

Imperialism

Henry Clay, in defending the right of the people of South America to self-government, said:

"'It is the doctrine of thrones that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their partizans assert his incapacity in reference to all nations; if they cannot command universal assent to the proposition, it is then demanded to particular nations; and our pride and our presumption too often make converts of us. I contend that it is to arraign the disposition of Providence Himself to suppose that He has created beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled on by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man.'

"The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Immeasurable responsibility! The destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, and upon the success of the experiment here rests the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course.

"Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practise and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just rights from the consent of the governed. Behold a government standing erect while empires around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength, and in influence, solving the problems of civilization, and hastening the coming of a universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming a supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, 'is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

DEMOREST, W. JENNINGS: American publisher and prohibitionist; born in New York City, 1822; educated in the public schools. At the age of twenty he commenced business in the dry goods trade, and in 1860 began the publication of the New York *Illustrated News* in English and German, and also *Young America*. In 1864 these were merged into *Demorest's Family Magazine*. Mr. Demorest traveled extensively and wrote largely on ethics, especially against the evils of the liquor traffic. He distributed nearly 50,000,000 pages of tracts on this question.

Mr. Demorest was active in the great Washington movement, and was one of the originators of the Sons of Temperance. To test the question of the constitutionality of slavery he had a suit instituted and well on its way toward the supreme court when President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation was issued.

Actively identified with the Prohibition Party, Mr. Demorest, since 1884, was a tireless worker for its success. He established the National Prohibition Bureau for speakers and the distribution of literature, and, true to his early convictions, organized the National Constitutional

League, through which he was pressing a test suit up to the supreme court to establish the unconstitutionality of license to the liquor traffic, when his death occurred, April 9, 1895. He published a monthly periodical called *The Constitution*. He served the party as a candidate for mayor of New York City and for lieutenant-governor of the state. An interesting feature of Mr. Demorest's services for the cause of prohibition is the medal contest work for the education of the youth, and the creation of public sentiment in favor of the universal prohibition of the liquor traffic, which he originated and maintained.

DENIS, HECTOR: Belgian sociologist; born at Braine-le-Comte, 1842; doctor of law and natural science; advocate (1860); professor of philosophy at the University of Brussels, and instructor at the polytechnical school. He was rector of the University of Brussels, 1892–94, and resigned because of the suspension of Elisée Reclus. Denis is a member of the Royal Academy, and of the Superior Council of Labor. He was elected representative from Liège in 1894, 1898, and 1900, and is a leader in socialism. He is the author of "L'Alimentation et la Force du Travail." "De la Constitution de la Morale Positive."

DENISON, EDWARD: English founder of social settlements; born at Salisbury, 1840; son of Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury; graduated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. From 1862 to 1866 he read law, in the spring of 1864 traveling through Southern Europe and Northern Africa. He became deeply interested in the condition of the poor, and in 1867 took a lodging among the tenements in Philpot Street, Mile End Road, East London. He resided there eight months, studying the conditions of life, building, endowing, and teaching in a school. He was one of the original members of the Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity in 1869, out of which has grown the Charity Organization Movement. He disbelieved in giving doles, and in 1868 went to Paris and Edinburgh to study the working of the poor-law. In November of that year he was returned to Parliament for Newark, but his failing health prevented his continued attendance, and after vainly seeking health in the Channel Islands, he went on a voyage to Australia, but died in Melbourne, Jan. 26, 1870, two weeks after his arrival. His letters and writings have been published, London, 1870.

DENMARK: A kingdom of northern Europe, on account of its former political associations with Sweden and Norway, customarily regarded as a unit of the Scandinavian peninsula. Its history has been closely united with that of Norway, and its language and literature are almost identical with Norway's, but on social reforms, Denmark has been the leader of her sister kingdoms.

I.—Statistics

Area and Population

Divisions	Area sq. m.	Population (1901)	Population per sq. m.
Copenhagen	21	378,235	17,909
Baltic Islands	5,062	1,007,513	199
Jutland	9,765	1,063,792	109
Faroe Islands	540	15,230	28
Total	15,388	2,464,770	160

General Statistics

At the latest official census (1901) the population of Denmark proper consisted of 1,193,448 males and 1,256,092 females, a total of 2,464,770; showing an increase of about 12 per cent since the census of 1890. While the town population has increased more than 29 per cent, the rural population has remained practically stationary, the increase being only slightly more than 4 per cent. The population is intermingled with a very small percentage of foreign blood; and the greater part of the foreign-born people come from Sweden and northern Germany (Sleswick-Holstein). According to the census of 1901, 948,997 persons were engaged in agriculture; 674,613 in industrial pursuits; 220,234 in commerce; 139,959 as domestic servants and other lower occupations; 114,100 in immaterial production; 72,072 in fishing and navigation; and 22,351 in inland transportation. There were 103,629 pensioners and capitalists, 48,678 public paupers, 5,623 persons in asylums for the abnormal, and 1,748 prisoners.

The principal cities of Denmark are: Copenhagen (the capital), with a population of 378,235; Aarhuus (Jutland), 51,814; Odense (Funen), 40,138; Aalborg (Jutland), 31,457. The birth-rate in 1904 was 29.89, the death-rate 14.57; 9.6 per cent of the births were illegitimate. There were in 1904 18,235 marriages and 473 divorces. Emigration, chiefly to the United States, was 9,034 in 1904.

Religion and Education

With regard to religion, Denmark maintains the Lutheran creed as her State religion, but no civil disabilities exist. In 1901 there were no 2,436,084 Protestants, 5,373 Roman Catholics, 3,476 Jews, and 4,501 of other denominations. In an educational aspect Denmark ranks high. Compulsory education was introduced in 1814, all children being obliged to attend school between the ages of seven and fourteen. There are 28 elementary schools in Copenhagen, 132 in other towns, and 2,780 in rural districts, making a total of 2,940. The pupils numbered 326,268 in 1903. Copenhagen has a university, founded in 1479, which has five faculties, 85 professors and teachers, and an annual roll of about 400 students. There are, further, a veterinary college, 12 agricultural schools, 72 high schools, 130 real-schools which prepare pupils for academic courses, a college of pharmacy, a polytechnic institution, and several commercial, technical, and horticultural schools. The State makes annual grants to many of the technical and agricultural schools, as well as to some of the real-schools, which, in reality, are preparatory to the university.

In 1903 there were 3,851 persons convicted of crimes, and 42,083 of minor offenses. There were 796 persons in the penitentiaries on March 31, 1903.

Industry

Denmark is primarily an agricultural country. On account of a law which prohibits the merging of small holdings into large estates the soil is greatly subdivided into small farms. The main crops are beetroots, potatoes, oats, wheat, barley, and rye. In 1903 Denmark had 486,935 horses, 1,840,466 head of cattle; 876,830 sheep; 38,984 goats; and 1,456,699 swine. In 1904, 26,137 horses, 92,058 head of cattle, and 936 sheep and goats were exported. Denmark produced (1904) 22,366,516 gallons of excisable beer, and 33,395,-

344 gallons of non-excisable beer; also 7,427,570 gallons of corn-brandy (*brændevin*) reduced to an alcoholicity of 8°. The production of beet sugar amounted to 44,125 tons, and that of oleomargarin to 21,885 tons. The Danish fisheries yielded a catch valued at 9,950,287 kronen in 1903.

Commerce

Year by year the commerce of Denmark shows a healthy increase, the high standard of her agricultural and dairy products assuring her a steady market abroad. The total exports in 1904 amounted to 497,836,000 kronen, and the total imports to 599,244,000 kr. Of the exports 358,629,000 kr. were home produce. The chief exports (1904) were as follows: Colonial goods, 12,754,000 kronen (krone=twenty-seven cents); beverages, 3,374,000 kr.; textiles, 21,514,000 kr.; metals and hardware, 18,264,000 kr.; wood and manufactures, 1,687,000 kr.; coal, 3,995,000 kr.; animals, 37,469,000 kr.; provisions, eggs, etc., 321,234,000 kr.; cereals, etc., 13,986,000 kr. The principal imports were: From Germany, 214,236,000 kr.; from Great Britain, 90,172,000 kr.; from Sweden and Norway, 63,119,000 kr.; from the United States, 74,464,000 kr.; from Russia, 76,390,000 kr.; from Holland, 12,411,000 kr.; from Belgium, 10,770,000 kr.; from France, 16,235,000 kr.; and from the Danish colonies, 3,519,000 kr. The chief exports of home produce go to Great Britain, and consisted, in 1904, of butter to the value of £9,003,089; eggs, £1,461,459; bacon, £4,532,420; beef, £17,696; pork, £158,639; and fish, £70,307. Otherwise the value of exports was distributed as follows: To Germany, 105,401,000 kr.; to Great Britain, 282,816,000 kr.; to Sweden and Norway, 52,335,000 kr.; to the U. S., 16,326,000 kr.; to Russia, 26,592,000 kr.; to Holland, 519,000 kr.; to Belgium, 1,334,000 kr.; to France, 899,000 kr.; to Danish colonies, 4,624,000 kr.

II.—Constitution and Government

According to the Constitution of 1849, the crown of Denmark is hereditary; but the powers of government are divided between the king and the two houses of parliament: the Folkething and the Landsthing. The king holds the executive power, while the legislative rights are vested in the Rigsdag, which comprizes the two houses mentioned in the foregoing. The Landsthing, or Upper House, consists of sixty-six members, twelve of whom are elected by the crown, and the remaining fifty-four by electoral bodies composed of the largest taxpayers. The Folkething, or Lower House, counts 114 members, elected by universal suffrage for a term of three years. Every resident citizen above the age of twenty-five, and of good reputation, is eligible for election to either house.

The civil subdivisions of Denmark are called "amts" and are eighteen in number, each being governed by an "amtmand," or governor. The amts are again divided into "herreder" (hundreds), and these in turn into parishes. The city of Copenhagen constitutes an amt by itself. Iceland has a specific charter of its own, by virtue of which the legislative power of this colony is vested in a body (the Althing) which is partly elective by universal suffrage and partly appointive by the king.

The estimated revenue for 1905–6 was 79,441,467 kronen and the expenditures 81,334,265 kr. The main part of the revenues (56,499,245 kr. estimated for 1906–7) is derived from customs, excise, and other indirect taxation. The Danish debt (1905) amounted to 172,927,250 kr.

The Danish army numbers 824 officers and 8,945 men on a peace footing; 1,448 officers and 66,000 men on a war footing. Of this total war-strength, 115 officers and 4,400 men are members of a National Guard of Volunteers. The navy is maintained mainly for purposes of coast defense. It comprizes about twenty vessels in various stages of efficiency.

The mercantile fleet of Denmark numbers (1904) 4,048 vessels of about 473,409 tons gross capacity. Of these 592 are steamships. Of the railways, which aggregate 1,993 miles, about 1,138 miles belong to the State, and the rest, mainly little by-lines, to private companies. The total cost of construction, March 31, 1903, was 198,230,918 kr. There are 960 post-offices in the country; 2,367 miles of telegraph wires, and 107,952 miles of telephonic wires.

III.—Social Reform

Modern social reform may be said to have begun in Denmark in 1857 when a law was enacted abolishing the old trade-gilds. It was still some four or five years, however, before joint-stock companies began to assume supremacy in the financial world; but during the thirty years from 1870–1900 these increased in number from 52 to 600, and their combined capital from $20,000,000 to $125,000,000. Educational reforms inaugurated by Bishop N. F. Grundboig (1783–1872) led to the establishment of industrial and agricultural high schools, which at first were supported by private contributions, but since 1864 by the State. These schools are largely frequented by young men and women of the peasant class, and the education afforded them in these institutions has had a remarkable effect in producing a Danish peasantry of which any land might be justly proud.

Socialism

Socialism is now somewhat strong. The strength of the Socialist Party in Denmark is shown by the fact that at the latest popular election of members to the Folkething, twenty-four Socialists were returned. The Landsthing has but one Socialist member. The controller of Copenhagen and two out of the four city councilors are Socialists, and more than 500 members of that party hold minor public offices. In 1887 8,406 Socialist votes were cast; in 1898 31,872; in 1906, 76,566.

Socialism first became a factor in the reform movement in Denmark when Louis Pio, in 1871, published a pamphlet entitled "Essays on Socialism." This pamphlet produced a marked effect, especially on the skilled workers, and during the next year several socialistic societies were formed under the auspices of the International, led by Karl Marx. The leaders of the Danish movement were Pio, Brix, and Geleff. In 1871 the Socialists started their first organ, *Socialisten*, and in 1872 (May 5th) a public meeting was planned in order to promote the formation of local trade-unions. This meeting was prohibited by the authorities, and on account of alleged incendiary articles in the *Socialisten*, the three leaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In 1873 the Danish authorities prevented the International from making further propaganda in that country, and local activities

thence became centered on the organization of the various branches of labor.

United Trade-Unions

In the course of the next four or five years many local trade-unions were organized, notably those of carpenters, bricklayers, shoe-workers, cigar-makers, etc. In 1871 there were three trade-unions with a total membership of 359; in 1877 there were thirty-one unions with a total of 3,189 members. In 1899 the membership had been swelled to 16,146. It soon became clear to the leaders of the movement that the interests of the different trade-unions would be greatly promoted if there were some central body in each town to exercise supervision in cases of disputes between employers and employees, an l especially to see to it that no amount of effort was misdirected by unnecessary strikes, etc. Accordingly, in 1886, De Samvirkende Fagforeninger i Kobenhavn ("The United Trade-Unions in Copenhagen") was organized; and in the course of the next few years similar centrals were established in other large towns. In 1898 more than 400 delegates, who represented 70,000 organized workers, met in Copenhagen and organized "De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark," a union which exercises powers analogous with those exercised by the American Federation of Labor in the United States. In 1904 local trade-unions in Denmark numbered 1,156, with 90,111 members. Railroad employees number 18,000, and general laborers in the unions 29,044.

Results

The material results of the organized labor movement in Denmark have been to procure shorter hours and better pay in many branches, principally among typographers, bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, etc. The average working-day is nine hours. Great strides have also been made toward securing industrial betterments. The government inspects factories and workshops to make them conform to sanitary requirements, and also to see to it that the law regulating the hours of work for young persons under eighteen is not violated. Children under twelve are not allowed to work in factories or workshops. There is a pension law (enacted 1891) by which all working people are entitled to a pension after the age of sixty; and in 1903 the number of such pensioners was 60,484, the pensions aggregating $2,700,000. The trade-unions maintain sick-funds and friendly societies which receive subsidies from the state and from county councils, such subsidies amounting to $320,000 in 1903. Other charitable institutions are maintained by the state at an annual cost of about $12,000,000.

Woman Suffrage

There is no law in Denmark which provides for woman's participation in state or municipal politics, but measures to that effect are continually being introduced to the legislature, and there is an energetic movement on foot among Danish women to promote their claims for a franchise. The only organized women's society is "Dansk Kvindesamfund," which is affiliated with the International Council of Women.

In 1906 a government committee was appointed for the purpose of making plans looking to the introduction of a system of state aid for the unemployed.

The poor-law of Denmark is especially famous.

Rev. Wilson Carlisle, founder of The Church Army in England, writes (in "The Nineteenth Century and After") about the Danish system of treating its poor, as follows:

The Poor and Unemployed

> The aged poor of spotless character . . . do not, strictly speaking, come within the poor-law at all in Denmark. They are state pensioners, and their position is no more dishonorable and involves no more loss of civil rights, than in the case of one who receives a service pension in this country (England). Some of the pensioners live in their homes, others in special public institutions. The Alderdomshjem, the place where the aged pensioners of Copenhagen are housed, is a delightful haven for these old people after the storms of life. Some 500 dwell there, the married couples in separate quarters of their own, and the single in common, the men having separate smoking-rooms and the women sitting-rooms. The inmates are entirely their own masters, and go in and out at pleasure. The food is plentiful and appetizing, and it is even prepared in a separate establishment, in order to save the old folks from the annoyance of odors of cooking.
>
> For the old age of those that miss entering the circle (described above)—those who have once been convicted of crime, or whose poverty is due to drunkenness, vice, idleness, or improvidence—provision is made in Denmark by another class of institution . . . represented in Copenhagen by the Almindelig. This place is neither workhouse, almshouse, prison, nor reformatory, but rather a "hospital" in the old sense of the word, where the aged who have not passed through life without stain may spend their last days in comparative comfort. Among them are certain of the better class of able-bodied failures, who come here hoping to get a fresh start by industry. All the inmates are expected to work according to their powers, and they receive moderate pay, partly (threepence a week) in cash and the remainder being placed toward the cost of maintenance, which works out at seven shillings per head per week, including the sick and infirm. To those who are unable to work the threepence a week is paid as a gift. Most of the inmates remain in the institution for the rest of their lives. They lose the franchise and are subject to certain restraints on their liberty, such as going out at certain times only. Married couples are permitted to live together.

The temperance movement is making great strides in Denmark, and local temperance societies as well as the Danish branch of the Good Templars count more than 100,000 members. The government grants monetary aid to the carrying on of temperance propaganda; and private enterprise provides coffee-houses, etc., to promote the cause.

Cooperation in Denmark in many lines is largely developed and mainly on the Rochdale plan. On the authority of M. P. Blem, the chairman of the Danish Cooperative Committee, it can be said that there are 1,000 societies with about 150,000 members, which do a total business of about £2,000,000 sterling. The Cooperative Wholesale Society of Copenhagen sells to 915 distributive stores. Cooperative creameries number 1,057, and the butter produced from milk delivered therefrom, during the last fiscal year, was valued at £8,400,000. The bulk of the agricultural exports from Denmark are of cooperative origin, the total production of the butter, bacon, and egg societies for export in 1903 being £11,414,000, while the total exports from the whole of the country were under £20,000,000.

There were, in 1902, twenty-seven cooperative bacon-curing factories. This cooperative movement in Denmark, however, is almost exclusively agricultural; the workers in cities and towns having taken comparatively little interest in this phase of social reform. In Copenhagen there are a few cooperative bakeries, notably "Arbejdernes Brödfabrikker" (the workmen's cooperative bakeries). There are also a brewery, a life-insurance company, and a clothing emporium which are partly operated under the auspices of the United Trade-Unions.

The foremost Danish social reform societies are:

Socialdemokratisk Forbund, 22 Römersgade, Copenhagen.

De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark, 49 Nörre Farimagsgade, Copenhagen.

Dansk Forening for Arbejderbeskyttelse, 5 Höjbroplads, Copenhagen.

FRANK F. H. CRAMER.

REFERENCES: *Statistisk Aarbog* (Annual), Copenhagen, 1906; *Foreign Office Reports on the Trade, etc., of Denmark* (Annual), London; *Statistisk Tabelværk*, Copenhagen; *Oversigt over Fagforeningsbevægelsen i Danmark i Tiden fra 1871 til 1900*, Copenhagen, 1901; *Protokol for den 11te Socialdemokratiske Partikongress i Köbenhavn den 12, 13, og 14, April, 1906*, Aarhuus, 1906; *The Danish Poor-Relief System*, by Edith Sellers, London, 1904; *Denmark, Past and Present*, by Margaret Thomas, ib. 1902; *Reports* of the United Danish Trade-Unions.

DENVER: The "Queen City of the Plains," with its phenomenal growth, restless enterprise, varied and, to some extent, chaotic social conditions, has been in many ways the typical Western city. But in some ways it has not been typical. On the one hand, the natural advantages of the city, with water, drainage, transit, unusually easily developed, have freed the city from any vast expensive municipal expenditures with their opportunities for large graft or corruption (except indeed for the $2,000,000 state capitol); but, on the other hand, political conditions have created party machines which have stuffed ballot-boxes and violated laws at least more openly and probably at times more flagrantly than in any other American city. But these political conditions, in almost all instances, have been due to state conditions rather than to municipal affairs. They have been due principally to the heated struggles in Colorado, first, between the Populists of the state and the Republican machine, and more recently between the Western Federation of Miners and the owners of the Telluride and Cripple Creek mines, and other corporate interests, largely using the political machines of all parties. To these struggles Denver has been but an incident, tho the unfortunate seat of many of the bitterest political battles.

This is true of the Bucklin amendment campaign of 1902, of the political reign of terror in 1893, of the heated struggle between the Populists and Republicans in the Waite campaign of 1894, and in the more recent sensational conflict to seat their respective candidates between the Democratic machine, which claimed the governorship for Alva Adams, and the Republican machine, which claimed it for James H. Peabody. In this campaign, at the polling-booths, in the law courts, and before the legislature, probably every kind of trickery was used by both parties. The ballot-stuffing was so open that finally forty ballot-box stuffers in Denver were sent to jail. But it was nevertheless a Colorado battle and not a Denver battle, and essentially a battle between the working miners and their political partizans and the corporations and their political partizans. Nevertheless Denver reaps the harvest of evil. Some one third of the voting population of the state is in Denver, and the city sees at election times a carnival of wholesale bribery and corruption.

Electoral Corruption

Back of this corruption, too, are undoubtedly, as in most cities (see CORRUPTION), the corporations which support the corrupt machines, because they can buy from them the franchises and legal immunities they desire. Among such corporations are said to be the Denver water, gas, and telephone companies, and not least the Denver Tramway Company, with such industrial corporations as the Smelter Trust, Sugar Trust, and the various mining companies. The economic struggle in Colorado will probably not be ended till these companies can be prevented from violating law in the courts and houses of legislature and the miners' unions be prevented from violating law on the streets.

Political reform in Denver began in 1889, when Mr. Pence succeeded in ousting from his seat a mayor fraudulently counted in. The Chamber of Commerce in 1892 appointed a committee to draft a new charter, which, after many defects, was finally adopted, substantially on the lines proposed by the Chamber of Commerce. In 1894 a Municipal Reform League was organized and did good work, tho to-day this movement is represented by the League for Honest Elections, organized in 1903. According to the present charter, the mayor has much power, appointing the health and park commissions, the superintendents of street-cleaning supplies, and the important boards of public works, fire, and police, but the treasurer, auditor, city clerk, besides the mayor himself, are elected by the people.

Political Reform

Denver with its wealth and energy has, in spite of its electoral corruption, good schools and institutions of higher learning, a library of 90,000 volumes, art museum, twelve public parks, fine clubs, and considerable admirable civic life. A large transient population and uncertain mining prospects often afford sudden need for help—but, generally speaking, there is not a great permanent need for relief, and little but the usual forms of charity are developed. The People's Tabernacle, under Rev. T. A. Uzzell, is prominent in institutional activities, but many churches and societies afford much relief.

Charities

The following are some of the more prominent reform and philanthropic societies:

League for Honest Elections, 709 Ernest Cranmer Building.
American Federation of Labor, Max Morris, vice-president, Sixteenth and Lawrence Streets.
Colorado State Federation of Labor, 532 Charles Building.
Western Federation of Miners, Pioneer Building.
Socialist Headquarters, 1842 Chamfa Street.
Charity Organization Society, 1420 Chamfa Street.
Young Men's Christian Association, 16 Lincoln Avenue.
Young Women's Christian Association, 125 East Eighteenth Avenue.
People's Tabernacle, Twentieth and Lawrence Streets.
Salvation Army Headquarters, 918 Lawrence Street.
Volunteers of America, 1759 Chamfa Street.
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 918 Lorimer Street.
Women's Club, 1437 Glenward.

DENSITY OF POPULATION. See POPULATION; OVERCROWDING.

DEPARTMENTS OF U. S. GOVERNMENT. See CONSTITUTION.

DEPENDENTS. See CHILD-HELPING; PAUPERISM and POOR RELIEF.

DEVINE, EDWARD THOMAS: General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York; born in Iowa, 1867; graduated at Albion Seminary and Cornell College, Iowa (1887); taught school in Iowa; studied at Halle, Germany, 1890–91; held fellowship in Walton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsyl-

vania, 1891–95; staff lecturer in University Extension, 1891–96; lectured at Oxford, England, summer of 1892 and 1894, and in Edinburgh (1897). Since 1896 General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, taking an active part in housing reform legislation for the restriction of child labor, the movement for the prevention of tuberculosis, and emergency relief in disasters. Founded in 1898, *Charities*, a weekly periodical, and has since been its editor. Four periodicals, *Lend-a-Hand*, *The Charities Review*, the Chicago *Commons*, and *Jewish Charity* have been consolidated with it. Director of the School of Philanthropy established by the Charity Organization Society in 1904. In 1905, appointed Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University. In 1906 was appointed by Secretary Taft, to take charge of the emergency relief work for the San Francisco earthquake and fire, and was president of the Relief Commission. He is author of "Economics" (1889), "The Practice of Charity" (1901); "The Principles of Relief" (1904); "Efficiency and Relief" (1906); and of numerous reports and articles. *Address*: 501 West 113th Street, New York City.

DEWEY, DAVIS R.: American statistician; born at Burlington, Vt., 1858; educated at the University of Vermont and at Johns Hopkins University. In 1885 he became instructor in economics and statistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and later professor of the same subjects. In 1886 he was appointed secretary of the American Statistical Association; and he was special expert agent on wages for the twelfth census. Dewey was chairman of the Massachusetts Commission to Investigate the Subject of the Unemployed (1894), and is one of the joint authors of the report. He has written "Syllabus on Political History since 1815" (1887); "Financial History of the United States" (1902), etc. *Address*: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.

DICKENS, CHARLES: English novelist; born at Landport, Hampshire, 1812. Entering life as a parliamentary reporter and journalist, he early won that insight into life which enabled him to portray alike the sufferings and wrongs of the poor and the follies and shams of society. His "Pickwick Papers," published in 1837, exhibited almost for the first time the life and manners of the lower, middle, and working classes of London in the nineteenth century. "Nicholas Nickleby" attacked the wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon the wretched pupils of the cheap schools in Yorkshire; "Hard Times" mocked the commercialism of the day; all his novels, such as "Old Curiosity Shop," "Martin Chuzzlewit," "Dombey and Son," "Bleak House," "Little Dorrit," "Great Expectations," "Oliver Twist," and "David Copperfield" have served the cause of social reform by picturing, tho ever with good nature, and always with an eye for the ludicrous, the sufferings and wrongs of the poor, the foibles and delusions of society. Dickens, who visited America twice, died in June, 1870.

DIKE, SAMUEL WARREN: American Congregational minister and secretary of the National League for the Protection of the Family; born at Thompson, Conn., 1839; was graduated from Williams College, 1863; studied also at Hartford and Andover; ordained 1866; held ministries at West Randolph and Royalston, Vt. Mr. Dike had long given much thought to the family and its problems, and in 1881, when asked to deliver one of the Monday lectures in Boston, he took the ground that the divorce question is but a part of the larger problem of the family, and that this, in turn, is intimately related to the problems of property. That year a New England Divorce Reform League was organized, later changing its name to the National League for the Protection of the Family, and Mr. Dike became its corresponding secretary. He has been largely instrumental in securing reports of the Commission of Labor on marriage and divorce, and in the establishment of state commissions on uniform legislation. He also led in what has been known as the Religious Problem of the County Town, having proposed and assisted in the widely known statistical investigation of Rev. Henry Fairbanks, in Vermont; invented the Home Department of the Sunday-school, now extending over the country in many churches; and helped introduce the study of scientific sociology in higher educational institutions, where he is a frequent lecturer. *Address*: 113 Hancock Street, Auburndale, Mass.

DIRECT LEGISLATION (or THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM): Direct legislation in small communities is the New England town-meeting, the present Swiss and ancient Teutonic *Landesgemeinden*, the Anglo-Saxon folkmoot, the Russian *Mir*, the old Greek and Latin *agora* or market-place meeting, or any other meeting in which the people actually propose and vote on their own laws, in an orderly and deliberate manner.

In communities too large for the voters to assemble in one body and consider and pass on the laws by which they are to be governed, direct legislation is attained by an adaptation of the old, highly valued, and nearly useless right of petition in what is called the Initiative and Referendum. Petitions in the past to kings, governors, legislatures, etc., may have been influential, but have had no real power in determining laws; and when, as actually happened in the New Jersey legislature, a petition signed by several hundred thousand citizens is rumpled up by the legislators and tossed from one to the other in disdain, the people have absolutely no redress. The Initiative and Referendum infuses new life into the worn-out right of petition.

By the Referendum no law goes into effect until a reasonable time has elapsed. In a city this may be one month, in a state two or three, in the nation four to six months. From this are excepted a limited class of urgent measures usually defined as measures necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety. Generally these must be passed by a two thirds or three fourths majority of the legislature. If, during this reasonable time, a minority of the people, usually five per cent, sign and file a petition for the reference of any law, it is held from operation, till the next election when the people vote on it, a majority enacting or rejecting. This is the Optional Referendum, and is implied where the word "Referendum" is used alone. But there are several other varieties. The Obligatory Referendum, by which every law has to be referred to the people, is used on constitutional amendments in every state ex-

Definitions

cept Delaware. It is in use in some parts of Switzerland, but in the United States it is rarely advocated for all forms of legislation. The Executive Referendum is one by which the executive has the right to hold up a law and refer it to the people; while the Legislative Referendum is one by which a minority of the legislature has the same power. The Judicial Referendum gives a supreme court the right to declare a law unconstitutional, so that it is held from operation until the next election, when the people vote on it, a majority vote in its favor rendering it a law notwithstanding any constitutional infringements. This makes the people supreme over the supreme court.

The Referendum is negative or preventive; it gives the people the veto power over bad laws. The Initiative is positive and constructive. It makes it possible for the people to get what they want, and enables an active minority to educate the masses. By it, whenever a reasonable minority of the voters (sometimes five per cent, sometimes eight per cent) sign and file a petition for a law or ordinance, the measure goes to the legislature where it takes precedence over all other matters. The legislature can do anything it wishes with this measure: pass, amend, or reject. But if it does not pass it as petitioned for, the people vote on it at the next election, a majority vote deciding its rejection or enactment independently of legislature and governor.

The Initiative and Referendum together constitute Direct Legislation, or a simple method by which the people can control their own lawmaking all the time. It does not abolish legislatures; it does not mean that all laws will be submitted to the people, or even that many laws will be submitted. The fact that the people can use it at any time makes its frequent use unnecessary. It does not detract from the honor or dignity of the legislature; but instead, by taking away the final power of law-enacting, it removes the danger of bribery, lifts the legislators above suspicion, and makes them true to their old name, "Councilors to the People."

De Tocqueville says that the only way to interest people in their government is to make them partake in it. Direct legislation makes every voter a potential legislator, and hence interests him. It allows one section of the people most interested in some law to propose that law, force a public discussion and consideration by every voter, not on the character and promises of some candidate for office, but on a definite and real measure. Thus it is a great educational scheme. Further, each law has either an actual or a silent majority behind it, and it can be enforced. The disgrace of non-enforced or unevenly enforced laws does not exist when Direct Legislation has long been used. As the people have to understand the laws, they are made short, simple, direct. Our laws, made hurriedly in unhomogeneous legislatures pulled this way and that by varied business interests, are complex, ambiguous, and multitudinous.

Advantages

Direct Legislation is only a simple method of gaining popular government, or government by the people. As such its history goes back into the mists of antiquity. But the novel and ingenious adaptation of petitions to this end was begun in Switzerland about a century ago and has developed furthest there. Nearly three centuries ago the colonies of Plymouth and Rhode Island actually put into force for a while the use of petition almost exactly in the manner we now call the Initiative and Referendum, but there was no general necessity for it then, as legislators were seldom bribed; and so to Switzerland belongs the honor of developing the system of petitioning into that of the Initiative and Referendum.

In the United States the first organization to promote Direct Legislation was formed in New Jersey in 1891, and was known as The People's Power League. It was changed the next year into The Direct Legislation League of New Jersey. Since then state leagues have sprung up in twenty or thirty states, and are to-day active in fifteen to twenty. There are no exact statistics available, and from the nature of the case none are likely to become available. Each state must care for itself. If it does the rest are encouraged; if it does not it is its own fault or misfortune. In 1896 the National Direct Legislation League was founded, and later one or two other national organizations were formed with similar objects. The National League, however, is little more than a bureau of information, and a clearing-house for Direct Legislation news, carried by its president under his hat. In 1892 Sullivan's book on Direct Legislation was published, and in 1894 he began *The Direct Legislation Record*, which was carried on by Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy from 1895 to 1904. The book, this little paper, and some pamphlets were the slender means of propaganda used by this movement. But the very fact that there are no offices or jobs in Direct Legislation, and no strong organizations with hierarchy of officers to draw in large funds and spend them more or less ineffectively, making great noise before the public, has really been a source of strength among the quiet workers all over the country. Without much noise or newspaper notice, Direct Legislation has grown.

In the United States

The South Dakota legislature passed a Direct Legislation constitutional amendment in 1897, which the people adopted by an overwhelming majority; and the laws to carry it into effect were passed later. Next Utah followed the example of South Dakota; but tho the people carried the Direct Legislation amendment by a large majority, they also changed the political complexion of the legislature, and the succeeding legislatures have not passed the necessary laws to carry the people's will into effect. Direct Legislation will therefore remain an unused and unusable part of the Utah Constitution till the legislature permits. This is a fine illustration of the need for Direct Legislation, when legislatures can thus thwart even the exprest will of the people. Oregon followed next with the best drawn amendment yet adopted, and so thoroughly were the people roused to its value that two measures were voted on and carried at the Congressional elections in June, 1904, and nine at the election in June, 1906. One of these extended Direct Legislation to all the cities of Oregon. It has worked a great change and improvement in the legislature, and the people could not now be persuaded to drop it.

Nevada got a constitutional amendment in 1904; while the people of Missouri rejected a very faulty one in the same year. The people of Montana will have, at their next election, the opportunity to pass on a fairly good one. One house of the legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, North

Dakota, Arkansas, Washington, and California, have passed constitutional amendments introducing Direct Legislation.

In city government Direct Legislation has made great progress. Almost every city of the Pacific Coast states has it. Denver has a badly drawn form. Minneapolis, Detroit, Nashville, and other cities have it on the granting of franchises. It is applied very widely to the liquor question, usually under the title of "Local Option"; and great states such as Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas are under a thoroughly enforced prohibition by local option or local Direct Legislation on the licensing of the sale of liquor. Every year the cities of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire vote on the license question. Many other subjects are continually being referred to the people. No other reform has made the quiet, yet sturdy, rapid, and satisfactory progress that Direct Legislation has in the last ten or fifteen years, and the outlook is very encouraging.

Foreign Countries

Canada has shared in the movement, and progress has been made in cities so far apart as Victoria and Toronto. Abroad there is a faint movement in England. A much stronger one exists in France, particularly for municipal Direct Legislation, and substantial progress has already been made in embodying it into an institution. The same is true of Norway. In Switzerland, its home, it is more fully developed and applied than anywhere else on the globe, and only an act of extreme violence could tear it from the Swiss statute-books.

Australia has a genuine movement which as yet has not enacted any laws on the statute-books; but in New Zealand it is used on the liquor and taxing questions, and the signs point to the adopting of a general Direct Legislation law within the near future.

The arguments usually advanced against Direct Legislation are that the people will not vote on a dry measure; that they require a principle to be embodied in a personality to rouse them to vote. It is true that dry, unimportant measures do not call out a large vote. It is also true that important measures do interest the people. Thus, in many of the cities of Massachusetts there is often a larger vote on the annually submitted question of licensing saloons than is cast for governor of the state or president of the United States. It is an important question regularly submitted. But even supposing it to be true that fewer votes would be cast for measures than for men, as long as every voter was free to cast his vote, this would only be an automatic, self-disfranchisement of the ignorant and uninterested.

Objections

Some people speak of the great expense of Direct Legislation. It does not mean frequent votings. Switzerland has held less than one election a year on measures. Oregon has held two in five years; San Francisco only two or three in six years. South Dakota, as a state, has not yet used it a single time. The very fact that it can be used at any time prevents the frequent necessity for its use. But suppose it did cost double, treble, tenfold what our present system does, it would pay for itself if it saved one legislative job. Probably, if it was extensively used in every state, the total cost for its use for a score of years would not equal the expense to the state of one such lobbyist as Andy Hamilton, or Col. Bill Phelps, or many another.

Others say the people cannot understand these abstruse and complex legislative questions. True, and rarely do the lawyers, judges, and whatnots that we have to interpret them to us, understand them. A judge of the U. S. Supreme Court has been known within two weeks to change his opinion on the meaning of some phrase. But the people will see that the laws are simple and understandable; else they will vote them down. They have done this in Switzerland, where the laws are such that the ordinary man can comprehend them. Compare the more than 25,000 measures introduced in the last Congress, of which between 4,000 and 5,000 were passed, with the less than 100 introduced in the Swiss legislature, of which a little more than a score were passed! It were better to have no laws than to have laws the people cannot understand.

A few persons boldly say that the people cannot govern themselves; and with the man who believes that there is no use arguing. But inasmuch as our revolutionary fathers fought for the right to govern themselves, inasmuch as our Civil War was on this same great issue, it would be advisable for such a man either to keep quiet or to move out of this country to some more appropriate land. But the very man who wants to govern others is rarely willing that others shall govern him.

There are three classes of people who oppose Direct Legislation: (1) The few who really believe the people are not fit to govern themselves. These are comparatively unimportant save as they become honest tools for (2) the second class which is our predatory rich, who want franchises, special privileges, jobs, grafts, etc., etc., and who have fattened on these in the past. These people know that it is much easier to get such franchises, jobs, grafts, etc., from the representatives than from the people. They are a powerful class at present, but their power is decreasing. They have defeated Direct Legislation in many a legislature, and they will continue to do so for a time. But like the well-known little animal, drive them into the open and they can be beaten. (3) The third class is the lawyers, hangers-on, and dependents of the second class, and those who expect to get favors from them. This is a large class, larger than most people imagine. But with publicity this class will shrink like snow in summer.

The only other obstacle to the progress of Direct Legislation is the inertia of the people. Many have not felt that we needed it. But the insurance inquiry, and many other legislative investigations, are continually making converts; and we may expect an increasing strength to the Direct Legislation movement, and its rapid spread. Only one thing can hinder its advance, and that is that the people do not use it when it is adopted. Vigilance is the price of liberty, and no system can take the place of vigilance. We must use Direct Legislation when we have it, and use it wisely, or we will not be fit to extend its scope and strength.

With the continual spread and use of Direct Legislation there will come an education of the people on public questions little dreamed of now; there will come a sense of social solidarity and unity, a feeling that we are equals and brothers, a real birth of the social consciousness. And after we have become conscious that we each and all belong to a social organism that is far greater than all of us, and that can and will and must

create much of the environment on which we all depend for real living, then will come the social conscience which will use Direct Legislation as the powerful hand by which the now almost dormant and infantile, but then vivified and regnant, social organism can reach out and execute its will. Then will come a change in our civilization little dreamed of. A Referendum, as a Swiss statesman once said, is a real and vital communion or common action for the common benefit. And Direct Legislation is to be the communion stirring the social organism to a consciousness of its own existence, and again stirring it more and more by the value of these communions, till the social conscience is aroused, and then it will be the tool by which this social conscience can carry out its will, ever attempting and ever coming nearer to success in making a heaven on this earth. Such in the dream of democracy, for which those who believe in Direct Legislation work and wait.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

DIRECT NOMINATION: A system of nomination to public office which does away with the nominating convention. On the day fixt for registration of voters before an election, any voter may cast a ballot for the candidate of any political party he chooses, regardless of his previous party affiliation. The ballots are secret, as in elections, and are provided by the state. Any one who is eligible may be a candidate for any office if he file an affidavit declaring it to be his bona fide intention to run for the nomination to the office. The candidate receiving the highest number of party votes thus becomes the candidate of that party.

This system was adopted in 1899 for nominations to certain offices in Hennepin County, Minnesota, the county containing Minneapolis. It resulted in the election of a mayor whose administration was not considered a success. In 1902, however, it was tried for the whole state of Minnesota, excepting for such state officers as governor, secretary of state, etc. The result was eminently successful. Efforts to repeal the law have failed, and the idea is spreading to other states.

REFERENCES: *Nominating Systems*, by Meyer; *Detroit Conference for Good City Government*, 1903.

DISPENSARY SYSTEM, IN THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC (South Carolina): This system, inaugurated in South Carolina in 1893, in 1906 was, through political efforts, given up as a system conducted by the state, but is still in use, only now being conducted by counties.

It is a compromise between two conflicting remedies. What was intended to be a decisive battle between these two remedies was fought in this state in 1892. In that year the license system was in vogue in most of the counties of this state. In some few the liquor traffic was prohibited. It was sought to extend this prohibition to the entire state. The Democracy carries all elections in this state and its nominations are made primary elections. In 1892 the Prohibitionists were strong enough in South Carolina to force the State Democratic Executive Committee to provide special boxes in the primary held that year in which the Democratic voters could express a preference between license and prohibition. There were more votes for prohibition than for license, but the number of those who voted for prohibition was exceeded by the number of those who did not vote at all, thereby showing that neither solution was satisfactory to them.

B. R. Tillman, now United States senator, was at that time Governor of South Carolina. When the legislature met in the winter of 1892 a prohibition bill was introduced and its passage was urged on the ground that a majority had voted in the primary in favor of prohibition. All test votes showed that it had a majority in the legislature and would pass. While Mr. Tillman is by habit practically a teetotaler, he was opposed to the enactment of a prohibition statute for South Carolina, as he believed that it would aggravate rather than relieve the evils it was aimed at. His judgment was that no law can be enforced which is not believed in and supported by a majority of the people who must live under it. While a majority of those who voted had voted for prohibition, those who had so voted were not much more than a third of the white voters of the state. In this dilemma it was brought to his attention that the city of Athens, Ga., conducted a municipal dispensary for the sale of intoxicating liquors. He studied the Athens idea with the result that he broadened it out to fit a whole state.

The prohibition bill before the legislature was amended at his instance so that it became the dispensary law. Six months were given those in the liquor business in this state in which to dispose of their stocks, and the dispensary law went into effect on July 1, 1893.

It was an innovation, and met the usual fate of innovations, no matter how pregnant with promised benefit. It was fought with relentless fury. The ablest lawyers in the state were retained to fight it in the courts. Legal attack after legal attack was aimed at the dispensary law, to have the courts set it aside as unconstitutional. These fights were carried through all the courts, even the Supreme Court of the United States. The dispensary withstood all these fights, and now it is *res adjudicata* that the state has the right to sell liquor as an exercise of its police power. This principle has been affirmed by the highest legal tribunal of the land.

But it was not only in the courts that the dispensary law was fought. It had to meet political attacks no less fierce. The fire came from the two extremes which the dispensary sought to compromise. The liquor dealers did not relish being driven out of their profitable business. They and their friends sought to put out of office those who favored the dispensary law. They were too shrewd to make a direct fight. Until the dispensary law had a chance to prove its benefits by its operation, it was bitterly attacked by the prohibitionists. The element in favor of liquor selling by individuals backed the political fights of the prohibitionists, believing that if a prohibition law were enacted, its operation would be so unsatisfactory that the state would return to the license system of regulating the sale of liquor. The experience of some other states gave ground for this hope.

But the dispensary was as successful in meeting this fight as it had been in withstanding the legal attacks. It has been in operation thirteen years and has more than fulfilled the hopes of those who devised the experiment. It is no longer an experiment. Among its stoutest champions to-day are many prohibitionists who were once its deadliest enemies.

I have prepared a comparison which is instructive. Maine and Kansas have prohibition laws.

Massachusetts tried prohibition and then gave it up in favor of what is generally regarded as the best law for license regulation of the liquor traffic. It is a local-option law, with a license fee of not less than $1,000. The number of licenses that can be issued is limited to one to 1,000 inhabitants, except in Boston, where the limit is one to 500.

In the comparison I make, the figures of population are from the U. S. Census of 1900, while the revenue figures are from the report of the U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903.

In Maine, with a population of 694,466, there were 958 retail liquor dealers, 14 wholesale liquor dealers, 408 retail dealers in malt liquors, and 37 wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

In Kansas, with a population of 1,470,495, there were 2,822 retail liquor dealers, 22 wholesale liquor dealers, 303 retail dealers in malt liquors, and 107 wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

In Massachusetts, with a population of 2,805,346, there were 4,898 retail liquor dealers, 215 wholesale liquor dealers, 194 retail dealers in malt liquors, and 402 wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

Compared with Prohibition

In South Carolina, with a population of 1,340,316, there were 490 retail liquor dealers, 3 wholesale liquor dealers, 44 retail dealers in malt liquors, and 10 wholesale dealers in malt liquors. In South Carolina, 113 of the retail liquor dealers, 2 of the wholesale liquor dealers, 33 of the retail malt liquor dealers, and all of the wholesale dealers in malt liquors were state officials, selling according to law. The others were illicit dealers.

To make the comparison more instructive, it must be remembered that the percentage of negroes who drink is greater than that of whites. The percentage of illiteracy among the negroes is also greater. The records of the criminal courts of South Carolina show that the negroes have much less regard for the laws of the land than the whites.

South Carolina has 782,321 negroes, while the total of the other three states cited is but 85,296, as follows: Kansas, 52,003; Maine, 1,319; Massachusetts, 31,974.

Prohibition Kansas, with 130,000 more population than South Carolina and less than one fifteenth as many negroes, had nearly six times as many retail liquor dealers, more than seven times as many wholesale liquor dealers, about seven times as many retail dealers in malt liquors, and nearly eleven times as many wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

Prohibition Maine, with about half the population of South Carolina and practically no negroes, had about twice as many retail liquor dealers, five times as many wholesale liquor dealers, nearly ten times as many retail dealers in malt liquors, and nearly four times as many wholesale dealers in malt liquors.

In the face of these official figures, how can it longer be contended that prohibition prohibits? The test of practical results is all in favor of the dispensary.

In South Carolina the state admits that men will drink and therefore it is best for the state to control the sale of liquor by its own officers. This control eliminates the selfish interest, for the liquor is sold by salaried officers, who have no incentive to increase the sale of liquor, such as saloon-keepers have. The liquor they sell is sold under the state's guaranty of proof and chemical purity. Whether a citizen buys fine or common liquors, he knows he is buying pure liquors. This minimizes the effect of liquor-drinking on his system. The case is otherwise in prohibition states. The risks of the business there are such that the liquor dealers handle largely the very cheapest, commonest liquors and the drinkers are willing to pay as high or higher prices therefor as drinkers in other states pay for pure liquors.

In South Carolina liquor can only be sold between sunrise and sunset. This eliminates night drinking. It can only be sold in sealed packages of not less than a half pint nor more than four and seven eighth gallons and cannot be drunk on the premises where sold. This goes a long way toward abolishing the treating system, which is generally regarded as one of the very worst features of the liquor business in license states and is principally responsible for over-indulgence in alcoholic beverages. There is no credit. Cash must be paid for the liquor. Consequently the workingman's wages are not dissipated by credit drinking at a saloon before pay day comes. Liquor cannot be sold to drunkards or minors. License laws ordinarily have such a restriction, but it is usually inoperative because it clashes with the selfish interest of the licensed liquor seller. In South Carolina it operates because increase of sales does not mean more profits to the salaried officer who conducts the sale of liquor. There is no inducement to drink liquor, no gilded bars and comfortable loafing-places where intoxicating beverages are sold. All the tinsel is torn away and a man buys liquor as he goes into a grocery store to buy bottled pickles or catchup to carry home for use. The consequence is that even those who had formed the habit of drinking before the dispensary law was passed drink much less than they did when the bars were in operation and the rising generation have no temptation to acquire the liquor-drinking habit. Sobriety steadily increases with the length of operation of the dispensary law.

Methods

Aside from its other good features, the dispensary law has especially commended itself to the women of the cities of South Carolina because it has done away with the saloons and their attendant crowd of loafers, who stood around the front doors and ogled women as they passed by. This is probably the first feature of the good work of the dispensary law to attract the attention of visitors from other states, especially women visitors. They never fail to comment upon it and praise the dispensary system.

All supplies for the dispensaries are under the supervision of county boards of three members, who elect the officers in charge of the retail sales thereat. The supplies are invoiced to the retail dispensaries at a price which nets about 6 per cent profit. Under the law it is not allowed to exceed 10 per cent. The revenue from this source is about $125,000 annually, which is covered into the state treasury for use for school purposes. The retail dispensaries sell at prices which net about 16 per cent profit. This revenue amounts for the entire state to about $500,000 annually. The profits of each county dispensary are divided equally between the county and the municipal corporation in which it is located. They are covered into the general funds in their treasuries. The governor of the state has charge

of the enforcement of the law against illicit liquor sellers. For this purpose a force of special constables is provided. Any county which does not want a retail dispensary within its limits can so declare by vote. In that case it does not share in the profits of the dispensary and must pay a small special tax for the expense of the enforcement of the dispensary law within its limits.

According to the U. S. Census of 1900, the amount of whisky drunk in the U. S. per capita is $17.33. In South Carolina, according to the same census it was only $4.47, under the dispensary law, giving the blind tigers credit for selling one third of the whisky drunk in South Carolina. By blind tigers is meant illicit sales.

W. O. TATUM,
Superintendent Dispensary Commission.

ED.—This system is still opposed by most prohibitionists and others on principle. But many prohibitionists are inclined to accept the law as a stepping-stone to more rigid legislation.

In 1899 the directors of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society sent out a list of questions to responsible parties in South Carolina and some of the North Carolina and Georgia counties which have also tried the dispensary system, with the following results: *Question.*—What is your estimate of the value of the system? *Answer.*—18 in favor, 7 opposed. *Ques.*—Are the results growing better as the years advance? *Ans.*—17 favorable, 5 opposed. *Ques.*—Is there an apparent increase in the illicit traffic? *Ans.*—11 favorable, 6 otherwise. To these and some other questions there were in all eighty-five answers, 60 or 70 per cent favorable to the system, while some of the unfavorable ones had important qualifications. According to the investigation of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, as recorded in "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," not only has the ordinary saloon been abolished, but the places for the sale of drink have been greatly reduced in number, the hours of sale have been shortened, sales to minors are not allowed, sales on credit have been done away with, and gambling and the immoral accessories of the public house no longer exist" (p. 425). In 1892 there were 613 bars in South Carolina; in 1899 there were 92 dispensaries. In 1892 there were 285 bars in Charleston; in 1899 there were 10 dispensaries. The arrests for drunkenness have diminished rapidly. In 1890 there were 14.57 for every 1,000 inhabitants in Charleston; in 1898 there were 5.11. Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell say: "Alike in South Carolina and in Scandinavia, the appropriation of the profits of the trade is open to objection." The prohibitionists point to the fact that there has been increase of sales of liquor in the dispensary system (which may simply be that the system is more widely adopted) and they claim that comparing the six years under license (1887–92) with six under the dispensary system (1895–1901) there has been an increase in assaults and homicides in the state. But this is also true in some other states and may be due to other reasons. See TEMPERANCE.

DISTRIBUTION: In political economy distribution refers to that large and important part of the subject which studies the division of products among the independent individuals, or classes of individuals, who compose the society. As the elements that contribute to production are usually classed as labor, capital, and natural objects or agencies, the fundamental formula of distribution is usually exprest thus:

Produce = Rent + Interest + Wages, where,
Produce = the increase made in material wealth, the net produce that remains after any auxiliary capital that may have been consumed is replaced;
Rent = the total amount received annually for the use of natural objects and agencies;
Interest = the total amount received annually for the use of capital;
Wages = the total amount received annually in remuneration for labor of whatever kind.

In the above equation we include under "wages" the remuneration of employers for the work of organizing, and supervising the labor of others; we include under "interest" what is usually called rent, so far as it is paid for anything that has been produced by labor; and we limit the word "rent" altogether to payments made for the use of land and other gifts of nature.

It is greatly to be regretted that in this, and other instances, we are compelled to use words in other than their ordinary meaning; but where ordinary parlance confuses things fundamentally different, such as the "rent" of a house, and the "rent" of land, things which depend on altogether different laws, our only alternative would be to invent new terms, the signification of which it would be still more difficult to understand.

The difficulty is perhaps most serious in the case of the word "wages." If the word "profits" could be taken to express the earnings of employers for the labor which they undergo, our equation might be put into the form Produce = Rent + Interest + Profits + Wages. For some purposes this would be the most convenient form of the equation. But the word "profits" is almost invariably used to include interest on capital, as well as remuneration for employer's labor, and if so used, the second form of the equation would count twice over one portion of interest. The balance of advantage seems therefore in favor of the earlier form of the equation.

In reference to distribution in general two questions may be, and in economic science have been, more or less carefully asked: What is the share, and what in equity should be the share of these various elements? As each question, however, in regard to each element demands in itself a long discussion, each is entitled to a separate article, and will be considered under the respective subjects of Rent, Interest, Profit, Wages. Thus far in political economy the question mainly asked as to distribution has been: What share, as a matter of fact, can rent, interest, and wages get, where each element is competing to get all it can? This was to Adam Smith and his followers the main question, because, experiencing the evils of the unwise state interference of the day, they believed that the best state of affairs for the public was where there was no interference, but where every one was left free to secure whatever share in the distribution he could. Believing also that every one was best able to look out for his own interests, they held that it was for the general good for each one to do this. They asked what share under this condition each one could get, believing that in the long run this was also the right share for him to get. More recently, and mainly beginning with Mill, men have asked more and more the ethical question, what share each should get. It has been seen that under the free play of private interests, persons monopolizing the ownership of natural agencies and opportunities, or abundant capital, were able to get a vastly larger share than those who had only their labor to dispose of. Men must live, and when they have only their labor to dispose of they must sell it day by day, as a rule, in order to earn a living. Those who have large capital or ownership of large natural opportunities to fall back upon, are, on the other hand, not compelled to sell until they can get good prices. Natural opportunities, again, cannot be indefinitely supplied, and can be and have become largely monopolized;

whereas, under the process of life, the supply of labor is much more abundant, and therefore the limited supply of natural opportunities enables rent to rise, while the large supply of labor tends to make wages fall; or, if other causes raise wages, to prevent wages from rising in proportion to rent. For these and other causes it is claimed by Socialists and others that the free play of private interest between rich capitalists and landlords and poor laborers is not fair play, and not truly free play, since the capitalist and landlord are comparatively free, but the laborer is often the slave of his circumstances. Hence the question is rising more and more as to what should be the basis of division, and many proposals have been made. It is proposed that laborers combine to get a larger share. Hence we have Trade-Unions, Knights of Labor, etc. It is proposed that capitalists and landlords give a larger proportion of the produce to the laborers than they are able to secure by mere private struggle. Hence we have proposals for profit-sharing and various charities. It is proposed that laborers combine to be their own capitalists and landlords; hence we have all sorts of cooperative and communistic experiments. It is asserted that the wealthy classes have so much power in their hands that private cooperation cannot succeed in competing against them, and hence it is proposed that all the people, through government (municipal, state, and national), secure all the means of production (capital and land, so far at least as land is used for production), and operate them collectively for the equitable good of all; the people thus being their own employers, capitalists, and landlords. Hence we have Municipalism, Nationalism, Socialism. It is claimed that capitalists and landlords have been able to secure, and are to-day able to maintain their large share in distribution, only through the favoritism of the government. Hence we have proposals for free trade, the single tax, or the freeing of competition after land has been removed from private appropriation, the extreme proposals of the very great minimizing of the state in individualism, or the abolition of government in anarchism. It will be thus seen how the large proportion of the social reforms proposed to-day are reforms either in distribution or proposed with the view of affecting distribution. Hence a large proportion of this volume may be said to be concerned with distribution, and for the various proposals the reader must look under the names given above.

It should be added that a few men, and some of them of great ability and even brilliancy, like Edward Atkinson, steadily refuse to recognize distribution as being a more important question to-day than formerly. They assert and undertake to prove that if labor to-day does not receive as large a share in distribution as it should, it is receiving at least a continually increasing share, and that the present so-called Labor Question is but the laborer striving for a still larger share because he has been lifted up to a plane of education and of conscious wants which he has never occupied till now. Hence they argue that all we have to do is to keep on in the operation of allowing the freest play to private interests, only aiming continually more and more at education in the broadest and deepest sense, and at increase and saving in production; so that there will be more to distribute. This position will be discust under the articles WAGES and SOCIALISM. Whether this position be right or not, however, the large majority of economists and workers for social reform believe that the problem of just distribution does press to-day as never before; their books, therefore, are filled with discussions of the various proposals to secure a juster distribution. It has been said that, comparatively speaking, economic thought has solved the problem of the production of wealth, and the question now is mainly how to distribute it. It should be added, however, that a growing number of Socialists argue that our present distribution is unjust because growing out of methods of production radically unjust, and that, therefore, the need is for a thorough change in industrial methods, both as to production and distribution, and beginning with the former. (See SOCIALISM; WEALTH; WAGES; etc.)

REFERENCES: *Distribution of Wealth*, by J. R. Common, 1893; *The Evolution of Capitalism*, by J. A. Hobson.

DIVISION OF LABOR: When a number of workmen are engaged in any work, we find that each man usually takes one part of the work and leaves other parts of the work to his mates. People by degrees arrange themselves into different trades, so that the whole work done in any place is divided into many employments or crafts. This is termed division of labor, and is found in all civilized countries, and more or less in all states of society which are not merely barbarous.

Such a condition of affairs naturally has both great advantages and disadvantages. Adam Smith's classic statement of the advantages of division of labor has been added to, but hardly surpassed. He found them mainly three:

(1) Increase of dexterity in every particular workman.

(2) Saving of the time which is commonly lost in passing from one kind of work to another.

(3) The invention of a great number of machines, which facilitate and abridge labor, and enable one man to do the work of many.

There can be no doubt as to the increase or dexterity which arises from practise. Any one who has tried to imitate a juggler, or to play the piano, without having learned to do it, knows how absurdly he fails. Adam Smith states that if a blacksmith had to make nails without having been accustomed to the work, he would not make above 200 or 300 bad nails in a day. With practise he might learn to make 800 or 1,000 nails in a day; but boys who are brought up to the nailer's trade can turn out 2,300 nails of the same kind in the same time.

Advantages

Secondly, division of labor saves time. Before one can make anything he must get the right tools and materials; when he has finished one box he is ready to make another with less trouble than the first; but if he must go off and do something quite different, such as to mend a pair of shoes or write a letter, a different set of implements has to be got ready. A man, as Adam Smith says, saunters a little in turning his hand from one kind of employment to another.

In the third place, Smith asserted that the division of labor leads to the invention of machines which abridge labor, because men, he thought, were much more likely to discover easy methods of attaining an object when their whole attention is directed to that object. Workmen invent modes of lessening their labor, and important inventions have been made in this way. Division of labor also leads to invention, because

it enables ingenious men to make invention their profession. The greatest inventors, such as James Watt, Fulton, Roberts, Nasmythe, Howe, Fairbairn, the Stephensons, Wheatstone, Bessemer, cultivated an original genius by careful study and long practise in mechanical construction. The division of labor also greatly assists invention, because it enables each factory to adopt particular kinds of machinery. The division of labor is continually becoming more and more minute, and it is not uncommon to find that the whole supply of some commodity is furnished from a single manufactory, which can then afford to have a set of machines invented on purpose to produce this one commodity.

The economy of inventions is best attained when it is the business of a certain set of people to study every new invention which bears on their particular trade; for each new leading idea with regard both to processes and machinery has many practical applications. Knowledge is acquired in working out one invention that is likely to be of use in seeking for others. If, however, the work of thinking is confined to a few, division of labor is carried too far.

There are other advantages. A deal of labor is often saved by arranging work so that a laborer may serve many persons as easily as one. If a messenger is going to carry a letter to the post-office, he can as readily carry a score. Instead of twenty people each carrying their own letters, one messenger can do the whole work without more trouble. This explains why the post-office is able to forward a letter from any part of the country to the other for two cents. Multiplying of copies is another great gain made possible by division of labor.

When the proper tools and models for making a thing are once provided, it is sometimes possible to go on multiplying copies with little further trouble. To cut the dies for striking a medal or coin is a very slow and costly work; but when once good dies are finished, it is easy to strike a great many coins with them, and the cost of the striking is very small. The printing-press, however, is the best case of multiplication of copies.

Almost all the common things we use now, such as ordinary chairs and tables, cups and saucers, teapots, spoons and forks, etc., are made by machinery, and are copies of an original pattern.

A further advantage of the division of labor is that, when there are many different trades, every person can choose that trade for which he is best suited. Each man will generally work at the trade in which he can get the best wages, and it is an evident loss of skill if the artizan should break stones or sweep the streets. Now, the greater the division of labor and the more extensive factories become, the better chance there is for finding an employment just suited to each person's powers; clever workmen do the work which no one else can do; they have unskilled laborers to help them in things which require no skill; foremen plan out the work and allot it to the artizans; clerks, who are quick at accounts, keep the books, and pay and receive money; the manager of the factory is an experienced man who can give his whole attention to directing the work, to making good bargains, or to inventing improvements in the business. Every one is thus occupied in the way in which his labor will be most productive and useful to other people, and at the same time most profitable to himself.

Lastly, the division of labor allows of local adaptation—that is, it allows every kind of work to be done in the place most suitable for it. Each kind of labor should be carried on where it is most productive; but this cannot be done unless there be division of labor; so that while the French grow wine, weave silk, or make *articles de Paris*, they buy the cottons of Manchester or the coals of Newcastle. When trade is free and the division of labor is perfect, each town or district learns to make some commodity better than other places. In England watches are made in Clerkenwell; steel pens in Birmingham; needles at Redditch; cutlery at Sheffield; pottery at Stoke; ribbons at Coventry; glass at St. Helen's; straw bonnets at Luton, etc.

The localization of industry promotes the education of skill and taste and the diffusion of technical knowledge.

Where large masses of people are working at the same kind of trade, they educate one another. The skill and the taste required for their work are in the air, and children breathe them as they grow up. This is seen particularly in such manufactures as those of glass and pottery.

Division of Industries

Again each man profits by the ideas of his neighbors; he is stimulated by contact with those who are interested in his own pursuit to make new experiments; and each successful invention, whether it be a new machine, a new process, or a new way of organizing the business, is likely when once started to spread and to be improved upon.

In a district in which an industry is localized a skilled workman is sure of finding work to suit him; a master can easily fill a vacancy among his foremen; and generally the economy of skill can be carried further than in an isolated factory, however large. Thus both large and small factories are benefited by the localization of industry and by the assistance of subsidiary trades. But these benefits are most important to the small factories, and free them from many of the disadvantages under which they would otherwise labor in competition with large factories.

Still a large factory has many special advantages.

First, greater economies can be attained by a large than by a small factory in such matters as the arrangement of buildings, steam-engines, and other machinery; and again in such work as that of clerks, doorkeepers, stokers, repairers of machines, etc. One high chimney can make a draft for a large furnace as well as for a small one; one doorkeeper can admit 500 men as easily as fifty.

Again, a large factory can often afford to buy a machine to do work that is done by hand in a small factory. It is true that a small factory devoted to one short stage of the process of manufacture may have the best and most highly specialized machinery. But such a factory would not come into existence until the advantage of having special machinery for this stage had become well established.

Perhaps the greatest economic advantage of large factories is that they can buy in large quantities, and thus both get better prices and save in transportation.

Whatever may be the result of the contest between large and small factories, it appears certain that the division of labor will continually increase. This increase is one of vital importance,

It adds to men's power over nature, and furthers social progress.

There are said to be about thirty-six distinct kinds of employment in making and putting together the parts of a piano; there are about forty trades engaged in watchmaking; in the cotton business there are more than 100 occupations. But new trades are frequently created, especially when any new discovery takes place; thus, there are at least sixteen different trades occupied in photography, or in making the things required by photographers; and railways have produced whole series of employments which did not exist fifty years ago. In the shoe trade, D. A. Wells states, in his "Recent Economic Changes," that there are really sixty-two distinct mechanical employments.

But we must now notice the disadvantages of division of labor. These may not be so numerous, but they are of the utmost seriousness.

Disadvantages

In the first place, division of labor tends to make a man's power narrow and restricted; he does one kind of work so constantly that he has no time to learn and practise other kinds of work. A man becomes, as it has been said, worth only the tenth part of a pin—that is, there are men who know only how to make, for instance, the head of a pin. "Think," says Dr. Josiah Strong, "of making pin-heads ten hours a day, every working day in the week for a year—twenty, forty, fifty years! A nailer . . . does his day's work by pressing into the jaws of an ever-ravenous machine a small bar of iron. . . . Think of making that movement for a lifetime. . . . It admits of little interest and no enthusiasm in one's work; and, worst of all, it cramps the mind and belittles the man. Once the man who made the nail could make the iron fence also; now he cannot even make the nail, but only feed a machine that makes it."

A second disadvantage of the division of labor is that trade becomes very complicated, and when deranged the results are ruinous to many. Each person learns to supply only a particular kind of goods, and if change of fashion or any other cause leads to a falling off in the demand for that kind of goods, the producer is left in poverty until he can learn another trade. At one time the making of crinoline skirts for ladies was a large and profitable trade; now it has ceased almost entirely, and those who learned the business have had to seek other employments. But each trade is generally well supplied with hands perfectly trained to the work, and it is very difficult for fresh workmen, especially when old, to learn the new work, and compete with those who have long practised it. Even if he be fortunate enough to get work, it is humiliating and exasperating to a workman who, at the cost of years of toil and application, has acquired skill, which has become a source of independence and honest pride, to find himself suddenly superseded by a machine and compelled at reduced wages to stand and guide its movements—a service which can as well be, and soon is, performed by a girl. But the laborer not only suffers pecuniarily; he is socially and morally degraded. Division of labor contracts the sphere of the laborer, renders him more and more dependent upon others, dwarfs him mentally, and thus degrades him.

Is it any wonder that labor protests? To adopt a system of compulsory education, which enlarges working men's ideas of liberty, equality, and manhood, and at the same time reduces them to industrial machines, will inevitably result in social disturbances. It is certain that the subdivision of labor cheapens production, and is therefore an economic principle which will prevail more and more in the development of industry.

It is equally and lamentably certain that little or nothing has been done to counteract its baleful effect upon the character of laborers. They cannot afford to become mere automatons at the expense of their manhood. Because machinery can go on forever, it is forgotten that flesh and blood cannot do the same.

There are disadvantages to the community generally apart from those that affect the laborer. When, under the division of labor, a whole town becomes dependent upon one industry, or one branch of one industry, the whole town becomes too dependent upon the condition of that industry. When it is flourishing the town is unhealthily "boomed"; when its industry declines it is "swamped." The discovery of a new method or the invention of a new machine may ruin a whole town or circle of towns. Men become not the masters, but the slaves of machines. They do not possess their tools, but are possest by them.

Once again, division of industry, by developing machine work and transforming the artizan into a tool, displaces handwork and much of the freedom and individuality and beauty and variety and originality that make medieval art work so attractive. It lowers esthetic as well as moral ideas. Machine work becomes the rule.

However, these disadvantages of the division of labor are not arguments for its disuse, but for its modification. Undoubtedly the lowering of a man into a tool is too high a price to pay for advantages in quantity and ease of production of material things; but the question is, whether we may not have the advantages without the disadvantages. To this end various methods are proposed. The most important is perhaps the reduction of the hours of labor. (See Eight-Hour Movement.) This, by reducing the hours when men should do their routine work, would give them increased opportunity to develop and broaden in other ways. Again, nationalists and Socialists would so order society that every man should have the opportunity to labor, so that if demand for one kind of labor ceased he could be sure of being given work in another kind of labor. (See Unemployment.) To these should be added a reform in which all agree—the development of technical and industrial schools, where, if men choose specialties, they can also be broadened by study and development to some extent at least, in other lines. All progressive thought is agreed that stern protest by word and deed must be made against the tendency to reduce the man to a tool.

Difficulties Met

Reference: *The Evolution of Capitalism*, by J. A. Hobson.

DIVORCE: The dissolution of marriage is essentially a social problem; and it has been solved in many ways by the different peoples of the earth. The experience of backward races is especially enlightening. Recent research has disclosed an immense mass of custom relating to the subject.

Early History: Often among barbarous or even savage tribes are revealed a careful attention to detail, a stability,

and sometimes a respect for equity, in the rules relating to divorce, which Western prejudice is scarcely prepared to find; while other peoples commonly looked upon as civilized, but relatively non-progressive, such as the Chinese, are quite capable of teaching us useful lessons. In the disposal of the children or the division of the property after dissolution of marriage, for instance, principles of natural justice are frequently observed which constitute a rebuke to the laws sanctioned by some modern Christian societies. Thus among a great many people, in case of separation, the children follow the father or the mother according as mother-right or father-right prevails; and where a mixt or cognatic system exists they are divided between the parents or their kindred. The division is determined by a variety of rules among diverse peoples. Sometimes, as in Bulgaria, Burma, and among the Natchez Indians, the daughters follow the mother and the sons remain with the father. In other cases, as in Zara and in Bosnia, the father takes the adult children, while those of tender years are left in the mother's hands. Often the children belong to the innocent party; unless children are regarded as a burden, when the opposite rule prevails; or unless the system of kinship determines the disposition of the offspring, when an equitable adjustment is otherwise made.

Very similar in variety and character are the customs governing the disposition of the property when a marriage is dissolved. As a general rule among rude peoples the divorced man is free to marry again; but with regard to the second marriage of a divorced woman usage greatly varies. Often her freedom in this respect is restricted; and sometimes she is absolutely forbidden to remarry. In Samoa she may not rewed even after the husband's death; and among the ancient Aztecs the remarriage of a divorced couple with each other was strictly prohibited.

It appears to be practically a universal rule among uncivilized races that the repudiated wife or the woman who legally puts away her spouse shall return to her own family or clan, whose duty it is to receive her. In general, among backward peoples, even where great liberty of separation is allowed, divorce is far less frequent than is popularly believed. Their conservatism is surprizing. The American tribes, for example, are conspicuous in this regard. Very commonly among low races custom frowns upon divorce after children are born. Often the woman has as much liberty as the man in obtaining divorce. It needs but a glance at the usages of the American aborigines in this respect to perceive that among barbarous or savage tribes the lot of the married woman is not always so dark as it is frequently painted, and many similar proofs elsewhere exist. Indeed, a sound social policy regarding the problems of marriage, divorce, and the family cannot be formed without a careful study of comparative racial customs in this field. (Consult: Westermarck, "Human Marriage," ch. xxiii.; Post, "Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts," 1890; idem, "Afrikanische Jurisprudenz," 1887, vol. i.; Möllendorff, "Das Chinesische Familienrecht," 1895; Alabaster, "Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law," 1899; Araki, "Japanisches Eheschliessungsrecht," 1893; Hozumi, "The New Japanese Civil Code," 1904; Munroe Smith, "The Japanese Code and the Family," in *Law Quarterly Review*, 1907; Howard, "History of Matrimonial Institutions," 1904, vol. i., ch. v., where the literature is cited.)

Origin of Modern Divorce Problem

To understand the influences which aided in molding the conceptions of the founders of the Christian church relative to marriage and divorce, it is needful to study the legal and social environment. By each of the three systems of law with which originally the Christians were most acquainted marriage was treated as a private or lay contract, and therefore its dissolution was allowed. Among the Greeks, at any rate subsequently to the Homeric age, divorce was practised. By the Athenian law, which probably was not entirely supplanted by the Roman until 212 A.D., it was freely granted to either spouse. The benefit, however, inured mainly to the husband, since to begin proceedings for a divorce the wife was required to present in person to the archon a written statement of her desire; and this, in a society where popular sentiment relegated woman to a seclusion truly Oriental, it was in practise exceedingly hard to do.

By the Jewish law, as it still existed at the dawn of the present era, divorce was the one-sided privilege of the man. At most there was only a faint trace of the woman's later right, sanctioned by the Talmud, of demanding a separation. Legally, for the slightest reason, as the school of Hillel maintained, the husband could put away the wife by simply handing her a "get" or bill of divorce. By the written law only in two cases for grave misconduct was he deprived of this power; tho in practise there were several ameliorating conditions which tended to put a check upon arbitrary action. Thus, while divorce was a private transaction, certain formalities had to be observed in connection with the "get" which secured the restraining influence of publicity; and in case the wife was unjustly repudiated the dower, representing the ancient *mohar*, or purchase price of the bride, had to be paid to her from the husband's property. Moreover, some of the limitations of the husband's despotic power recognized by the Mishnah or oral law may already have been in force; and the highest ethical sentiment among the Jews had long been decidedly against too great freedom of divorce. It was the rabbi's duty as much as possible to discourage it and to effect reconciliation between husband and wife.

Negatively, however, it was the later law of Rome which had most to do with shaping the ideas of the Christian fathers relative to the nature of marriage and the doctrine of divorce. By the beginning of our era all the older and stricter forms of marriage, under which divorce was solely the man's prerogative, had been practically superseded by free contract in which husband and wife were placed on an equal footing. Divorce became a formless private transaction to which the woman was as freely entitled as was the man. No intervention of court or magistrate was essential. So far, indeed, was carried the theory of absolute liberty of either spouse to dissolve the contract that, according to Cicero, the jurists in one case were in doubt whether a divorce did not legally arise *ipso facto* through the consummation of a second marriage by one of the parties during the lifetime of the other. Augustus introduced an important change in the interest of publicity, requiring the party wishing a divorce to declare to the other his purpose in the presence of seven witnesses who must be Roman citizens of full age; otherwise the divorce to be null and void. The general result was that during the later republic and the early empire the laxity of the nuptial bond became a notorious scandal. Wedlock was dissolved on purely selfish or absurdly trivial grounds. According to Seneca, in Rome divorce no longer brought with it any shame, and there were women "who reckoned their years rather by their husbands than by the consuls." Nevertheless, the abuse was more a result than a cause of the gradual decline of Roman morals during the two centuries following its conquest of Carthage. It is significant that the family life of the people at large, notably that of the middle classes in the provinces, was not seriously tainted by the social corruption of the capital where all the causes of moral degeneration were especially active. (Consult: Meier-Schömann, "Der attische Process" 1883–87, ii., 510; Hruza, "Polygamie und Pellikat," 1894; idem, "Ehebegründung nach att. Recht," 1892; Müller and Bauer, "Die griech. Privat- und Kriegsalterthümer," 1893, in Müller's "Handbuch"; on the Hebrew law, Mielziner, "The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce," 1884; Lichtschein, "Die Ehe nach mosaisch-talmudischer Auffassung," 1879; especially Amram, "Jewish Law of Divorce," 1896; for Rome, Wächter, "Ueber die Ehescheidungen," 1821;

Rein, "Das röm. Privatrecht," 1836; Esmein, "Mélanges," 1886; Jörs, "Die Ehegesetze des Augustus," 1894; Lecky, "History of European Morals," 3d ed., 1881, ii.; and the works of Freisen, Geffcken, Woolsey, and Howard elsewhere cited.)

It is not surprizing that the founders of the Christian Church should have regarded the laxity of the marriage bond as a sign, if not the primary cause, of the degeneration of Roman society. From the beginning an earnest effort was made so far as possible to restrict the liberty of separation and to prohibit the persons separated on proper grounds from contracting further marriage; but the various passages of the New Testament relating to the subject are disjointed and confusing in their details. Many vital questions are either completely ignored or else left in such obscurity as to open the way for the wide divergence of doctrine and the bitter controversies of future ages, especially those of the Reformation period. The final triumph of the canonical theory of the absolute indissolubility of a valid marriage was gained only after twelve centuries of conflict. For four centuries the Bible passages were debated by the fathers and the councils before the "strict construction" interpretation of Augustine and his followers clearly prevailed. Nearly all were agreed that divorce is forbidden except for the one cause mentioned by Matthew; but not all conceded the equal right of the sexes in this regard. There was a like want of harmony touching the lawfulness of remarriage after divorce. According to Augustine adultery is the only scriptural ground of separation; but even this does not dissolve the nuptial tie. Moreover, those who, following the letter of Matthew's text, would for this offense allow the man, but not the woman, the right of repudiation, he reproached with violating the great principle of Christian teaching: the equality of the wedded pair. These views were adopted by the Council of Carthage (407 A.D.) which thus anticipated the final settlement of the canon law. Before that settlement, however, centuries of compromise were to intervene. From Constantine to Justinian the divorce legislation of the Christian emperors was practically untouched by these doctrines of the Church, while in dealing with the newly converted Teutonic peoples the rigid Augustinian rules were relaxed in various ways. Ecclesiastical dogma and ecclesiastical practise were sadly out of joint.

Early Christian Teaching

Everywhere, at least among the newly converted peoples of Europe, as proved in the most convincing way by the penitentials, full divorce with remarriage was allowed on various grounds. During this period authority had perforce to yield to social expediency. Not until 1164, in the fourth book of Peter Lombard's "Sentences," is found the first clear recognition of the "seven sacraments," among which that of marriage appears. The theory of the sacramental nature of wedlock had two consequences which involved the whole medieval problem of separation and divorce. First is the dogma of the indissolubility of the marriage bond; and, second, the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church in matrimonial causes.

In theory divorce proper is entirely eliminated from the mature law of the Western Church. Inconsistently, however, in the canons the word "divorce" is used in two senses, neither of which harmonizes with its ancient and right meaning as a complete dissolution of the bond of true wedlock. First, the term *divortium a mensa et thoro* means a separation of husband and wife which does not touch the marriage tie. Secondly, the term *divortium a vinculo matrimonii* is commonly employed to designate, not the dissolution of a valid union, but the judicial declaration of nullity of a spurious marriage which on account of some impediment is void, or at least voidable, from the beginning. Yet it must not be assumed that in effect absolute divorce was not tolerated by the fully developed canon law, as that law existed on the eve of the Reformation. Theological subtlety had devised two exceptions to the rule that a genuine marriage could not be dissolved, thus opening the door to manifold hardship and corruption. First is the *casus apostoli* or *privilegium Paulinum*, by which the Christian convert, if abandoned by his infidel spouse, is permitted to contract a new marriage. By the second exception the Church violated the theory which she had sanctioned since Peter Lombard, that a contract *de præsenti*, or in words of the present tense, constitutes a valid marriage whether followed by actual wedded life or not; for the mature doctrine of the canon law, which in our own days is still obeyed by the Roman Church, allows the unconsummate marriage *de præsenti* to be dissolved through papal dispensation or ipso facto by taking holy orders. Thus, accepting the Church's own definition of marriage, divorce *a vinculo* did not quite disappear from the canon law; and in effect there was a far more prolific source of full divorce. To all intents and purposes, when judged from a rational modern standpoint, the decree of nullity was a divorce proper. It cannot be doubted that by this means there existed a wide liberty of divorce in the Middle Ages, altho it existed mainly for those who were able to pay the ecclesiastical courts for finding a way through the tortuous maze of forbidden degrees and other impediments. Moreover, in persistently sustaining the validity, tho not the legality, of clandestine pre-contracts *de præsenti* —contracts formed without witnesses, parental consent, official celebrant, or record—the Church was inviting social anarchy. In a divorce procedure masquerading under the guise of an action to nullify spurious marriages lurked the germs of perjury and fraud. Even in the days of Edward II., an English satirist complains of the "prodigious traffic" in divorces among husbands having false witnesses and "selver among the clerkes to send." Before the Reformation, the voidance of alleged false wedlock on the ground of pre-contract or forbidden degrees of affinity, spiritual relationship, consanguinity, or on some other canonical pretext, had become an intolerable scandal in Christendom. "Marriages have been brought into such an uncertainty thereby," justly complains a statute of Henry VIII., "that no marriage could be so surely knit or bounden but it should lie in either of the parties' power . . . to prove a pre-contract, a kindred and alliance, or a carnal knowledge to defeat the same." In short, bad marriage-law and bad marriages were the chief source of the divorce evil during the Middle Ages. (See Geffcken, "Ehescheidung vor Gratian," Leipsic, 1894; Esmein, "Le Mariage en Droit Canonique, 2 vols., Paris, 1891; Freisen, "Geschichte des Canonischen Eherechts, 2d ed., Paderborn, 1893; Howard, "Matrimonial Institu-

Canon Law

tions," vol. ii., chap. 11, where the authorities are cited.)

With the rejection of the sacramental theory of marriage at the Reformation it was inevitable that more liberal ideas respecting divorce should arise. A great impulse was then given to the development of social control through the State. From the outset the continental reformers took a bold stand; for the Protestant doctrine of divorce, like the Protestant conception of the form and nature of marriage, was shaped mainly by the thought of Martin Luther. In his dictum, "marriage is a worldly thing," lay the germs of future civil marriage and its counterpart, civil divorce. Liberty of divorce is the fruit of the Reformation; and from the start it has been especially favored by the more extreme Protestant sects. At first full divorce was generally sanctioned for two or more causes; while the more radical theologians, like Lambert of Avignon and Martin Bucer, Milton's teacher, went almost as far as the modern statute-maker in multiplying the permissible grounds of divorce. Yet even the most advanced thinkers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to a large extent still appealed to authority rather than to reason and experience in their attempts to solve a great social problem. Only gradually, after three centuries of struggle, has civil divorce, on rational grounds sanctioned and regulated by the state, been almost universally established throughout the civilized world.

Civil Divorce

Hence it is not surprizing that the Puritan, the vanguard of Protestantism, should have taken the lead in instituting civil marriage and therefore civil divorce. The American type of divorce legislation has its origin in Puritan New England. In the five Southern provinces before the Revolution not a single instance of either full divorce or of separation from bed and board has been discovered. Courts with competent jurisdiction were not created. The statute-book is absolutely silent on the subject. A few marriages were dissolved by the legislature in Pennsylvania. In New York civil divorce existed during the Dutch régime; and after the English conquest in 1664 the magistrates may have granted decrees, doubtless under the supposed sanction of Dutch law. But, unless on this ground during the brief period of transition, judicial divorce *a vinculo* ceased in New York with the English conquest; and what has just been said of New York for the provincial era is true also for New Jersey. The case is very different for the Northern colonies. In most respects throughout New England from the outset the broad modern doctrines of the *Reformatio Legum* of Edward VI.'s commission, tho even now not fully accepted in the mother country, were put in practise by Puritan and Separatist alike. The most advanced ideals of Protestantism were realized. The American conception of divorce as belonging, not to the criminal, but exclusively to the civil jurisdiction, has its birth in the seventeenth century. For more than 100 years in the New England colonies the canonical decree of separation from bed and board—which the early reformers were inclined to reject as not consistent with the usage of the primitive Church—was practically, tho not wholly, abandoned; while, on the other hand, a dissolution of the bond of matrimony was freely granted for adultery, desertion, and even on other grounds. For Massachusetts the records are but partially preserved. Between 1639 and 1692 some forty actions for divorce or annulment have been discovered; while between 1739 and 1776 at least 147 such suits were tried by the courts. The complete record would doubtless disclose many more. From 1650 onward Rhode Island authorized divorce *a vinculo*. This colony was sadly afflicted by the evil of legislative divorce. During nearly the entire provincial period the assembly, side by side with the courts, acted on divorce petitions. The divorce legislation of Connecticut gained surprizingly early maturity. In the middle of the seventeenth century no society in the world, with the possible exception of Holland, possest a system so modern in character. Separation from bed and board was rejected. Reasonable grounds of absolute divorce were sanctioned. Husband and wife were treated with even justice; and, altho legislative divorce was permitted and liable to abuse, the greater part of the litigation seems always to have been entrusted to the regular courts.

During the seventeenth century, almost simultaneously in Holland and America, the foundation—the essential principles and the tendency—of modern divorce law was laid. Elsewhere the full and logical development of State control came several generations later. In its original form the law of 1792, instituting civil divorce in France, practically sanctioned free dissolution of marriage at the pleasure of the parties. A vast number of decrees was the natural result. Accordingly in 1803 the Code Napoleon substituted a more conservative provision, allowing absolute divorce for five causes. In turn the law of 1803 was abrogated in 1816, and civil divorce was restored only in 1884; but the liberal policy of France, as exprest in the Code Napoleon, undoubtedly has had a powerful influence on the extension of civil marriage and divorce throughout Europe. The act of 1884 sanctions absolute divorce, on the petition of either spouse, for adultery, cruelty, violence, and "injure." So wide is the interpretation of "injure" that it amounts almost to an "omnibus" clause. Separation or limited divorce is also sanctioned by the present law.

Secularization of Divorce Law in Europe

Previous to 1900 the laws of divorce in German lands were complex, obscure, and well-nigh past finding out. Prussia alone had three different systems; and Bavaria was in the same plight. The conditions were probably as unsatisfactory, so far as the character of the law was concerned, as they are in the United States. By the imperial code of 1900 absolute divorce is sanctioned for five causes: (1) adultery; (2) attempt on the life of either spouse by the other; (3) malicious desertion; (4) when either spouse has been guilty of grave violation of the obligations based on the marriage or of so deeply disturbing the marital relation through dishonorable or immoral behavior that the continuance of the marriage cannot be expected from the other; and (5) insanity (Geisteskrankheit) of three years' standing. It may reasonably be doubted whether any "omnibus" clause remaining in the laws of the American states gives wider discretion to the court than does the fourth of these grounds. The law, however, appears to be conservatively administered, for the number of divorces is rapidly decreasing. In 1899 9,563 decrees were granted; while in 1901, under the new code, the number had sunk to 8,037.

In England—more conservative than Protestant Germany—no immediate change in the canon law of divorce was effected by the Reformation, for the liberal provisions of Edward VI.'s commission failed of adoption. Even the Puritan Revolution, which produced the civil marriage ordinance of 1653, seems to have attempted no divorce legislation. Except by Parliament, full divorce was not granted until 1857; and the procedure in securing a legislative divorce was attended by manifold scandal and hardship. The privilege of divorce was thus in effect a monopoly of the rich and powerful. The sole relief obtainable in the courts was the ecclesiastical decree of separation from bed and board; and this was allowed only for two causes, adultery and cruelty.

By the existing law of England three forms of separation are recognized; and jurisdiction is vested wholly in the civil courts. Full divorce may be granted for the adultery of either spouse; but the woman is treated with grave injustice. For while the husband may secure an absolute divorce on account of the simple adultery of the wife, the wife is unable to free herself from an unfaithful husband unless his infidelity has been coupled with such cruelty as "would have entitled her to a divorce *a mensa et thoro*"; or "with desertion, without reasonable cause, for two years and upward"; or with certain other aggravating offenses. Since 1860 the decree *nisi* has been in force, with the right of the king's proctor to intervene. Secondly, the law allows a decree for "judicial separation" "with the same force and the same consequences" as the former ecclesiastical sentence *a mensa et thoro*, which was abolished in 1857. In the third place, the existing law provides for what is commonly called "magisterial separation" through which, by the issue of "protection," "maintenance," and "separation" orders, the court is able to secure a deserted wife the enjoyment of her own property, with a just share in the delinquent partner's goods, and to protect the woman against a brutal husband's violence. In England, as in European countries generally, few divorces are granted as compared with the United States; but the divorce-rate is rising. The number mounted from 127 in 1860 to 390 in 1887. In France, for each 1,000 marriages celebrated, 14 divorces were decreed in 1885 and 24 in 1891, the population showing a very small increase. A similar movement is shown by the statistics for Holland and Sweden; and even for Catholic states like Greece, Belgium, and Bavaria.

Present English Law

During the colonial era the foundation of American divorce-law had been laid. Its tendency and essential principles were determined. At the Revolution it seemed clear that a free and tolerant policy in this regard must prevail in the United States. Under the Federal Constitution the states within their respective borders have exclusive control of matrimonial and divorce legislation. Congress has conferred the same power upon the organized territories; but it legislates directly for the District of Columbia and Alaska. As a result there are (1907) fifty-one distinct divorce codes—counting those of Porto Rico and Hawaii—whose provisions are inharmonious or conflicting, altho in many of their vital features they are slowly approaching a common type. Jurisdiction belongs to the courts. Formerly the grant of divorces by the legislatures was a wide-spread evil. In nearly all the states, directly or indirectly, it is now prohibited by constitutional enactment; and since 1886 Congress has put a stop to it in the territories. Delaware discontinued the practise only under the constitution of 1897; while in Connecticut it still survives.

Legislation in the United States

At no time, except between 1872 and 1878, has divorce been provided for by law in South Carolina. In the other fifty-one states—using "states" to include the districts, territories, and insular possessions—full divorce is permitted; while in twenty-three states separation from bed and board is likewise allowed. Moreover, in seven jurisdictions the courts are authorized to decree separate maintenance which is practically the same as separation from bed and board. The number of legal causes of divorce *a vinculo* varies from one (adultery) in New York, District of Columbia, and, practically, in North Carolina (1905), to fourteen in New Hampshire. Several of these grounds reveal the tendency of modern thought to free itself from traditional authority in dealing with this social problem. Thus forty-two states have admitted drunkenness (intoxication, intemperance) as a sufficient cause for dissolving the marriage bond. Failure to provide for wife or family is recognized by twenty-one codes. Vagrancy of the husband is a cause in Missouri and Wyoming. By the statute of Rhode Island a marriage may be dissolved when either spouse is guilty of "habitual, excessive, and intemperate use of opium, morphin, or chloral"; and a similar law exists in Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, and Porto Rico.

Equally lacking in uniformity and even more confusing are the laws regarding remarriage after divorce. It eighteen states no restraint whatever is placed on the immediate remarriage of either party with another. Elsewhere restrictions are placed upon one or both of the persons either as a penalty or to allow time for proceedings in error or on appeal. Thus, in case of adultery, marriage with the accomplice during the life of the former spouse is forbidden in Louisiana, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee; while such a union is absolutely prohibited by the law of Delaware. In South Dakota and New York the defendant guilty of adultery may not marry any person during the life of the aggrieved; altho in New York, on certain conditions, the court may remove the restriction after five years. By the criminal code of Florida the guilty defendant may not marry anew. Under the Act of 1901, in the District of Columbia the defendant is absolutely restrained from remarriage, except with the former spouse. The wisdom of such severity in case of adultery will be questioned by the enlightened reformer. Exceptionally drastic treatment of this offense, as compared with other grounds of divorce, appears to arise in a traditional reverence for authority rather than in a thoroughly informed regard for the social welfare. In several states, under various conditions, the placing of a temporary or perpetual restraint on further wedlock is left to the court's discretion. Such is the case of Michigan, Mississippi, Virginia, and Alabama; while in Georgia the question is left to the jury, subject to the court's revision. Three of the New England states discriminate against the defendant. In Vermont, since 1878, the libelee may not marry any person other than the libelant for three years, unless the latter dies. Since 1883 the statute of

Remarriage

Maine forbids the party obtaining the decree to remarry in two years without the court's permission, while during that period the adverse party is absolutely restrained; nor at any later time may he remarry without the court's consent. In Massachusetts, since 1881, the offending person, without petition to the court, may remarry only after two years. Moreover, Massachusetts, following the English precedent, has adopted the decree nisi; and in principle her example has already been followed by Maine (1883), Oklahoma (1893), Rhode Island (1902), New York (1902), and California (1903). This device is a good one, giving the litigants time for second thought; and it should be carefully considered in future legislation. Nine states of the West, foregoing any attempt to impose a penalty, are content to fix a period within which neither person may marry again; and usually, if proceedings in error or on appeal be instituted, the restraint is extended to final judgment, or to thirty days beyond it as in Kansas and Oklahoma. This term of delay varies from three months in North Dakota to one year in Colorado and Wisconsin. On the other hand, two Western states are more stringent, discriminating against the guilty person. Thus Illinois (1905) requires such person to wait two years, and Montana (1895) three years; while in those commonwealths one year and two years respectively is the period for the aggrieved. An anomalous condition of the law should be noted. Owing to the want of precision and uniformity in the legislation of the states, the restraints placed on the marriage of divorced persons are practically futile. In 1829 the supreme court of Massachusetts (in Putnam *vs.* Putnam, 8 Pick., 433–35) decided that if a man, "being a resident in the state, for the sake of evading the law, goes into a neighboring state where such a marriage is valid, and is there married and immediately returns and continues to reside here, the marriage is valid here, and after his death his widow is entitled to dower in his estate." This precedent was followed by New York in 1881 (Van Voorhis *vs.* Brintnall, 86 N. Y., 18); Washington in 1900 (Willey *vs.* Willey, 22 Wash., 115–21); and California in 1903 (Estate of Wood, 137 Cal., 129). The prevailing doctrine of the courts appears to be that a marriage good where it is contracted is good everywhere; but there are opposing decisions.

Clandestine Divorces

The principal sources of clandestine divorces are the statutes relating to residence and notice. Notice to the defendant through publication in the newspapers, still quite generally permitted, is especially capable of abuse; but in recent years a number of states have enacted rigorous laws governing notice when personal service cannot be had. The provisions regarding residence are conflicting, lax, and wanting in precision. They invite migration for divorce. At present the term of previous residence for the plaintiff, or at least for one of the parties, varies from six months to five years; but the prevailing period is one year, at least twenty-eight commonwealths, under various conditions, having that requirement. Massachusetts, in particular, has a most stringent law. A divorce will be granted for any lawful cause, occurring in the state or elsewhere, when the libelant has lived for five years in the commonwealth; or, when the parties were inhabitants of the state at the time of the marriage, if the libelant has been such an inhabitant for three years before the libel was filed, provided neither came into the state for the purpose. With these exceptions, as expressly provided in the act, a divorce will not be granted for any cause, if the parties have never lived together as man and wife in the commonwealth; nor for any cause occurring in another state or country, unless, before it occurred, they had so lived together in the commonwealth, and one of them was there living at the time it took place. Moreover, Massachusetts, like Maine, Delaware, and Tennessee, has attempted to prevent clandestine divorce through the evasion of her laws. When an inhabitant of the commonwealth goes outside the state to obtain a divorce for a cause which occurred in the state while the parties there resided, or for a cause which would not be recognized as lawful therein, the "divorce so obtained shall be of no force or effect" in the commonwealth.

1867–86

The appearance in 1889 of the government report, compiled under the direction of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, disclosed something like the real facts regarding divorce in the United States. This report contains fairly complete statistics, drawn from a careful analysis of the manuscript court records in all the states and territories for the twenty years, 1867 to 1886, inclusive. The facts revealed are sufficiently startling. In the entire country during this time, 328,716 petitions for full or partial divorce were granted. From 9,937 decrees in 1867, the number rose to 11,586 in 1871; 14,800 in 1876; 20,762 in 1881; and to 25,535 in 1886; thus, comparing the last year with the first, showing an increase of 157 per cent, while the population grew but 60 per cent during the same two decades. Again—to express the result in terms of the divorce-rate—in 1867, it is estimated, there were 173 divorces to 100,000 married couples, while in 1886 the number had risen to 250. As a matter of fact, in the last-named year, the average divorce-rate in the U. S. was higher than for any other country collecting statistics, except Japan. In that country, according to Professor Willcox, there was "more than one divorce to every three marriages, and more than four and a half times as many divorces as there were in the U. S., altho the population of Japan was only about two thirds as great." Of the whole number of divorces during the period, 112,540 were granted to the husband, and 216,176 to the wife. Among the principal causes, at each stage of the wedded life, only for adultery were more decrees granted on the husband's petition than on those of the wife. But the relative numbers granted on the wife's petition vary greatly—from 39.3 per cent in North Carolina to 77.9 per cent in Nevada. These figures are one indication of the relative significance of the divorce problem for women.

Several important generalizations may be drawn from the available statistics. In the U. S., as in Europe, the divorce-rate is higher in the city than in the country. Again, Mill, Bodio, Farr, Bertillon, and other investigators have shown that in Europe the marriage-rate falls in hard times and rises again on the return of prosperity. According to Willcox ("A Study of Vital Statistics," in the *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. viii., pp. 76–77), this rule appears to hold good for the U. S. Furthermore, Willcox has demonstrated that the average divorce-rate for the whole country is affected in the same way, sinking in times of

war and industrial depression, and rising on the restoration of business. The report of 1889 enables us to determine pretty accurately what part of the vast number of decrees is due to lack of uniformity in the state laws. It shows that the evil of migration for divorce is greatly exaggerated by popular opinion. Twenty years ago it was commonly assumed that perhaps 90 or 95 per cent of divorces were obtained by migration to jurisdictions where decrees could be secured on easier terms than at home. The facts disclosed by the report were a great surprize. While it does not provide materials for an exact deduction, it was discovered that in over 231,000 divorces in twenty years where the place of marriage was known, more than 80 per cent were granted in the states where the marriages were celebrated. "Now," to quote Mr. Dike's summary, "as it was also shown that divorce on the average does not take place until more than nine years after the marriage, and as 23 per cent of the population of the country had moved from the state where born," it seems safe to say that not to exceed 2 or 3 per cent of divorces were secured by persons migrating to other jurisdictions for the purpose. At present the relative number of such clandestine divorces is doubtless much less than in 1886, for in many vital points the laws of the states then chiefly responsible for the evil have become more stringent. Indeed, already in 1889, the Rev. Samuel W. Dike, of Auburndale, Mass., the able secretary of the National League for the Protection of the Family—to whom is especially due the inception of the great government report just mentioned—was led to declare that "the establishment of uniform laws is not the central point" of the divorce problem. Moreover, since 1900, the action of the federal and certain state courts is significant. In a number of cases arising in various states they have declared null and void decrees secured in jurisdictions where the plaintiffs were not bona fide residents, even when they had dwelt in such jurisdictions for the statutory term prescribed as a condition for obtaining a divorce. Thus both the statutes and the courts are distinctly discouraging to the "divorce colony."

It appears, likewise, that to some extent the evil of lax administration of the divorce laws by the courts is exaggerated by popular opinion. The report shows that in seventy counties scattered over twelve states over 30 per cent of all petitions for divorce were rejected. There is a prevailing notion that a large number of persons who seek divorce do so in order at once to contract new marriages. Unfortunately there are no collected data adequate to settle this question for the U. S. Such foreign statistics as are available show that restrictions upon the remarriage of divorced persons would not affect in a large degree the divorce-rate. They indicate that within the first two or three years after dissolution of marriage divorced men are not much more inclined to remarry than are widowers, while during the same period a greater number of divorced women than widows renew the nuptial ties. Whether the number of divorces is greatly influenced by legislation is a question which has given rise to decided difference of opinion. In 1883 Bertillon took the position that statutes extending the causes of divorce or relaxing the procedure in divorce suits have little influence "upon the increase in the number of decrees." For the U. S., at any rate, this view cannot be entirely sustained. The divorce movement is indeed mainly dependent upon social forces which lie far beyond the reach of the legislator. Yet it seems almost certain that there is a margin, very important tho narrow, within which he may wisely exert a restraining influence. He can create a legal environment favorable to reform. Good divorce-laws—laws which are clear, certain, and simple, laws which cannot be evaded, which are not a "dead letter," laws which express the best results of social experience—constitute such an environment, and they may even lower the divorce-rate. They may check hasty impulse and force individuals to take time for reflection. They may also, by securing publicity, prevent manifold injustice in the granting of decrees.

In Europe the divorce-rate is rising, while the marriage-rate is falling. The same is doubtless true of the U. S., judging from the scanty materials available. It is by no means creditable to the American people that with eleven exceptions —the six commonwealths of New England, with Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, California, (1905), and Iowa (1906)—the states are making no effective provision for the collection of divorce statistics.

Reform 1887–1906

At present there is no means of determining the average rate for the whole country; but every practical reformer and student of social ethics will rejoice that Congress has already provided for a second report on marriage and divorce, covering the period since 1886. The director of the census is already engaged on the work. The report, doubtless, will show substantial progress. Indeed, there is much hasty and misdirected criticism of American divorce-laws that ignores the remedial legislation of the last twenty years. Within that period the foundation of what may become a common and effective divorce-code for the whole union has slowly been laid. More and more in their essential features the divorce-laws of the states are duplicating each other, and they are becoming better. Little by little, as a detailed examination of the whole body of enactments reveals, more stringent provisions for notice to the defendant have been made, longer terms of previous residence for the parties required, and more satisfactory conditions of remarriage after the decree prescribed; while the more dangerous "omnibus" clauses in the list of statutory grounds have been repealed. At least eight states severely punish the soliciting of divorce business. Moreover, saner opinions regarding the true nature and the real source of the divorce evil are beginning to prevail.

First of all it is needful to free the mind from hampering traditions, and to accept the judgments of history. The guiding light will come, not from authority, but from a rational understanding of the existing facts. The appeal to theological criteria, born of primitive and very different conditions, is vain. The vast literature which seeks to solve social questions by juggling with ancient texts is largely a monument of wasted energy. Much of it is sterile, or it serves but to retard progress and to befog the issue.

The divorce movement is a portentous and almost universal incident of modern civilization. Doubtless it signifies underlying social evils vast and perilous. Yet to the student of history it is perfectly clear that this is but a part of the mighty movement for social liberation which has been gaining in volume and strength ever since the Reformation. According to the sixteenth century reformer, divorce is the "medicine" for the

disease of marriage. It is so to-day in a sense more real than Smith and Bullinger ever dreamed of. Certain it is that a detailed study of American legislation produces the conviction that, faulty as are our divorce-laws, our marriage-laws are far worse; while our apathy, carelessness, and levity touching the safeguards of the matrimonial institution are well-nigh incredible.

Nowhere in the field of social ethics, perhaps, is there more confusion of thought than in dealing with the divorce question. Some people look upon divorce as an evil in itself; others regard it as a "remedy" for, or a "symptom" of, social disease. To the Roman Catholic, and to those who believe with him, divorce is a sin, the sanction of "successive polygamy," of "polygamy on the instalment plan." At the other extreme are those who, like Milton and Humboldt, would allow marriage to be dissolved freely by mutual consent, or even at the desire of either spouse. According to the prevailing opinion, however, as exprest in modern legislation, divorce should be allowed, with more or less freedom under careful state regulation. Yet divorce is sanctioned by the state as an individual right; and there may be occasions when the exercise of that right becomes a social duty. The right, of course, is capable of abuse. Loose divorce-laws may even invite crime. Nevertheless, it is fallacious to represent the institution of divorce as itself a menace to social morality. It is a result and not a cause; a remedy and not the disease.

Ethical Aspect

This is the principle upon which rests the whole modern theory of social control. In the Western world the extension of the sphere of secular legislation practically to the whole province—the whole outward or legal province—of marriage and divorce is a fact of transcendent interest. In this regard the Reformation marks the beginning of a social revolution. Luther's dictum that "marriage is a worldly thing" contained within it the germ of more history than its author ever imagined. The real trend of evolution has not at all times been clearly seen or frankly admitted; but from the days of Luther, however concealed in theological garb or forced under theological sanctions, however opposed by reactionary dogma, public opinion has more and more decidedly recognized the right of the temporal lawmaker in this field. As a result, in the U. S., not less than elsewhere in countries of Western civilization, marriage, divorce, and all the institutions of the family are emerging as purely social institutions, to be dealt with according to human needs. Definitely the state seems to have gained control of matrimonial administration. Yet it must be conceded that the influence of legislation in curing social disease is very restricted. Apparently, if there is to be salvation, it must come through the vitalizing, regenerative power of a more efficient moral, physical, and social training of the young. The fundamental causes of divorce lie far beyond the reach of the statute-maker. They are rooted deeply in the imperfections of human nature and the social system, particularly in false sentiments regarding marriage and the family. Beyond question, as in the Middle Ages, the chief cause of divorce is bad marriage-laws and bad marriages. The conviction is deepening that for the wise reformer, who would elevate and protect the family, the center of the problem is marriage and not divorce. One Gretna Green for clandestine marriages, like that at St. Joseph, Mich., is the source of more harm to society than are a dozen divorce colonies, like that at Sioux Falls, S. D. Indeed, the "marriage resort" is the mother of the "colony." The wise reformer must deal with causes and not with effects. He will not waste his energy in punishing divorced people by refusing to solemnize their marriages. Rather he will strive to lessen the social evils of which the divorced man or woman is the victim. Let ecclesiastical conventions, if they would serve society, concern themselves with restraining the original marriages of the unfit. Let them reflect on the social wickedness of joining in wedlock the innocent girl with the rich or titled rake; or of uniting those who are tainted by inherited tendencies to disease and crime.

Reform will come mainly, not through legislation, but through a new and more rational education which shall embrace the whole complex problem of sex, marriage, and the family. Still the legislator has important work to do. In particular it seems worth while to strive for more uniform laws in the states. Ideally, a common code embracing the entire body of matrimonial law is desirable, if it might be gained without too great a sacrifice of local control; for it would conduce in many ways to social order. Yet it seems inexpedient, perhaps undesirable, to strive for a uniform list of statutory causes of divorce. It is precisely with respect to the legal grounds of divorce that theological conservatism and social liberalism are in sharpest antagonism. From the scientific points of view, as already seen, divorce in itself is not immoral. On the contrary, it is quite probable that drastic, like negligent, legislation is sometimes immoral. It is not necessarily a virtue in a divorce-law, as often assumed, to restrict the application of the remedy, regardless of the sufferings of the social body. If it were, the only logical course would be to imitate South Carolina and prohibit divorce entirely. The most enlightened judgment of the age heartily approves of the policy of extending the legal causes so as to include offenses other than the one "scriptural" ground, such as intoxication from the habitual use of strong drinks or narcotics, as being equally destructive of connubial happiness and family well-being.

Uniform Divorce Law

Accordingly, until recently (1906), practical workers have thought best to confine the movement to an effort to procure the adoption by the several states of a model statute designed to prevent clandestine divorce; that is, to a statute dealing mainly with procedure. Such is the character of the bill drafted in 1899–1900 by the Conference of State Commissions on Uniform Legislation. But a more comprehensive effort has just been started by the "National Congress on Uniform Divorce-Laws." At its Washington session (Feb. 19–22, 1906), after earnest and enlightening discussion, this body, composed of delegates from forty states, adopted a series of seventeen resolutions on which is based "An act regulating annulment of marriage and divorce," agreed upon by the congress at its Philadelphia session in November, 1906. The policy of the act is conservative. Both full and partial divorce are provided for. Divorce *a vinculo* is permitted for adultery, bigamy, conviction and sentence for crime followed by imprisonment, extreme cruelty, wilful desertion for two years, and habitual drunkenness for two years. Divorce *a mensa* may be

granted for the same six causes, and also for "hopeless insanity of the husband." The decree nisi, to become absolute after one year, is adopted; and there are careful provisions for residence, notice, and procedure. The congress also submitted draft-acts providing respectively for the "return of statistics relating to divorce proceedings" and for the "return of marriage statistics." In its first resolution the congress wisely declares that "no federal divorce-law is feasible." Moreover, it is significant of its right understanding of the problem, that the body urges a like effort to secure a uniform marriage-law.

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GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

DIVORCE STATISTICS: The sources are the registration or other reports of the ten states and eight or ten foreign countries making annual reports, the special report of the United States Department of Labor of 1889 on Marriage and Divorce in the U. S. and some European countries, a British House of Lords report, and the coming report of the Census Office, due early in 1908, if not sooner. The following summary is entirely from official sources. The tables show the movement of divorce in thirty-nine years:

	1867	1877	1887	1897	1905
Maine	408	495	...	...	848
New Hampshire	136	237	325	429	471
Vermont	157	178	186	233	272
Massachusetts	318	520	796	1,123	1,554
Rhode Island	195	197	248	372	382
Connecticut	500	412	387	413	491
New England	1,714	2,039	.....	.....	4,018

Three states in the middle West give the following:

	1867	1877	1887	1897	1905
Indiana	1,096	1,151	....	3,080	3,844
Michigan	449	927	....	....	2,800
Ohio	901	1,160	1,750	2,727	4,124
Totals	2,446	3,238	.....	.....	10,768

Totals for the nine states (California now reports statistics but the report is not available): In 1867—4,160. In 1877—5,277. In 1905—14,786. These nine states in 1886 had nearly 24 per cent of the divorces of the entire country. Divorces in Connecticut are practically stationary, tho population has nearly doubled in forty years. In Rhode Island divorces increase about as fast as population. In the other states the increase in divorces far exceeds the increase in population. In the entire country there were 9,937 divorces in 1867 and 25,535 in 1886.

United States

The statistics of the causes of divorce indicate only the technical grounds on which the divorces were granted and depend on the condition of the laws in the various states, ease or difficulty of proof, and the condition of public sentiment. Technically in the twenty years covered, 38 per cent were granted for desertion, 20 per cent for adultery, 16 per cent for cruelty, and 4 per cent for drunkenness. A special examination of nearly 30,000 cases in forty-five counties of twelve selected states showed that intemperance was "a direct or indirect cause in 20.1 per cent of the whole number." In 17.5 per cent of all the cases in the country the statement is positive that there were no children. In 43 per cent more no mention was made of children entering into the case. Where children do appear the average number is 2.07 to each couple.

Light is thrown on the extent of migration for divorce by comparison of the state of the divorce with the state where the parties were married. Of the 328,716 divorces in the years 1867–86 the place of marriage is known in 289,546 cases. Of the remaining 31,389 more than one fourth were in Connecticut, where this particular is not required in the petitions for divorce. And of these 289,546 cases, 80.1 per cent had been married in the very state where the divorce was granted. As 9.17 years on the average elapse between marriage and divorce, and more than 20 per cent of the population of the country was living in some state other than that where born, it is evident that the migration from one state to another for

the purpose of divorce is very small. Some recent figures from North Dakota, to which migration for quick divorce has been most marked in recent years, are suggestive on this point. Mr. J. L. Coulter reports in the *American Journal of Sociology* for most of the state. The excessive divorce-rates were confined almost wholly to four out of the thirty-nine counties, and the ratio of divorces to marriages or population for the entire state was smaller, even before recent improvements in the law of North Dakota, than in Massachusetts, which is the best of the New England States. It is probable that the census report will show that the restrictions several of the states have put on the ease with which these migratory divorces are obtained, in increasing the length of residence required before divorce, in making all divorces to take effect only after the lapse of six months or a year, and in requiring the defense of cases by the state, have borne fruit in the decrease of migratory divorces throughout the country. The effect of many of the restrictions is seen not so much in the absolute decrease of divorces as it is in a slackened rate of increase.

An increasing number of foreign countries, since the U. S. report of 1889, have begun to report divorce statistics annually. For Europe we give the following outline:

Europe

Austria granted 748 divorces and separations in 1882; 856 in 1894; and 1,864 in 1904. Belgium had 130 in 1867; 354 in 1886; 548 in 1896; 932 in 1904. In the last year the ratio to marriages was 1 to 61. Canada granted only 135 in all in the twenty years ending in 1888. Denmark granted 479 in 1871; 577 in 1881; 316 in 1896; and 549 in 1905, or 1 to 33.5 marriages. France under the old law had 2,181 in 1867. Under the law of 1884 they rose to 6,245 in 1885, and in 1904 were 9,860, or 1 to 30 marriages. England and Wales had 130 in 1867 and 727 in 1899. Scotland had 32 in 1867 and 96 in 1886. Ireland had 4 in 1871 and 7 in 1886. The German Empire had 5,342 in 1882 and 9,563 in 1899. Under the Uniform Law for the Empire, which went into effect at the beginning of the next year, there were 8,034 divorces in 1900 and 8,037 in 1901. Italy granted 723 separations in 1869 and 591 in 1890. The Netherlands granted 133 divorces in 1867, 438 in 1887, and 1,498 in 1905. Norway granted 33 in 1870, 71 in 1890, and 185 in 1903. Greece granted 88 in 1884 and 103 in 1892. Rumania had 276 in 1871, 403 in 1881 and 762 in 1890. In Russia all confessions granted 1,046 in 1867 and 1,388 in 1885. Finland had 55 in 1875 and 129 in 1904. Poland had 163 in 1867 and 345 in 1886. Sweden had 128 in 1867 and 316 in 1892. Switzerland had 190 in six cantons in 1867 and 1,102 in all in 1876, the first year under the Uniform Law, and 1,243 in 1904, or 1 to 20.4 marriages.

Australasia

Australasia, including Tasmania and New Zealand, granted 404 divorces and separations in 1896 and 485 in 1902. A new law went into effect in New South Wales in 1892, adding four or five causes for divorce to the single old one granting divorce to the husband for the adultery of the wife. Divorces increased from 102 in that year to 305 in 1893. A similar change took place in Victoria for a like reason. But the increase has been much less since. Japan has reported marriages and divorces since 1884, when there were 109,905 divorces. These rose to 117,964 in 1887 and in these years the ratio to marriages was 1 to 2.6. In 1897 there were 124,075, but the next year they fell to 99,465 and the following year to 66,626, and have been somewhat below the latter figure ever since, being 65,392 in 1903. The ratio to marriages is now somewhere about 1 to 5, which is a little higher than in one or two of our states at times. The sudden change since 1897 is probably due to the introduction of the regulation of divorce by public law after the manner of Western nations, divorce having formerly been the sole affair of the families immediately concerned. Perhaps a considerable number of divorces in Japan escape statistical record.

Samuel W. Dike.

DOCK STRIKE OF LONDON, 1888, THE: In its importance to the labor question of England, this strike was perhaps of greater relative value than any other. The East End of London had for years been the despair of philanthropists and reformers. The work of unloading and carrying to the warehouse the cargoes of ships requires as little skill as any labor that one can do; and, for that reason, the dock-gates were practically the lowest rung in the ladder. The hopeless apathy which the men displayed to all attempts to organize them into unions made it seem that all efforts were wasted. When, however, the Gas Workers' Union was formed in 1888, and the gas men gained substantial improvements in their lot, the "dockers" began to pluck up courage, and the trade-union that Mr. Tillet was organizing grew rapidly. The strike itself broke out on Aug. 12th over a small dispute at the West-India Dock, South. The real grievances had long rankled in the minds of the men. Two days later, all the men from the West-India Dock, South, being out, they sent to Tom Mann asking his help in organizing, and in calling out the men working in the other docks, with which the banks of the Thames are dotted for miles.

Occasion

After two days' continual speechmaking outside the various dock-gates, nearly all the dockers responded to the call. John Burns now volunteered his assistance, and from this time became the leading figure in the struggle. In ten days all the riverside workers, including stevedores, painters, scalers, corn porters, deal porters, coal heavers, seamen and firemen, carmen, lightermen, bargemen, and all whose work in any way affected that of the "docker," came out on strike; most of them without making any demand for themselves, but simply to show their sympathy with the dockers, and strengthen the claims they were making. Some 150,000 men were involved. Day after day during the whole of the five weeks that the strike lasted mass-meetings were held on Tower Hill, at which all the news and the orders of the day were given; the meetings then marching in procession with banners and emblems westward to the city and back. The leaders meantime worked night and day at the gigantic task of organizing and providing sustenance for the heterogeneous mass now depending on them. Stirred by the example of the riverside workmen, who had voluntarily made such sacrifices, all England was roused to sympathy with the men, and liberal subscriptions began to pour in. Clergymen and members of the nobility subscribed. At least $200,000 passed through the hands of the committee. Nor was this feeling confined to England

Extent

alone. In Australia their cause was taken up in an unprecedented manner, subscriptions being raised in all quarters; indeed, the generous support from Australia may be said to have insured the victory, for thousands of pounds were sent from thence during the last two weeks of the strike. From first to last the men held firm to their demands, which were: "No man to be taken on for less than four hours at a time; contract-work and piece-work to be abolished, and wages to be raised to sixpence (twelve cents) per hour, with eightpence (sixteen cents) per hour for overtime." All who knew the conditions of dock-work felt that the demands were so moderate that the men could not afford to accept less; while, on the other hand, the dock companies remained obdurate. The whole trade of the port of London was at a standstill; the effects began to be felt in every home, until the general public began to take a direct interest in the struggle, demanding that there should be an end to it. On Sept. 6th a conciliation committee met at the Mansion House to act as intermediaries between the directors and the men. To this committee, which consisted of Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Andrew Lusk, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, most of the final negotiations were due. Finally, principally through the efforts of Cardinal Manning and Mr. Sydney Buxton, the strike was brought to a close on Sept. 14th, by the directors granting all the men's demands, which were to come into operation on Nov. 4th. The gaining of better conditions by the dockers is the least important of the results ensuing from this strike. It opened a new page in the history of English labor movements. Before then, with very few exceptions, each trade had been obliged to fight its own battle single-handed; in this case not only did all the kindred workers unite with them, undertaking all the hardship and misery that a strike means, with no other purpose in view than the betterment of their brothers, but all the other trades helped, too, by money and sympathy. Never before was the feeling of solidarity so greatly evinced. The chord so strongly struck also wakened into life the public conscience on other matters; and the influence of the strike is felt even at the present day.

Demands

Victory

ALFRED HICKS.

DOLLEANS, EDOUARD: French Professor in the Faculty of Law and Lecturer on Political Economy at Lille. Early in life in the office of the secretary of the zinc mines and foundries. He became deeply interested in the subject of social betterment, and was in 1898 and 1899 especially engaged in the cause of the day-laborers of the lower classes; and that he might be in closer touch with them he lived at that time in the Rue des Fouraceaux, near the night-workers of Montrench Sons Bois. He has written books and papers on very various economic subjects. He has been an active writer for the abolition of the State's regulation of prostitution. He is a member of the Union for Social Peace. *Address*: Rue de Médicis, Paris.

DOMESTIC SERVICE: The condition of domestic service in the United States has been affected by two historical facts. The first is the change made within a hundred years by the substitution of the factory system of manufactures for the previous domestic system. This change, involving a division of labor, has necessitated a readjustment of the work within the household. It has increased the demand for persons giving all of their time to household work, and it has limited the supply. The division of labor is not yet fully accomplished, and out of this fact grows a part of the friction found in domestic service. The second historical fact is the series of political revolutions of the century acting in connection with certain economic and social forces.

Development in the United States

Domestic service in America has had three distinct phases. During the early colonial period service of every kind was in general performed by "redemptioners." The colonization of the New World gave opportunity for the transportation and subsequent employment in the colonies of large numbers of persons who as a rule belonged to a low class in the social scale. These redemptioners, who paid their passage to this country by selling themselves into service, were found in all the colonies, tho more numerous in the Southern and Middle colonies than in New England. In Virginia and Maryland they apparently outnumbered negro servants until the latter part of the seventeenth century. Some of these redemptioners and many of their descendants became in time wealthy and prominent members of their communities, especially at the North, but for a long time they were generally considered the offscourings of English cities, and formed a distinct class in the social order lower than their masters or employers. In view of this fact, a reproach was of necessity attached to all belonging to the class and to the designation applied to them.

A second phase came about the time of the Revolution, when at the North the indented servants as a class were gradually supplanted by free laborers and at the South by negro slaves, who inherited with large interest the reproach attached to redemptioners. The social chasm that had existed at the North between employer and employee under the system of bond servants disappeared. The free laborers, whether employed in domestic service or otherwise, were socially the equal of their employers, especially in New England and in the smaller towns. They belonged by birth to the same section of the country, probably to the same community; they had the same religious belief, attended the same church, sat at the same fireside, ate at the same table, and had the same associates as their employers. They were in every sense of the word "help." A survival of this condition of affairs is seen to-day in farming communities, especially at the West. In the South, on the contrary, the social chasm became impassable, as negro slavery entirely displaced white labor.

This condition of democratic service at the North and slavery at the South continued in both sections from the time of the Revolution until about the middle of the last century. Between 1850 and 1870 four important political changes revolutionized the character of domestic service, and have introduced the third period in the history of the subject.

The first of these was the Irish famine in 1845. Previous to this time the emigration to this country from Ireland had been small, averaging not more than 20,000 annually between 1820 and 1846. In the decade previous to the famine the average number of arrivals had been less than

35,000 annually. In 1846 the number was 51,752, and this was more than doubled the following year, the reports showing 105,536 arrivals in 1847. In 1851 the number of arrivals from Ireland had risen to 221,253. Since that time the number has fluctuated, but between 50,000 and 75,000 persons annually come to this country from Ireland. A large proportion of these emigrants, 49 per cent during the last decade, have been women who were classed as "unskilled laborers." Two occupations were open to them. One was in factories, where, as manufacturing processes became more simple, unskilled labor could be utilized. The Irish emigrants soon displaced New England women, who found new opportunities for work of a higher grade. The second occupation open to the Irish was household service. Here physical strength formed a partial compensation for lack of skill and ignorance of American ways, and the Irish soon came to form a most numerous and important class engaged in domestic employments.

Emigration

A second important European change influencing the condition of domestic service was the German Revolution of 1848 with the events preceding and resulting from it. Before this period the emigration from Germany had been insignificant, fewer than 15,000 coming to this country annually between 1830 and 1840. In 1840, owing to political reasons, the number had risen to 29,704; but in 1841, after the accession of Frederick William IV., it fell to 15,291. It soon became evident that the hopes raised by the accession of the new monarch were without foundation, and emigration rapidly increased, until the number of emigrants coming to America reached nearly 75,000 in 1847. During the year of the Revolution the number decreased; but the failure of the cause of the revolutionary party and the political apathy that followed again increased the movement toward America. This reached its climax in 1854, when the number of Germans arriving in this country was 215,009—a number equaled but once since that time, altho the number has averaged nearly 150,000 annually during the last decade.

A large number of these emigrants have been women, the proportion of women emigrating from Germany being greater than from any other foreign country except Ireland. The ranks of domestic service have been recruited from their number also, the Germans being second only to the Irish as regards the number and proportion engaged in this occupation.

A third political influence affecting the question was the establishment of treaty relations between the U. S. and China in 1844. This fact, and the discovery of gold in California in 1848 and the building of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867–69, opened the doors to the emigration of considerable numbers of Chinese. Many of these found their way into domestic service, and on the Pacific coast they have become formidable competitors of other nationalities in this occupation.

These political and economic conditions in Europe and the breaking down of long-established customs in Asia have thus, since 1850, brought to this country large numbers of men and women who have performed the household service previously given by native-born Americans. The presence of the Irish in the East, the Germans in the West, the Scandinavians in the Northwest, and the Chinese on the Pacific coast has thus introduced a new social as well as economic element at the North. It has led to a change in the relation of employer and employee; the class line that was only faintly drawn in the early part of the century between employer and "help" has been changed into a caste line, which many employers believe it to their interest to preserve. The native-born American fears to lose social position by coming into competition with foreign labor.

While this change has been taking place at the North in the character of the service owing to political conditions in the Old World, a similar change has taken place at the South, growing out of the abolition of slavery in 1863. The negroes who had previously performed all domestic service for their personal expenses have since then received for the same service a small remuneration in money. This fact prevents now as effectually as during the slavery period any competition in domestic service on the part of native-born white employees.

An indication of these various changes in the condition of domestic service is seen in the history of the word "servant." As used in England and in law at the time of the settlement of the American colonies, it signified an employee, and no odium was in any way attached to the word. This is indicated by the various definitions given in the early dictionaries, *servant* being defined as "a man or woman that serves another." But five things led to gradual disuse of the word: First, the reproach connected with the word through the character and social rank of the redemptioners; second, the fact that when the redemptioners gave place at the South to negro slaves the word "servant" was transferred to this class, and this alone was sufficient to prevent its application to whites; third, the leveling tendencies that always prevail in a new country; fourth, the literal interpretation of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence; and fifth, the new social and political theories resulting from the introduction of French philosophical ideas. At the North the word "help," as applied especially to women, superseded the word "servant," while at the South servant was applied only to the negro. From the time of the Revolution, therefore, until about 1850, the word "servant" does not seem to have been generally applied to white persons of American birth in either section. Since the introduction of foreign labor at the middle of the century, the word "servant" has again come into general use applied to white employees; not, however, as a survival of the old colonial word, but as a reintroduction from Europe of a term signifying one who performs so-called menial labor, and restricted in its use, except in a legal sense, to women who perform domestic service. The present use of the word has come not only from the almost exclusive employment of foreigners in domestic service, but also because of the increase of wealth, and consequent luxury, in this country, the growing class divisions, and the adoption of many European habits of living and thinking and speaking.

Use of Words

Domestic service has also been affected by the economic conditions of the century and it conforms to the general economic laws governing other industries. This is seen in the laws affecting wages. In domestic service, as in other occupations, wages tend to increase; wages are lowest in the South and highest on the Pacific

coast; skilled labor commands the highest wages. In many other ways the general conformity of domestic service to economic law could be shown.

Some of the difficulties presented to the employer of domestic service may be thus stated: The difficulty of assimilating into the family those who are of a different nationality, and consequently hold different industrial, social, religious, and political beliefs; the spirit of restlessness that everywhere prevails among the working classes, tho not peculiar to them, and the resulting brief terms of service; the necessity of engaging for skilled labor the assistance of unskilled laborers; the lack of reliable means of communication with those desiring employment; the prevailing indifference among employers to the action of economic law and the failure to realize that in domestic service as elsewhere the course followed by one employer has an appreciable effect on the condition of the service as a whole.

Difficulties

On the side of the employee the advantages in domestic service as an occupation are high wages, the healthfulness of the work, that it gives the externals of a home, training in household affairs, and congenial employment to those whose tastes lie in this direction. These advantages are offset by the disadvantages that lie in the fact that there is little or no opportunity for promotion in the service, the utter lack of organization in the occupation, the irregularity of working-hours, the lack of free time evenings and Sundays, the impossibility of having more than the externals of a home, and the absence of all opportunities for personal improvement and social advantages. The most serious disadvantage is the badge of social inferiority placed on the class of domestic employees. This badge consists in the use of the word "servant" and of the Christian name in address, the wearing of a livery, the enforced acknowledgment of social inferiority, and the giving of fees. The latter custom has perhaps done more than any other one thing to change what should be an honorable employment into a menial service.

The underlying difficulty in the present condition of domestic service is the almost universal failure to recognize it as a part of the great industrial question of the day. Domestic service is amenable to economic law in precisely the same manner as are other forms of labor, and until the study of the subject is made to begin at this point all plans to bring about a better condition of affairs must prove fruitless.

That a beginning has indeed already been made is clearly evident. There is a distinct, positive, and direct improvement in the literature of the subject.

The faultfinding, the sentimental, the goody-goody magazine article is gradually disappearing with the appearance in its place of genuine contributions to the subject. The attitude of the daily press toward the subject of domestic service also shows much improvement.

The historical investigations of the subject have been few in number, but of great value. Mr. Albert Matthews has placed all students of the subject under obligation to him by his exhaustive study, "The Terms Hired Man and Help," as Mr. James D. Butler had previously done by his investigations on "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," and Dr. Karl Frederick Geiser on "Redemptioners and Indented Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania."

The public library is always first to create as well as to satisfy a demand for literature on subjects of general interest. It is therefore not surprizing to find that the Providence Public Library as far back as 1893 issued a bibliography of all works and magazine articles on domestic service, which has been followed by the still more exhaustive reference list published in 1898 on the general subject of domestic science, and that the Salem Public Library has a similar list. The New York State Library has published a comprehensive bibliography of the whole subject of domestic economy, and it sends out, to all parts of the state, traveling libraries of the best volumes on the same subject—the list of the volumes included being in itself an excellent guide to the study of household economics. But the greatest of all steps in advance has been made by those libraries that have changed the classification of works attempting to treat scientifically the subject of domestic service, from the class of domestic economy to that of economics proper. The change seems slight, but it is a recognition of the intimate relation that exists between domestic service and other forms of industry.

Literature

Among the most thorough of the statistical investigations is that carried on by Miss Isabel Eaton—recently fellow of the College Settlements' Association—in regard to negro domestic service in the seventh ward of Philadelphia.

It was early recognized that some of the most difficult factors of the problem concerned the intelligence office, and investigations on a somewhat limited scale were carried on in several cities, but largely owing to political considerations it was not deemed advisable to publish the results. The most thorough and systematic investigation undertaken in this direction has been that of Miss Frances A. Kellor, whose "Out of Work," based on a study of more than 700 agencies, has laid bare the evils of the present system of securing new employees, as seen by employer, employee, and manager of the agency. A body of facts has thus been made available that must prove of the highest service in any attempt to cope with the notorious evils attending many agencies.

The state bureaus of labor have in several instances done valiant service to the cause through the official investigations carried on. As far back as 1872 the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor devoted four pages and a half of its annual report to domestic labor. But the first real investigation of the subject made by a state bureau of labor was probably that undertaken by the Minnesota Bureau in 1890. This has been followed by special investigations in other states—notably Kansas and Michigan—and in Canada. Most of all is encouragement to be found in the comprehensive investigation recently carried on under the direction of the Industrial Commission.

Domestic service has been until very recently a field untouched by the statistician and investigator. The studies already made show not so much what has been done, as how much yet remains to be done. But the territory is already being occupied.

Much has been done in the direction of introducing courses in household economics into the curricula of various state universities, while the

University of Chicago, Teachers' College, and Simmons College have done noteworthy work in this direction. Such courses naturally include a study of domestic service.

Study and investigations have led to organization, and the first association in the field was the National Household Economic Association, formed in 1893, with branches in many states, some of which did admirable work.

The Lake Placid conference that met first in 1899 is not strictly an organization, but an informal gathering of workers who have discust the subject particularly on its scientific side, since the attendance has been largely made up of those interested in the educational and scientific side of household economics. Its proceedings give an admirable summary of the latest scientific discussions of the subject.

Organizations

The most recent as well as the most important of all such organizations has been that of the Inter-Municipal Committee of Household Research, formed "for the purpose of studying existing phases of household work, to aid in securing fair conditions for employer and employee, and to place their relations on a sound business basis." Much has already been accomplished by it, especially in the direction of investigating employment agencies, establishing a bureau of information, and studying the conditions under which Southern colored girls are brought to the North to enter domestic service. Its program for the future lays out a constantly enlarging sphere of activities.

It is not surprizing, in view of all the agitation of the question in our own country, to find that a similar interest has been aroused elsewhere. In Germany, that home of conservatism in all domestic affairs, an elaborate statistical investigation has been carried on by Dr. Oscar Stillich, and its results published in an exhaustive work entitled "The Status of Women Domestics in Berlin." Nor again is it surprizing to find that neither official nor domestic Berlin has taken kindly to the investigation, since bureaucracy has in it no place for private initiative, and the *Kinder, Küchen, Kirchen* theory of domestic life has resented what has been deemed unwarranted interference in private affairs.

Only by the continuation of the method of investigation and by acting in accordance with the results of these investigations can permanent relief be found.

Lucy M. Salmon.

Ed.—According to an investigation made by Professor Salmon, in 1895, the average weekly cash wage to domestic servants was for women, $3.23, and for men, $6.93 (tho 40 per cent of the men did not receive board and lodging besides and were largely on the Pacific coast). In 245 Massachusetts homes the servants' average daily time on call was twelve hours and a half, and on duty ten hours and a half.

The main difficulty of the servant question seems to many to lie in the fact that for young, intelligent, healthy women there is a steadily increasing demand in occupations more inviting than domestic service. Ordinary mistresses, therefore, under the present system, must increasingly look forward to obtaining as household servants only the inefficient or the old. It is inevitable. On domestic service as now conducted there is a stigma. Till people are willing to marry or receive cooks and housemaids on an equality with girls in offices, stores, and factories, girls will prefer such life to domestic service, even at lower pay. Domestic service, moreover, even in the best homes, usually implies constant submission to one person's will, and constant confinement, except, perhaps, for one "evening out" a week. In the store or the factory, girls almost always have all their evenings and Sundays perfectly free, and when at work are with others under fixt regulations rather than under a personal master. Almost anybody would prefer such a measure of freedom, even with low pay, to higher pay and less freedom.

The way out does not consist in trying to treat servants better or in training of servants. These are well but will not meet the real trouble. Professor Salmon, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Charlotte P. Gilman, and others are agreed that the way out is by putting housework on the professional basis of all other work done by persons living away from the house, thus avoiding restrictions, directing themselves, and working regular hours, as office cleaners now work. Mrs. Gilman points out also that if the 200 families which live in most city blocks could cooperate, they could hire thirty trained cooks who could serve the 1,000 people better than 200 cooks each working separately, and with vast saving of care, money, and time. Such arrangements would be more economical and free the home from the presence of inefficient and often ignorant strangers, and raise the whole status of household work.

Miss Jane Addams, in an article in *The American Journal of Sociology* for March, 1896, finds it perfectly natural that girls should prefer factory labor, with its social equality and industrial independence. She says:

> "If the 'servant' attitude were once eliminated from household industry, and the well-established one of employer and employee substituted, the first step would be taken toward overcoming many difficulties. . . . Most of the cooking and serving and cleaning of a household could be done by women living outside and coming into a house as a skilled workman does, having no 'personal service' relation to the employer. There is no reason why the woman who cleans windows in a house should not live as full a domestic and social life as the man who cleans windows in an office."

DONI, FRANCESCO: Italian communist; born in Florence, about 1503. In 1552 appeared at Venice his "I Mondi," and the year after his "I Inferni," in which he describes his ideals of a communistic state, where there is community both of property and of wives. The books were translated into French, and seem to have arrested some attention, but to have developed few thoughts that were new. Doni died in 1574.

DONISTHORPE, WORDSWORTH: English writer and lecturer; born in Yorkshire, England, 1847; educated at Leeds School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He traveled in Europe and was imprisoned in Strasburg in 1870 for taking part in a riotous republican demonstration, but was soon released. He was called to the bar in 1879. In 1880 he founded the State Resistance Union, of which he was the first president. In 1881 the basis of its operations was widened under the title of Liberty and Property Defense League, and the Earl of Wemyss became its president. During the years 1887–88 he edited *Jus*, the organ of individualism. In 1887 the Free Libraries Act was applied to Kensington, and he fought the question till 1890, when the vestry surrendered and paid his share of the rate, to-

gether with his costs. In 1887 Donisthorpe drew an Adulteration Bill, which was brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Wemyss, and passed the first reading, but owing to the lateness of the session was dropt. He claims to belong to the individualist school, which he considers "Anarchist in principle and final aim, but opportunist in action. So long as we are unprepared for private enterprise in any department of activity, such as the enforcement of the fulfilment of contracts, let the State do such work as well as it possibly can." In politics he calls himself republican; in religion, atheist; in morals, egoistic hedonist. He is the author of "Principles of Plutology" (1876); "Serfdom, Wagedom, and Freedom" (1880); "Overlegislation" (1883); "Capitalization of Labor" (1887); "Individualism" (1889); "Plea for Liberty" (1891); "The Future of Marriage," in the *Fortnighily Review* (February, 1892); "Love and Law"; and "Bastardy," in the *Free Review*.

DONNELLY, IGNATIUS: American lawyer and editor; born in Philadelphia, 1831. His father, Dr. Philip Carroll Donnelly, was an eminent physician in that city. After graduation from the high school he entered upon the study of law, and in 1853 was admitted to the bar. Two years later he was nominated by the democrats for the House of Representatives, but declined the nomination. In 1856 he moved West, and in 1859 started the *Dakota County Sentinel*. In 1857 he was nominated for state senator by the republicans, but was defeated. He was the first to organize the Dakota County Agricultural Society. In 1859 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Minnesota, and since then took an active part in the political life of the West. In 1874 he started the Anti-Monopoly Party of Minnesota, and became a leader in the People's Party. For some years he edited *The Representative*, a leading People's Party organ published in Minneapolis. He died in 1901. Among his works may be mentioned: "The Great Cryptogram"; "Atlantis"; "Ragnarok"; "Doctor Huguet"; "Cæsar's Column"; and "The Golden Bottle."

DOUAI, DR. ADOLF: A German-American Socialist; born in Altenburg, 1819; studied philosophy and theology in Germany, and became a private tutor in Russia. Receiving the degree of Ph.D. at Dorpat, he returned to Altenburg and established a private school. Arrested and, after being once discharged, rearrested and imprisoned one year for his socialistic utterances and his part in the Revolution of 1848, he escaped to Texas in 1852, and as a journalist and teacher traveled through many of the states, carrying socialism with him. He took part in the early Socialist organizations in New York City, and was editor of the *Arbeiter Union*, established in 1871, and from 1878 to his death, in 1888, associate editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK: American antislavery orator and journalist; born at Tuckahoe, near Easton, Md., 1817. His father was white, his mother a negro slave, and he was reared as a slave on the plantation of Col. A. E. Lloyd until 1827, when he was transferred to a relative of Colonel Lloyd's in Baltimore. There he worked in a shipyard, and taught himself to read and write. In 1838 he escaped, disguised as a sailor. Coming to New York, and eventually to New Bedford, he married a negress there and worked as a day-laborer for several years. Taking part in antislavery meetings, he aroused great interest by his eloquence; and in 1841 he was sent out as a lecturer by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He lectured in the United States and in England, where money ($750) was raised to purchase his freedom. In 1847 he founded in Rochester a weekly (first called *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, and later *The North Star*) which was continued till 1860. During the Civil War he did much to promote negro enlistment, and three of his sons served in the Union Army. In 1870 he founded at Washington, D. C., *The New National Era*, which he turned over to his sons. From 1876 till 1881 he was U. S. Marshal for the District of Columbia; 1881–86, recorder of deeds; and 1889–91, U. S. Minister to Haiti. He died in 1895. He wrote "The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass" (1882.)

DOUKHOBORS. See DUKHOBORTSKY.

DOVE, PATRICK EDWARD: Scottish land reformer; born at Lasswade, near Edinburgh, 1815. He studied in France and Germany, as well as Scotland, and in 1850 published "The Theory of Human Progression and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice, the First Part of a Projected Treatise on the Science of Politics." It arrested attention of scholars like Hamilton and Charles Sumner. In it he comes to conclusions as to land very nearly similar to those of Henry GEORGE; and Mr. George, when lecturing in Edinburgh in 1884, praised his book very highly. Some have even claimed that it was from this book that Mr. George drew some of his ideas. Dove seems to have been a universal genius, writing alike on the sport of Scotland, theological discussions, and the science of government. He contributed the article on government for the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and won recognition by his books in various quarters. He died in Scotland in 1873.

DOW, NEAL: "Father of the Maine Law"; born in Portland, Me., March 20, 1804. His parents and all his ancestors for many generations were Friends, and he was brought up in that faith. He was educated in public and private schools, and later at the Friends' Academy, New Bedford, Mass.

In his youth he was a whig, but on the birth of republicanism he joined that party, and later became a member of the Prohibition Party as soon as he became satisfied that prohibition through the Republican Party was impossible. He was twice Mayor of Portland, and twice a member of the legislature. In his first mayoralty term, in 1851, he framed an anti-liquor bill and carried it to the legislature two days before its adjournment; the bill was reported the next day precisely as he had written it, was put through all its stages by a vote of eighty-six to forty in the House and eighteen to ten in the Senate, enacted on the same day, and took effect on its approval by Governor Hubbard (a Democrat) the next day. It is known in all the English-speaking world as "the Maine Law." Mr. Dow entered the army, September, 1861, as colonel of the Maine Volunteers, of 1,000 men, which he recruited. He also recruited the Second Maine Battery. In April, 1862, he was commissioned brigadier-general by Mr. Lincoln. He was twice wounded in battle, and was cap-

tured and taken to Libby Prison at Richmond, Va., where he was retained eight months and then exchanged for Fitz-Hugh Lee.

He visited England three times, delivering about 500 addresses under the auspices and as the guest of the United Kingdom Alliance. In 1880 he was the candidate of the Prohibition Party for president. In 1894 his completion of his ninetieth year was celebrated all over the world. He died Oct. 2, 1897.

DRAGE, GEOFFREY: English sociologist; born 1860; educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford. He traveled for some years, studying at Berlin and Moscow, and later visited America, Africa, and Australia, attending nearly all the parliaments of the world, and taking great interest in political and social questions. In 1891 he was appointed secretary to the English Royal Commission on Labor, organized the office staff, and prepared the series of reports on foreign countries. He has written: "Criminal Code of Germany" (1885); "Cyril" (1889); "Eton and the Empire" (1890); "The Unemployed" (1894); "Eton and the Labor Question" (1894); "Old Age Pensions" (1895).

DRINK QUESTION. See LIQUOR TRAFFIC; TEMPERANCE, ETC.

DUKHOBORTSKY or DUKHOBORS: A religious communistic sect originating in Russia about the middle of the eighteenth century, many members of which, after repeated persecutions, removed to Canada (western Manitoba) in 1898. The Dukhobors owe their name (Russian, *spirit-wrestlers*) to the fact that they have combated the orthodox doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. This in itself shows that they began as one of the multitudinous sects which have broken away from time to time from the formalism of Russian orthodoxy in the direction of a simpler faith, with emphasis upon the humble brotherly social life inculcated in the Gospels. The Dukhobors seem to have held that Christ was merely a godlike man, and that His spirit has migrated into many persons. All people, they hold, are equal as children of God, and there is no need of there being any rulers. The only law is to do what is right. They accept the Ten Commandments and the "useful" portions of the Bible. All else is allegory, tho the Dukhobors have no symbols, forms, creed, or ecclesiastical organization. They have no marriage ceremonies, believing marriage to be a question of the inclination of the heart only. Wives and husbands are sisters and brothers, and are called "old man" and "old woman."

This short statement of their faith shows that they represent a reaction both from Russian governmentalism and ecclesiasticism, inevitable in an empire where absolutism, bureaucracy, and church formalism have been carried to the extreme, yet where the common people have always had traditions of a communal life and to a large extent of a Christianity applied in humble brotherly living. (See MIR; RUSSIA; TOLSTOY.) The Dukhobors have simply been one of the most enduring and, latterly, best known of many similar sects.

It is also evident how both the Russian Government and the Russian State Church would oppose such a sect. The sect seems to have been founded in Kharkov, tho all their early history is wrapped in uncertainty. They wrote no books partly because most of their members were illiterate and partly because secrecy compelled their propaganda to be carried on by word of mouth. The sect, however, spreading, in 1799 some of the Dukhobors were sent to the mines by the government. Alexander I., becoming Czar in 1801, favored toleration, but in 1826, under a new czar, persecution was renewed, and in 1837 the Dukhobors were banished to the Caucasus. Here, however, the Mohammedans treated them well, because it was evident that they were not Christians, since they would not fight. After years of quiet growth, persecution began again in 1897, upon the Dukhobors at first consenting to and then refusing army service. Peter Verigin was their leader in this, and has since continued leader. Pobiedonostseff, the ecclesiastical head of the Russian Church, also at this time undertook to bring all the religious elements of the empire into conformity with the Russian Church. A severe persecution resulted. Many of the Dukhobors were killed, imprisoned, banished, flogged, fined. Finally, tho the Russian press was forbidden to allude to the subject, the matter got out and through Leo Tolstoy, D. A. Hilkoff, Aylmer Maude, and others (mainly Friends) many thousand Dukhobors were enabled to emigrate to Canada (some of them at first to Cyprus). By 1900 some 7,000 Dukhobors were settled in three different colonies in Manitoba, on over 600 sq. m. provided on nominal terms by the Canadian Government. Settled here, tho with many hardships, the Dukhobors showed great ability at road-making, bridge-building, etc., but their peculiar ideas as to society and business got them into trouble with the Canadian authorities. In 1902 they suffered great hardships, and later many of them, including women and children, set out in winter to seek barefoot "the Christ," on a pilgrimage over the wastes of Manitoba snow, till they were turned back to their homes by the Canadian Government. The cause of their leaving their homes on this fanatical winter exodus—there were also "nudity processions"—seems to have been unwillingness to accept Canadian customs. Led by one Bodgánsky, they declared that they could not make private property of "God's cattle" nor use animals as beasts of burden. Returned to their homes, however, a statement from Verigin induced them to enter for their homesteads and conform to the Canadian law, and since this they have gone quietly on. Verigin himself came to Canada in 1903. The Dukhobors, tho thus in many ways fanatically religious and in their ignorance easily moved by advisers, work hard, and live quietly, men and women working in the fields. They work in shifts from five A.M. to eight P.M. Mr. Aylmer Maude says of them ("A Peculiar People," p. 231):

History

In Canada

Characteristics

> It would be hard to find a community consisting of an equal number of men among whom there is less crime, and more industry, honesty, and hospitality, or more personal attention by the hale adults to the needs of the old people and the children. They are sober, temperate, healthy, and there is no prostitution (and apparently little looseness in sexual matters) among them. Compared with the fancy pictures drawn by some enthusiasts they are disappointing, but compare well with ordinary human beings; they are a worthy and estimable folk in spite of their obstinacy, sectarian exclusiveness, and their too great dependence on a very fallible authority.

The Dukhobors have not always practiced communism, and some of the Canadian colonies are much more communistic than others, but their thirty different villages are now largely and some of them almost wholly communistic. At least they buy and sell and conduct business collectively. The only power among them is vested in an assembly of the elders. The colony has brought many thousand acres under cultivation, has invested largely in farm machinery, with many steam-mills, sawmills, flour-mills, etc.

REFERENCES: Aylmer Maude, *A Peculiar People, the Doukhobors*, 1904; some Russian literature; magazine articles.

DUMA. See RUSSIA.

DUNCAN, C.: Labor Member of the British Parliament; born at Middlesborough, 1865; was apprenticed in the engineering trade after a short term of schooling. In 1890 he threw himself into the labor movement, and was elected to the town council. In 1895 he organized the unemployed in Middlesborough. Coming to London in 1898 he was chosen president, and (1900) secretary of the Workers' Union. He is also president of the Marylebone branch of engineers. In 1906 he was elected M.P. for Barrow-in-Furness. *Address*: 16 Agincourt Road, Hampstead, N. W., London, England.

DUNCAN, JAMES: American granite cutter; secretary of the Granite Cutters' International Association; born in Kincardine County, Scotland, 1857; educated in an Aberdeen night-school. Coming to America and entering his trade, he became secretary of the New York branch of the Granite Cutters' International Association in 1881, and national secretary and treasurer in 1895. In 1894 he was made vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. He led successfully the eight-hour contention of his craft in 1900; and he has adjusted many disputes, strikes, and lockouts. He is editor of the *Granite Cutters' Journal*. *Address*: Quincy, Mass.

DUNCKER, FRANZ: One of the founders of the Hirsch-Duncker trade-unions of Germany, born in Berlin, June 4, 1822. He studied philosophy and history at Berlin University, and entered the publishing business. In 1862 he bought Besser's publishing establishment and changed it to the Franz Duncker'sche Buchhandlung. In 1865 he became president of the Berlin Trade-Unions, and four years later he associated with Max Hirsch, the founder of the trade-union movement named after him. He was also one of the founders of the Progressive Party in the Reichstag. Died in 1888.

DUNKARDS, DUNKERS, or TUNKERS (from a dialectical form of German *Tunken*, "one who dips"): The name of a sect of American German Baptists who call themselves Brethren. The sect was founded in 1708 at Schwarzenau in Westphalia, as an outcome of the Pietist movement, under the lead of Alexander Mack, tho he is not held as its founder. Persecuted at home, between 1719 and 1729 the Dunkards came to America and settled in Pennsylvania, and subsequently in other states. In their early history the sexes dwelt apart, and marriage, tho not forbidden, was discouraged. A certain community of goods was also established. These features have now disappeared. The sect is marked by its simple life and dress. Dunkards refuse to take oaths or serve in war. They hold love-feasts and celebrate the ceremonial of feet-washing and the anointing of the sick with oil. Their creed is evangelical Christianity. Their ministers usually receive no salary. Most of the members are farmers. The first settlement was "Ephrata," near Lancaster, Pa., but this branch has nearly died out. In 1901 they had about 100,000 communicants in twenty-five states and five foreign countries, with 720 congregations, and 2,600 ministers serving mainly without salaries.

DUNOYER, CHARLES: French economist; born at Carennac, Lot, 1786; studied law at Paris. Together with Charles Comte he established, in 1814, *Le Censeur*, but was compelled to discontinue it in 1816. Eighteen months later, however, it was resumed under the title *Le Censeur Européen*, and continued until the assassination of the Duke of Berry, in 1820, and consequent troubles led to its entire suspension. After this Dunoyer devoted himself exclusively to economics. Appointed prefect of the department of the Allier and, in 1832, prefect of the Somme, he entered the Council of State in 1838. The Revolution of 1848 was a heavy blow to him, Royalist and Liberal as he was, but he remained on the Council of State until the *coup d'état* of 1851. Bitterly hostile to the Second Empire, he wrote a work directed against the new order of affairs. He died in Paris in 1862. Palgrave's "Dictionary of Political Economy" says of him: "Dunoyer was one of the great economists of the nineteenth century. He was a warm supporter of the theories of Malthus on population; but he was no believer in the theory of rent, considering that there was only one factor in production—i. e., labor." His miscellaneous works ("Notices d'Économie Sociale"), and the second edition of his chief work, "La Liberté du Travail," were published in 1886.

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EASLEY, RALPH MONTGOMERY: Chairman of the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation; born in Schuyler County, Ill., 1858; educated in the public schools. He was proprietor and editor of the *Hutchinson* (Kan.) *Daily News* from 1883 to 1891, and postmaster of Hutchinson from 1882 to 1887. From 1887 to 1890 he edited the department of political economy for the *Chicago Inter Ocean*. In 1893 he organized and became secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago; and in 1900 he organized the NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION, whose chairman he has since been.

ECONOMY. See THRIFT.

ECONOMY, COLONY OF. See HARMONISTS.

EDEN, SIR FREDERICK MORTON: English writer on economy; born in 1766; a graduate of Oxford University; chairman and one of the founders of the Globe Insurance Company; wrote various statistical and other monographs, but is mainly known for his great work on the poor, which is described by its title, which is almost a catalog: "The State of the Poor, an history of the labouring classes in England from the Con-

quest to the present period, in which are particularly considered their domestic economy with respect to diet, dress, fuel, and habitation, and the various plans which from time to time have been proposed and adopted for the relief of the poor, together with Parochial Reports relative to the administration of Workhouses, and Houses of Industry; the state of Friendly Societies, and other public institutions, in several agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing districts" (1797). A storehouse of information, it ranks with the travels of Arthur Young as one of the first sources of economic information for its period. He died in 1809.

EDGAR, REV. ALEXANDER ROBERT: Superintendent of the Central Methodist mission (Wesleyan Church), Melbourne, Australia, since April, 1893; born in Tipperary County, Ireland, 1850; educated in national schools and theological institute. He was president of the Victorian and Tasmanian Wesleyan Conference in 1901, and has been associated with many of the principal social movements in Melbourne for the past twenty years. He was appointed by the governor in council chairman of the Wages Board in relation to the Factories and Shops Act of 1896, and was a member of the royal commission appointed to inquire into causes of unemployment in 1899. *Address*: Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, Australia.

EDGEWORTH, FRANCIS YSIDRO: Political economist; born in Edgeworthstown, Ireland, 1845. After several terms at Trinity College, Dublin, he entered Oxford in 1867, graduating with a "first class" in 1869. Devoting himself to mathematics, he published "Mathematical Physics" in 1881, and wrote numerous papers on statistical questions for the British Association and other bodies. He lectured on political economy at the Ladies' Department of King's College, London, and in 1888 was appointed to a professorship of political economy in that college, and in 1890, on the resignation of the late Prof. Thorold Rogers, to the Tooke Professorship of Economic Science and Statistics in the same college. In 1891 he was called to the chair of political economy at the University of Oxford, which position he still holds. Editor of the *Economic Journal*. *Address*: All Souls' College, Oxford, England.

EDGEWORTH, MARIA: English novelist; born at Blackbourton, Oxfordshire, England, 1767. An intimate friend of Malthus, Richard Jones, and Ricardo, her writings aim to popularize and inculcate, among children especially, the main points of the orthodox school of political economy with its worship of "self-help" and individualism. Her novels, "Belinda," "Parents' Assistant," "The Orphans," "Moral Tales," "Popular Tales," "Rosamond," "Egerton Abbey," "Castle Rackrent" (1800), "The Absentee," "Ennui," "Ormond," and "Helen" (1834), are not all concerned with economics directly, but point varied forms of the same general moral. She died in Edgeworthstown, Ireland, in 1849.

EDUCATION: Among the various definitions of the word "education," the following examples have been selected as being among the best:

Definition

"The purpose of education is to give to the body and to the soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable" (*Plato*).—"Education includes whatever we do for ourselves and whatever is done for us by others for the express purpose of bringing us nearer to the perfection of our nature" (*John Stuart Mill*).—"Education is the preparation for complete living" (*Herbert Spencer*).—"Education is the harmonious and equable evolution of the human faculties by a method based upon the nature of the mind for developing all the faculties of the soul, for stirring up and nourishing all the principles of life, while shunning all one-sided culture and taking account of the sentiments upon which the strength and worth of men depend" (*Stein*).—"Education is the sum of the reflective efforts by which we aid nature in the development of the physical, intellectual, and moral faculties of man in view of his perfection, his happiness, and his social destination" (*Compayré*).—"A gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race" (*Butler*).—"Education is the superior adjustment of a physically and mentally developed conscious human being to his intellectual, emotional, and volitional environment" (*Horne*).

Every civilized nation has had an educational aim peculiar to itself, and a criterion by which it has judged the product of its educational machinery. With the Spartans it was the production of the soldier. In Athens, a few centuries later, the stern, military aim had been superseded by one which included beauty and the sensuous delights of living. When the Roman arms were supreme there came another ideal: not radically different from the others, for it included physical strength to bear those arms, and intellectual power that peoples might be governed. Since the revival of learning, four centuries ago, educational aims have broadened, and can no longer be stated in narrow terms. It is not enough to train for war as in Sparta, nor for esthetic enjoyment as in Athens, nor for heaven, forgetting earth, as in medieval Europe, but for life in its best and broadest sense—life that is joyous through health, that reaches out into unexplored scientific fields, that sees beauty in right action, that rethinks and makes loftier the noble thoughts of all ages, that believes that what is best for earth is good enough for heaven, and that feels that not to leave the world better than it finds it is to be disgraced. Certainly this is no narrow and sordid educational creed.

The school is the institution through which the family or the people have attempted to realize in the child their educational aims and ambitions. In its inception, when the family was the supreme unit in social organization, the school was an instrument of its own construction, and the teacher a person with authority, delegated by the family to perform certain duties which it had long recognized as its own, but which were found to be better and more economically performed by proxy than otherwise. As time went on and state organization became powerful, its demands in many instances became so strong as to overrule the family in matters educational, and to establish a national aim which demanded state schools. This, however, has occurred more often under democratic forms of government in which the family has had a voice in the management of affairs, so that such schools are a result of a delegation of parental authority. In many instances, however, it has not been the State that has been constituted the family proxy in educational affairs, but the Church.

The School

The older nations were practically unanimous in not wanting to give girls any special opportunities to acquire knowledge, and the schools were therefore closed to them. With regard to the boys, however, they differed very widely, and the schools differed accordingly. Yet in one respect the schools of all countries and of all

times have had an element in common; that lies in the fact that each has been in a sense a macrocosm, of which the condition of the highest class of adult life are the microcosms. In other words, the school has even been a condensed sample out of the highest life of the people.

To consider the school as a preparation for life is a common figure of speech, and is in a sense true, yet only as life itself is its own preparation. John Dewey has made classic the expression "the school is life," and in so doing has done much to free us of the popular belief (and a natural one it is, too, when the word preparation is used) that life is something that may be gotten ready for and then entered upon much as one would make a suit of clothes, even to the sewing on of the last button, before wearing it. The very word "preparation," with its prefix *pre*, is suggestive of some initial step which is to be taken before one can proceed. And therein lies the danger. Not that it will lessen the care taken with the earlier steps, but that with the entrance upon active life the process of further adjustment and adaptation should cease. And that would mean stagnation. If, however, we adopt the figure of the school as a sample cut from the work and woof of life itself, there is no suggestion of limitation till the whole piece shall have been included within the sample. And we shall not be easily satisfied with the small sample which shows neither the pattern nor the dominant color, but shall go on weaving, until not only the figure in all its intricacies meets the eye, but every tint and shade and color which have given the whole web its beauty.

History of Education

In its inception the school seems to have been a voluntary and sporadic affair springing up as occasion demanded to meet the requirements of the comparatively few who had the wealth and the interest to have their children educated. Of Egypt, in its earliest centuries, Sayce says: "There is evidence that if there were not numerous elementary schools scattered over the country, yet teachers might always be had, and that reading and writing and the elements of arithmetic were accessible to those who desired instruction." Among the Babylonians, too, such must have been the case for nearly 4,000 years before Christ. According to Sayce, "every great town had its library on brick tablets which were thrown open to the public," and certainly such would have been of but little use without a somewhat general knowledge of the written language.

In China a considerable literature dates back to nearly 1,000 years before our Christian era; and in India, likewise, not only a literature, but relatively permanent institutions of learning, existed in very ancient times. It cannot be supposed, however, that these early schools benefited more than a comparatively small part of the people; nor that their influence was great. Yet in some nations either the State, or the religious organization, or both, recognized it or their own particular institutional needs, and met them through the establishment of schools. In Egypt both of these forces were at work in the educational field, and there were temple schools for the preparation of an esoteric priesthood, as well as military institutions to meet the needs of the army. Among the Hebrews the religious side alone was dominant in education, while in the Medo-Persian Empire the military forces were supreme.

Sparta

It remained, however, for Sparta to organize herself into what was in some respects an immense educational institution, and to provide material which fulfilled its educational ideal. This ideal was purely and simply a military one, and its product was the soldier. At the birth of a child the State asserted its authority, and decided for life or death. Children with bodily defects were put out of existence. The rest were adopted by the State, which thus became an alma mater in the truest sense of the word. The first seven years of life were spent with the mother, tho under the strictest State surveillance, whereupon the boys were transferred to public barracks. Here they were divided into squads which were under the direction of special officers; yet each boy was expected to attach himself to some one man who became his special tutor or "inspirer." Education along literary lines was restricted to the mere rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. To furnish a wider education would have been a source of danger to the State, since learning establishes quite other distinctions than those of military power. But nothing that could make for physical strength and endurance was omitted. Running, jumping, walking, and boxing performed in the open air in the presence of the public, was the daily program, and each boy was urged on to do his best by his inspirer, while the muscles were hardened by the most rigorous habits of life. A premium, too, was put upon theft, as being a most important accomplishment for prospective warriors in an army without a well-organized commissary department. At the age of eighteen the Spartan boy entered the *Ephebeum*, and for two years underwent a course of training more nearly resembling the conditions of actual warfare. But not until the age of twenty was he admitted to the soldier's rank and permitted to take the field against the enemy. At thirty he became a full citizen and was compelled to marry, tho still residing in the public barracks, and being allowed to visit his wife at infrequent intervals only.

Since healthy motherhood was an essential to a healthy citizenship, some little attention was given to the physical training of the girls; but beyond that nothing was done for their instruction. Such was the first great State university.

When, with the march of time, the Athenian state arose, mere brute force had partly lost its supremacy, and the potency of appeal to the intellect was recognized. Such a recognition brought with it a new educational aim, that of making the orator. In providing the orator, however, the State took a much less important part than had been the case at Sparta. In fact, it seems probable that the State did no more than to provide suitable buildings which were let out to private teachers. On the side of physical education, however, the more active, feeling no doubt that in the last resort national safety depended upon strength at arms, demanded public provision for its development.

Athens

But the emotional and esthetic nature of man had altered, and the brutal criticism of the Spartans was being replaced by the sensualistic, beauty-loving characteristics of the later Athenians. And this change of hearts was soon reflected in the educational system. So we find the curriculum of the Athenian youth divided into two great groups of subjects: (1) Music, which included every discipline of mind which was presided over by a muse—seven in all—and (2) gymnastics, which included every activity leading to the perfection of physical health and strength.

During the first seven years of life the child was kept in the house; then he was sent to school, or rather to two schools: that of music, and that of physical culture. Half a day was spent in each. In the former the time was chiefly devoted to the study of poetry and music, tho the prose literature of history and politics found no unimportant place. The physical exercises were divided into five classes: leaping, running, javelin-casting, discus-throwing, and wrestling.

The children of nearly all the free citizens attended these earlier schools, but only those of the wealthier classes went further. The latter, however, at an age of from fourteen to sixteen years, entered the gymnasium and began the process of active preparation for the duties of citizenship under the direct surveillance of the State. Here only slight regard was paid to the intellectual side of education, altho instruction was given in the laws; but the physical and social sides received much attention. "He [the young Athenian] now learned to ride, to drive, to row, to swim, to attend banquets, to maintain a conversation, to discuss the weightiest questions of statesmanship, to sing and dance in public choruses, and to ride or walk in public processions. If he abused his liberty and behaved in a lawless or unseemly way, he was called to account by the severe discipline of the *Areopagus* which attended to public morals."

At the age of eighteen the youth's name was registered upon the record of the *demos* or commonwealth, and after passing an examination he entered the two-year period spent as an *ephébos* or citizen novice. The first of these years he passed in the vicinity of Athens in military drill and the study of tactics; the second on the frontiers in actual military operations, and at its end he became a full citizen of state. But such a graduation into the active affairs of the republic did not by any means mean the cessation of educational progress. Quite the reverse, for the State still maintained an individual control which influenced every sphere of action. But to use figures common to-day, tho unknown in those times, the change to citizenship was one from required courses to one of full electives. During the earlier training all were cast in the same mold, and there was little opportunity for individual merit to assert itself. Afterward the environment was wholly selective, and picked its leaders, promoting some to the highest positions of honor and authority, while others, through the stratification that always takes place in social and educational institutions, found themselves occupying subordinate places. Thus we find the Athenian republic to have been a "culture state" in the fullest sense of the word.

In Rome, for centuries after its foundation, the school was the home, the forum, and the army. Others there were none. Some few teachers there may have been, but they have left no record of themselves; and what little instruction in letters there may have been was had at the father's knee. The first school, so far as we know, was established in the year 250 B.C. From that time formal instruction gradually became

common, and schools available for those who cared to make use of them. They were not, at least until a comparatively late date in Roman history, in any way supported by the State. After the Roman conquest of Greece (146 B.C.) Greek scholars came in large numbers to the Roman territory, and the schools were dominated by their influence.

Rome

In the higher schools Greek was the sole language of instruction until the edict of 112 B.C. The emphasis, however, was placed on the grammatical and philosophical aspects of Greek literature; and gradually, when Greek was replaced by Latin, their aim centered in the production of the orator. The term *Ludus* was applied to the elementary school, and *schole* to that of higher grade. In the *scholē*, rhetoric, oratory, grammar, some elements of geography, arithmetic, geometry, and music were taught, and if we may judge by Quintilian's "Institutes of Oratory," the famous educational classic of the time, some of those subjects were well taught.

Dancing was taught by private tutors, and physical exercises were practised in the Campus Martius, but neither found any place in the curricula of the schools. In the higher rhetorical schools some philosophy was added to the literary studies, and the course bore some resemblance to that of the New England college of a century ago.

The education of the earliest generation of Christians was obtained in the pagan schools, in those great imperial academies which existed in Europe, Asia, and Africa, even down to the fifth century, and which perhaps attained their highest development and efficiency in Gaul. The first attempt at a special education for Christians was made at Alexandria, developed by Clement and Origen. The later Latin fathers took a bolder stand, and rejected the suspicious aid of heathenism. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Jerome wished the antagonism to be recognized from the earliest years, and even Augustine condemned with harshness the culture to which he owed so much of his power. Yet the Church favored education, and instructed her parish priests to found and conduct schools. The stormy times of the early Middle Ages were little favorable to education. They were the Dark Ages. What intellectual light there was, was confined to the monasteries. Yet for the most part this was limited and fettered by ecclesiastical traditionalism, developing at best the philosophy of the schoolmen.

Early Christian

Throughout the medieval centuries it was not believed that intellectual development was conducive to the highest religious attainment; education therefore suffered, and the schools of the ancient type were allowed to go out of existence. With the exception of a few higher institutions of learning at Alexandria and some few great European centers of population, schools were maintained only in connection with cathedrals, monasteries, and other religious organizations. Aside from those destined for religious preferment, only a few found their way to these institutions, and learned only the rudiments of language, together with enough astronomy to be able to compute the church festivals, geometry to lay out the church lands, arithmetic to keep simple accounts, and music to carry on the religious services.

Medieval

A most important part of the monastery was the writing-room, where missals, psalters, and breviaries were copied and illuminated; and too often a masterpiece of classic literature was effaced to make room for a treatise of one of the fathers or the sermon of an abbot. Yet the monasteries of Monte Cassino, Fulda, or Tours did not a little to promote education and to preserve much that otherwise would have been lost. The seven arts of monkish training were grammar, logic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the first three forming the *trivium*, and the four others the *quadrivium*. In the same period the Saracens in Spain and the Greeks in the Byzantine Empire at least preserved ancient learning, if their schools developed little new thought.

The ninth century saw the dawn of intellectual life; and in the twelfth century universities began to develop out of the schools attached to the cathedrals and monasteries. When a teacher of eminence—like Abelard or Peter the Lombard at Paris or Irenæus at Bologna—appeared, students flocked around him. The members of the *studium generale*, for mutual support, formed themselves into a corporation called a university. The University of Paris existed as a separate body as early as 1169; and toward the end of the thirteenth century Pope Nicholas I. granted it the right of endowing its graduates with the power of teaching everywhere. It had at first only a faculty of arts, divided into four nations, known as French, Picard, Norman, and German or English. Faculties of theology, medicine, and canon law were added in the seventeenth century. The college of the Sorbonne, founded in 1250, became identified with the faculty of theology. The University of Bologna devoted itself mainly to law, and numbered 12,000 students at the end of the twelfth century. It claims to be the oldest.

Older Universities

According to the "Minerva Jahrbuch der Gelehrten Welt," the following are the dates of origin of the older universities: Bologna, 1119; Montpellier, 1180; Paris, 1200; Oxford, 1200 or 1249; Valencia, 1209; Padua, 1222; Naples, 1224; Toulouse, 1229; Salamanca, 1239 or 1250; Cambridge, 1257; Ferrara, 1264; Coimbra, 1290; Lyons, before 1300; Rome, 1303; Perugia, 1307; Pisa, 1316; Grenoble, 1339; Valladolid, 1346; Prague, 1347 or 1348; Vienna 1365; Heidelberg, 1386; Würzburg, 1402; Turin, 1404; Aix, 1409; St. Andrew's, 1411; Rostock, 1419; Louvain, 1426; Poitiers, 1431; Caen, 1433; Florence, 1438; Catania, 1445; Barcelona, 1450; Glasgow, 1450 or 1451.

There was, too, at least one development of popular education. Among the Brethren of the Common Life, who were found in the Northern Netherlands, education was for all. The metropolis of their organization was Deventer, the best-known name among them that of Gerhard Groote. They devoted themselves with all humility and self-sacrifice to the education of children. Their schools were crowded. Bois-le-Duc had 1,200 pupils, Zwolle 1,500. For a whole century no part of Europe shone with a brighter luster.

Europe, however, was preparing for the revival of learning. Throughout the western part of the continent the "new learning" made schools popular. Vittorino da Feltre may be taken as a type of the teachers among the nobles of this era. He seems to have reached the highest point of excellence as a schoolmaster of the Italian Renaissance. The mind awoke to institutions concerning development according to natural laws, and to a conception and hope of independence and progress. Erasmus, Montaigne, Rabelais, Calvin, and Melanchthon did much to open long-blinded eyes. They brought the schoolmaster into the cottage, and laid the foundations of the system which is the chief honor and strength of modern Germany—a system by which the child of the peasant, by slow but certain graduations, receives the best education which the country can afford. Melanchthon, from his editions of school-books and his practical labors in education, earned the title of *Præceptor Germaniæ*. Aristotle had been dethroned from his preeminence in the schools, and Melanchthon essayed to fill his place. He wrote elementary books on each department of the *trivium*: grammar, logic, and rhetoric; and made some way also with the studies of the *quadrivium*, writing the "Initia doctrinæ Physicæ," a primer of physical science. He lectured at the University of Wittenberg, and for ten years (1519–29) kept a private school in his own house.

Reformation

The so-called Latin school, the parent of the gymnasium and the lyceum, spread all over Europe, and was especially flourishing in Germany. One school stands preeminent before the rest. Johann Sturm of Strasburg ("The German Cicero") was the friend of Ascham and the tutor of Queen Elizabeth. He attracted scholars from all Europe: Portugal, Poland, and England sent their contingent to his halls. In 1578 his school numbered several thousand students; he supplied at once the place of the cloister and the castle. His pupils wrote elegant letters, delivered fluent Latin speeches, and were familiar, if not with the thoughts, at least with the language of the ancients. The Public School Commission of 1862 found that the lines laid down by the great citizen of Strasburg, and copied by his admirers, had remained unchanged until within the memory of the present generation. John Amos Comenius was the antithesis of Sturm. Born a Moravian, he passed a wandering life in poverty and obscurity. But his ideas were accepted by the most advanced thinkers of the age. His school-books were spread throughout Europe. Progressive educators of our time echo the words of Comenius when he urges the instruction of the young, "not by beating into them a mass of words, sentences, and opinions gathered out of books, but by opening their understanding through things themselves."

The Protestant schools were now the best in Europe. Catholics would have remained behind in the race if it had not been for the Jesuits. Ignatius Loyola developed numerous schools through the order which he founded, and the program of studies, which dates from the end of the sixteenth century, is in use, with certain modifications, in English Jesuit schools at the present day. In 1550 the first Jesuit school was opened in Germany; in 1700 the order possest 612 colleges, 157 normal schools, 59 novitiates, 240 residences, 200 missions, 29 professed homes, and 24 universities. The College of Clermont had 3,000 students in 1695. Every Jesuit college was divided into two parts: the *studia superiora* for higher education, and the *studia inferiora* for lower education. The latter, corresponding to the modern gymnasium, was divided into five classes. The first three were classes of the rudiments, accidence, and syntax of grammar; the last two of humanity and rhetoric. The motto of the school was *lege, scribe, loquere*, "learn not only to read and write a dead language, but to talk it." Purism was even more exaggerated than by Sturm. No word might be used which did not rest upon a special authority. The order disdained history, science, and philosophy, its labors being wholly directed to the propagation of the Catholic faith, and the ability to write in Latin in the most approved way.

The Jesuits

It is impossible to estimate the influence of the Jesuits upon the world's civilization. During 200 years they controlled over 600 colleges and many universities, a control lasting till almost the end of the eighteenth century. They cared not so much for education as for the power to be gained by having the schools in their hands. In 1831 Roothar, the general of their order, somewhat improved their curriculums, but modern governments have on the whole done well to oppose these schools. They taught the accomplishments the polite world

wanted, but stifled thought and inquiry. Montaigne, Locke, and Milton all criticized this form of education, and gave us stimulating and suggestive thoughts. Milton's tractate "Of Education" is most important. Meanwhile at Port Royal, in France, the Jansenists Arnauld, Lancelot, and Nicoll taught with such success that they excited the jealousy of the Jesuits, and were suppressed.

Rousseau's "Emile," a treatise on education, was published in 1762. It produced a profound impression, and has affected teaching until very recent times. With him nature is supreme. He protests against the shams of government and civilization, and pities the sorrows of the poor. He lays great stress on the earliest education. The first year of life is in every respect the most important. Nature must be closely followed. The chief moral principle is: do no one harm. Emile is to be taught by the real things of life, by observation and experience. At the age of twelve he is scarcely to know what a book is; to be able to read and write at fifteen is quite enough. Then a new stage opens, when he is to learn history, science, and the machinery of society. Basedow founded a school somewhat on these principles at Dessau, and later Salzmann did the same at Schnepfenthal. It was the age of romanticism.

Great Educators

The end of the eighteenth century saw a great development given to classical studies. The names of Cellarius, Gesner, Ernesti, and Heyne are perhaps more celebrated as scholars than as schoolmasters. To them we owe the great importance attached to the study of the classics, both on the Continent and in England. They brought into the schools the philology which F. A. Wolf had organized for the universities. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi reverted to concrete education from objects. Born at Zurich in 1745, he converted his house into an orphan asylum; he saved from degradation over 100 children and issued volumes on education. He died in 1827 near Basle, overwhelmed with mortification; but to-day his ideas of training rather than instructing are accepted in elementary schools all over Europe. Froebel continued his work. He made many mistakes before fixing upon his final vocation, and even this proved a failure so far as he personally was concerned. A victim to great griefs, he died believing that his life had been lived wholly in vain. It is with the Kindergarten that we associate the name of this benefactor of little children. To him the child was a plant and the school its nursery. Too much of the seed which he sowed fell in stony places, much also fell on good ground and has brought forth fruit abundantly. Among the modern contributors to the methods of education the names of Herbert Spencer and Alexander Bain hold a high place. Mr. Huxley did a great deal toward teaching exact science in a popular way; and the name of Arnold will always be remembered in England as the ideal of a great head-master.

Great Britain and Ireland

Summary of Educational Statistics

Institutions.	Date of report	Registered students or pupils	Professors or teachers
England and Wales.			
Universities:			
Oxford (22 colleges, 5 halls, and non-collegiate students)	1903	3,570	.....
Cambridge (17 colleges, 1 hostel, and non-collegiate students)	1903	2,900	.....
Durham (1 college of arts, 1 medical college, 1 college of science)	1903	1,831	98
London[1]	1903	26,083	934
Victoria (2 colleges)	1903	1,914	123
Birmingham	1903	814	94
Liverpool	1903	667	115
University of Wales (3 colleges)	1903	1,495	155
University colleges	1903	36,871	259
University colleges for women	1903	468	.....
Elementary day schools	1903	5,975,127	.....
Night schools	1903	657,594	.....
Training colleges for elementary teachers	....	.....	.....
Scotland			
Universities:			
Aberdeen	1903	814	64
Edinburgh	1903	2,990	114

[1] London university includes 6 colleges of arts and science, 6 theological colleges, 1 college of agriculture, 1 technical college, 12 medical schools, and the London School of Economies.

[2] Also 443 evening students; the statistics of the medical schools included are incomplete.

[3] Day and evening.

Summary of Educational Statistics—*Continued.*

Institutions.	Date of report	Registered students or pupils	Professors or teachers
Scotland			
Universities:			
Glasgow	1903	2,178	119
St. Andrew's (3 colleges)	1903	546	91
Glasgow Technical College	1903	374	.....
Elementary day schools	1903	785,473	20,166
Higher grade schools	1903	4,548	.....
Training colleges for elementary teachers	1903	1,385	.....
Ireland			
Universities:			
Dublin	1903	936	80
Belfast, Queen's College	1903	342	41
Cork, Queen's College	1903	199	24
Galway, Queen's College	1903	97	22
University College, Dublin	1903	180	20
Elementary day schools	1903	741,795	13,144
Training schools for elementary teachers	....	1,090	.....

The following list shows the principal dates in the history of the system of elementary education in England:

1833. First grant (£20,000) made by Parliament for elementary education in England and Wales to be administered by the national and British foreign school societies (annually renewed).

1838. Committee of House of Commons appointed to investigate the education of the poorer classes.

1839. Committee of council on education established; annual grant increased to £30,000.

1846. Minutes issued by council on education recognizing definitely denominational schools and denominational training colleges for teachers; pupil-teacher system recognized.

1847. Commission of inquiry into education in Wales.

1858–61. Duke of Newcastle's commission on state of popular education.

1861. Code (Lowe's) issued establishing system of payment by results (i. e., of examination of individual pupils).

1870. Elementary education act (Forster's) passed.

1876. Amending act passed establishing the compulsory principle and creating school attendance committees for its enforcement in districts having no school-board.

1880. Law obliging local educational authorities to make by-laws for the enforcement of compulsory school attendance.

1891. Law providing for an extra grant for schools remitting tuition fees.

1893. (1) Law making eleven years the minimum age for exemption from school attendance, and requiring an examination in a grade not lower than the fourth for every child seeking exemption from school attendance; (2) law authorizing school-boards to make special provision for the elementary instruction of blind children and of deaf-and-dumb children.

1897. Law providing a special grant for the benefit of "voluntary" (chiefly denominational) schools at the rate of five shillings per capita of average attendance; also authorizing the federation of voluntary schools and the allotment of the grant at the discretion of the governing bodies of the federations.

1899. (1) Law (Defective and Epileptic Children's Act) "empowering local educational authorities, at their discretion, to establish special schools or classes for mentally or physically defective children and special boarding institutions for juvenile epileptics"; (2) law raising the minimum age for exemption from school attendance from eleven to twelve years; (3) creating a board of education to replace "the education department and the science and art department, providing also for the transfer to the new board of certain powers exercised by the charity commissioners with respect to educational trusts and endowments, and for the transfer to the board of the educational functions of the board of agriculture." Further, the law authorizes "a consultative committee, to be constituted by an order in council, consisting of persons qualified to represent the views of universities and other bodies interested in education for the purpose of framing, with the approval of the board of education, a register of teachers and of advising the board of education on any matter referred to them by the

board." The law also authorizes the board "to inspect any school supplying secondary education and desiring to be so inspected."

1900. Law authorizing local authorities to extend the upper limit of compulsory attendance from the thirteenth to the fourteenth year of age.

1902. Law reorganizing the national system of education, abolishing elected school-boards, and transferring their duties to county and municipal councils. (London excepted.)

1903. Law reorganizing system of education in London on the lines of law of 1902.

Auxiliary Legislation.—1889–91: Technical instruction laws authorizing county councils to levy a tax not exceeding a penny in the pound for the support of technical schools. 1890: Local taxation, customs, and excise law, placing the surplus of the liquor duties at the disposal of county councils, with the privilege of applying the same to technical instruction.

Elementary Schools

The system of public elementary education in England is in the process of transition from the basis established by the law of 1870 to that of 1902, which went into operation March 26, 1903. The new conditions established by the latter law relate almost exclusively to the local administration of schools. The provisions of the law of 1870 and subsequent amending laws are continued in force, except such as are explicitly annulled by the law. The local authorities in charge of elementary schools are county and county borough councils, replacing the former elected school-boards, and having general charge of (1) board schools, henceforth to be known as council or provided schools, and (2) voluntary (i. e., chiefly church) schools, to be known as non-provided. The county and municipal councils become the local agents for the disbursement of the government grant for elementary education. The councils are further empowered to raise the additional moneys required for the maintenance of elementary schools by local taxes, which are henceforth to be applied to both the provided and the non-provided schools.

The educational functions of the councils, excepting that of raising school money by taxation, may be delegated to education committees constituted under schemes formed by the respective councils and approved by the board of education. Every scheme for the formation of an education committee must provide for the appointment by the council of a majority of the members of the committee and for the inclusion of women in the committee. Where the local education authority is a county council, all public elementary schools must have a body of managers, to be constituted by the local authority. In the case of non-provided (i. e., church) schools, these managers must include foundation managers, not exceeding four (excepting in special cases), and managers appointed by the local authority, in the proportion of two to every four foundation managers. The managers of the non-provided school must carry out the directions of the local education authority as to the secular instruction to be given in the school, including any directions with respect to the number and educational qualifications of the teachers to be employed for such instruction, and for the dismissal of any teacher on educational grounds. If the managers fail in these respects, then the local education authority itself shall have the power of carrying out the direction in question, but no direction given under this provision shall be such as to interfere with reasonable facilities for religious instruction during school hours. The managers of the school must also, without any charge to the local authority, provide the schoolhouse, keep it in good repair, and make such alterations and improvements in the buildings as may reasonably be required by the local education authority.

It is expressly provided that the local education authority shall have power to inspect non-provided schools, and that its consent shall be required to the appointment and dismissal of teachers, head-teachers excepted; but the councils may not withhold consent to the appointment nor interfere with the dismissal of teachers on religious grounds. Moreover, in non-provided schools "assistant teachers and pupil teachers may be appointed, if it is thought fit, without reference to religious creed and denomination. (Head-teachers appointed independently of the local authorities are chosen on denominational grounds.) In any case in which there are more candidates for the post of teacher than there are places to be filled, the appointment shall be made by the local education authority, which shall determine the respective qualifications of the candidates by examination or otherwise."

In provided schools no sectarian instruction is allowed. Non-provided or denominational schools are prohibited by a conscience clause from forcing religious instruction upon children whose parents object to the same. The provisions with respect to compulsory school attendance are unchanged. Every local authority is obliged to make by-laws under which the upper limit of age for compulsory attendance must not be less than twelve years, and at the discretion of the local authorities may be raised to fourteen years.

Sources of Support

The government grant, which furnishes at present very nearly half the support of elementary schools, is applied on the same conditions to provided and non-provided schools. The balance of the support for both classes of schools is provided by local taxes. In the case of a non-provided school in which fees have hitherto been charged, the local authority shall, "while continuing to allow fees to be charged in respect to that school, pay such proportion of those fees as may be agreed upon, or, in default of agreement, determined by the board of education and the managers."

In the third schedule of the law it is declared that the duty of a local education authority shall include the duty to provide a sufficient amount of public-school accommodation without payment of fees. The law declares that the designation "elementary school" shall not include any school carried on as an evening-school under the regulations of the board of education.

Higher elementary schools are organized to qualify the pupils to enter any of those callings in which scientific methods have to be employed. With this object in view, the course of instruction, tho not exclusively scientific, is based on science, and all the scholars are trained to make accurate measurements and to perform and record simple experiments. One foreign language and elementary mathematics are included in the curriculum, while careful attention is given to drawing. The course of instruction extends over four years. Government supervision of elementary schools is maintained by an inspectorial service.

Summarized Statistics of Elementary Schools

	1870 (Revised Code.)	1902
Schools (institutions) inspected by government inspectors	8,281	20,158
Voluntary schools	8,281	14,275
Board schools	.....	5,878
Departments under separate head teachers in those schools	12,061	31,372
Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	1,878,584	6,681,295
Percentage to estimated population	8.80	20.54
Scholars on the school registers	1,693,059	5,881,278
Percentage to estimated population	7.66	18.08
Scholars in actual average attendance	1,152,389	4,788,400
Percentage to estimated population	5.21	14.72
Percentage to scholars on the school registers	68.06	81.41
Average attendance for payment in infant schools and classes	.....	1,486,023
Average attendance for payment in schools for older scholars	.....	3,302,377
Average attendance of scholars who earned grants upon examination in class subjects	.....	.....
Scholars qualified for grant in specific subjects	.....	.....
Number of departments in which singing was taught:		
By ear	.....	2,290
By notes	.....	29,077
Number of schools in which were taught—		
Military drill	.....	6,437
Manual instruction	.....	1,749
Science	.....	.....
Physical exercises	.....	.....
Half-time scholars	.....	.....
School libraries	.....	8,504
Savings-banks	.....	7,071
Certificated and provisionally certificated teachers	12,467	67,813
Assistant teachers	1,262	36,265
Additional teachers	.....	17,588
Pupil teachers	14,304	29,218
"Annual grant"	£562,611	£5,275,883

The principal events in the movement for organizing secondary education in England may be seen in the following:

1835. Appointment of select committee to inquire into means of extending a knowledge of the arts and of the principles of design among the artizan classes.
1836. Grant of £1,500 for the establishment of a normal school of design.
1837. Normal school of design opened.
1852. Department of practical art constituted.
1853. Science department added to the department of art. Reorganized department empowered to maintain special schools of art and science, to draw up examination schemes and conduct examinations of schools and classes complying with specified conditions, and to distribute government grant to the same.
1853. Charity commission appointed to inquire into the condition and management of charities and to frame schemes for their administration; educational endowments thus brought under supervision.
1856. Control of the department of science and art transferred to the committee of council on education.
1861. Lord Clarendon's commission to inquire into the nine leading public schools (secondary).
1864. Lord Taunton's commission to inquire into the condition of additional secondary schools (endowed grammar, proprietary, etc.). Report of commission published in 1868.
1865. Endowed schools law passed.
1894. Commission appointed (Bryce's) to consider "What are the best methods for establishing a well-organized system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies and having regard to such local sources of revenue from endowment or otherwise as are available or may be made available for this purpose?"
1895. Report of commission published.
1902. Education law passed authorizing local authorities to raise funds for and exercise a measure of control over secondary education.

Secondary Schools

In the regulations respecting secondary schools issued in 1903, the board of education were careful to define the limits of secondary education, and in so doing clearly recognized the distinction between secondary schools and technical institutes and classes; thus the authority of the government has been won for those who advocate an extended course of general education as a prerequisite to specialized training. The term "secondary" as defined by the board applies to "any day or boarding school which offers to each of its scholars, up to and beyond the age of sixteen, a general education, physical, mental, and moral, given through a complete graded course of instruction of wider scope and more advanced degree than that given in elementary schools."

The instruction must be general; that is, it must give a reasonable degree of exercise and development to the whole of the faculties, and not confine this development to a particular channel, whether that of pure and applied science, of literary and linguistic study, or of that kind of acquirement which is directed simply at fitting a boy or girl to enter business in a subordinate capacity with some previous knowledge of what he or she will be set to do. The course of instruction must be complete; i. e., must be so planned as to lead up to a definite standard of acquirement in the various branches of instruction indicated in the foregoing, and not stop short at a merely superficial introduction to any of them. Finally, the instruction must be graded in its various branches. The grants payable under the regulations are made in respect to a four years' course only.

A certain minimum number of hours in each week must be devoted to the group of subjects commonly classed as "English" (including the English language and literature, geography, and history), to ancient or modern languages, and to mathematics and science. Ample time is left to include provision for systematic physical exercises; for drawing, singing, and manual training; for the instruction of girls in the elements of housewifery, etc.

In addition to the general requirements, certain specific conditions are laid down by the education board, to which a secondary school must conform in order to share in the government grant. The most important of these conditions are as follows: The school must be efficient and must not compete unduly with a neighboring school; no religious test or requirement as to religious observances or attendance upon religious exercises shall be imposed upon day scholars; the curriculum and time-table of the school must be approved by the board of education; a full account of the income and expenditure of the school must be annually submitted to the board; the fees charged must be approved by that body; the school premises, equipments, and appliances must be satisfactory; the school must meet regularly during not less than thirty-six weeks in the course of the school year, and for not less than four hours each school day.

Statistics

The number of schools inspected under the board of education in the year ending Dec. 31, 1903, was 135, as compared with ninety-five in the preceding year. Twenty-five of these were inspected on the application of the county authorities aiding them. Twenty-three were proprie-

tary schools, and thirty-three were private schools. Seventy-five were for boys, forty-nine for girls, and eleven for both boys and girls. Sixty-one were schools receiving grants under the regulations of the board for secondary schools, and in the case of forty-one of these the inspection was required for compliance with the regulations.

In 1903 there were 31,090 scholars receiving organized day courses of instruction in 226 secondary day schools (Division A; offering extended courses in science), an average of 137 scholars in each school. Of these pupils 25,047 were taking elementary courses and 6,043 advanced courses of instruction. In 1903, 2,645 scholars were examined in science and 1,191 in art subjects. The grants paid amounted to £130,470 ($652,350), being an average payment per scholar under instruction of £4.19.0 (about $25). Up to Dec. 31, 1903, 142 schools in England and sixty-six in Wales and Monmouthshire were recognized as eligible for grants under the regulations for secondary day schools, Division B. Of the schools in England 114 were endowed schools, two were county or municipal schools, six were established by stock companies, ten were conducted by religious bodies, and ten by bodies of local managers. The number of pupils following approved courses of instruction in the schools of Division B during the school year 1902-3 was 10,094, and the grants paid amounted to 26,750 or an average payment of £2.13.0 for each scholar. For more recent educational statistics, see GREAT BRITAIN.

Scotland

Scotland has had a system of public schools dating from a law of 1696, which required that a school be established in every parish. The country was thus prepared for a system of universal school-boards as provided for by the law of 1872. The law differed also from the English law of 1870 in that, following the traditions of the old parish system, it made provision for both elementary and secondary schools. The latter did not share in the treasury grant, but by subsequent laws were allowed support from local taxes. Whereas compulsion has been gradually introduced into the English system, the Scotch law made education compulsory for all children between the ages of five and thirteen (raised to fourteen in 1883) or until a certificate of exemption should be secured.

Religious instruction in the schools of Scotland was left to local authorities, with the simple restriction of a conscience clause making the attendance of children at the religious exercises optional with the parents. A grant in lieu of fees (law of 1889) had the effect of making the schools practically free schools. By regulations of 1899–1900 a standard of attainment—that of the merit certificate—was fixed, which was regarded as the satisfactory outcome of an elementary school course. The merit certificate (called also the leaving certificate) of the elementary school entitled the holder to exemption from further attendance. Under these circumstances it was found desirable to increase the requirements for the certificate, and in 1903 a supplementary course was arranged, which candidates for the merit certificate were obliged to pursue at least one year. At the same time the requirements for transfer to a secondary school were arranged on a somewhat different basis. The supplementary course must provide for the instruction of the pupils in the following subjects according to a well-graduated scheme: English (including history and geography), mathematics (including arithmetic), at least one language other than English, and science and drawing, according to a scheme approved for the leaving-certificate examination in these subjects.

In 1885 the Scotch education department arranged for the inspection of endowed and other secondary schools applying for the service. Three years later the department established a leaving certificate for students who, on the completion of a course of secondary study, pass the certificate examination. The number of secondary schools inviting inspection in 1903 was ninety-four, of which thirty-two were higher class public schools, twenty-four endowed schools, and thirty-eight private schools. The number of candidates for the leaving certificate in 1888 was 972; in 1903 it was 19,509. A large number of university and professional authorities accept the certificate in lieu of such preliminary examinations as are held under their direction. Through the service of inspection and examination the secondary schools of Scotland have been brought into close relation with the education department.

Under the local taxation (customs and excise) act of 1890, and other acts providing for the application of public funds to secondary and technical education, the local authorities expended for these purposes in 1901–2 the sum of £58,407 ($292,035). On March 27, 1904, a bill to amend the education laws of Scotland was introduced into the House of Commons. Like the English law of 1902, it pertained chiefly to the local control of schools; in particular the bill proposed to make the county or county district the unit of local administration in place of the parish. The bill was, however, withdrawn at the close of the session.

STATISTICS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND

	1872	1903
Estimated population	3,395,802	4,571,030
Number of schools	1,979	3,149
Departments:		
Day	2,133	.....
Higher grade	.....	.....
Evening continuation	68	.....
Accommodation:		
Day schools	281,688	938,009
Higher grade	.....	10,299
Evening continuation schools (not connected with day schools)	.....	.....
Number on the registers:		
Day schools	.....	780,818
Higher grade schools	.....	4,548
Evening continuation schools	.....	.....
Average attendance:		
Day scholars	213,549	664,741
Higher grade scholars	.....	4,548
Evening continuation scholars	3,653	.....
Number of teachers:		
Certificated	2,566	12,195
Assistant	.....	2,555
Pupil	3,642	4,165
Queen's scholars in training colleges	729	1,385
Queen's students	.....	193
Current expenditures	.....	$9,609,970

Ireland

The system of national education in Ireland dates from 1831, when a board of commissioners for education was created by the government. In 1845 the board was incorporated by royal charter, and in 1861 a supplemental charter was granted, under which ten members must be Ro-

man Catholics and ten Protestants. The board is always composed of representative men, who adhere to the policy of strict impartiality in religious matters. Only the resident commissioner is a salaried officer. He is the official head of the education department, with offices at Dublin. Upon him rests the responsibility for carrying out the details of the system of national education and also the administration of the government appropriations for the same. The schools under the supervision and fostering care of the board are supported by State and local funds. They may be denominational schools (i. e., Roman Catholic or Protestant) or mixed in respect to religion, but the rights of the parents in the matter are strictly guarded by a conscience clause in the school regulations, which provides that no child be allowed to attend a religious exercise of a denomination other than his own, except upon the written request of the parent.

Grants to aid in building schoolhouses are allowed by the commissioners, but must be proportioned to the amount raised locally. The State pays also the larger proportion of the salaries of teachers, requiring a minimum annual augmentation from local funds of £12 ($60). Altogether the State defrays about ninety-four per cent of the annual expenditure for the schools. In order to avoid religious complications the State provides the text-books for secular branches which are issued at a small cost to the pupils.

Local civil authorities have no control over the schools. The local managers of schools, who are generally clergymen, come into direct relations with the board of commissioners. They appoint and dismiss teachers, and arrange the details of the school work. Of a total of 2,936 managers in 1902, 2,363 were clerical. The commissioners have direct control of the special class of schools called "model schools," for which they provide the buildings. These schools, as their name indicates, are intended to afford models of the best methods of instruction and organization, and to serve as practise schools for students in training colleges or normal schools." They numbered thirty in 1902, with an enrolment of 8,969 day pupils, included in the statistics given in the following paragraph.

School Authorities

A compulsory school-law was passed in 1892, but it has been imperfectly enforced, and Ireland still stands below the other divisions of the United Kingdom in respect to school attendance, as is shown by the most recent statistics. These give the following rates of attendance to enrolment: England, 82.3 per cent; Wales, 77.9; Scotland, 85.2; Ireland, 70.8.

Convent and monastery schools afford a large part of the provision for elementary education, and receive, under certain conditions, aid from the government. The number of such schools fulfilling the conditions for aid in 1902 was 373, with an enrolment of 110,769. The schools of the Christian Brothers form a large part of the provision for elementary education, especially in the cities, where their schools are both numerous and flourishing. Their system of education has taken deep hold upon the people, and among their former pupils are some of the most influential men in every city and large town of Ireland.

For the training of teachers for the national schools there are one national and six denominational normal schools, which receive aid from the government. They report 1,090 students in training in 1903. Of the 13,144 teachers employed in the national schools in 1903, 57.2 per cent had received professional training. Provision for agricultural instruction is an important feature of the national system. Instruction in the theory of agriculture is compulsory in all rural schools for boys in the fourth, fifth, and sixth classes, and optional for girls. Complaint is made that the instruction in this branch has been altogether too bookish, and recent efforts have been directed to putting it on a practical basis.

The commissioners maintain also two model agricultural schools; and in 1897 they reported thirty-eight school-farms in connection with elementary schools, and 116 schools having gardens attached.

The French system of education is characterized by centralized control, through organization, and comprehensive scope. The executive chief is a cabinet officer, the minister of public instruction. The minister has extensive administrative power, and also takes the initiative in measures for the development of the system. The centralized control of the system is facilitated by its organization into academies or administrative divisions, seventeen in number. Each academy comprizes a university, one or more university faculties, a group of secondary schools (lycées and communal colleges), and its quota of primary schools. The chief officer of the academy is the university rector, who is appointed by the president of the republic, and subordinate only to the minister of public instruction. The authority of the rector extends to all grades of education, but the interests of higher and secondary education is relegated to academic inspectors, of whom there is one for each department comprized in the academy. The system of public instruction comprizes three departments—primary, secondary, and superior—each under its own chief or director. This division follows the lines of historic development. The secondary schools (lycées and communal colleges) form with the universities a system of liberal education, crowned by specialized training for the learned professions. In this respect they preserve something of the relations that existed before the Revolution between the University of Paris, the mother university, and the colleges that clustered around it. The separate administration of secondary and of higher education is a survival from the Imperial University. The work of the republic in these two provinces has been that of gradual transformation in the spirit of scholastic freedom and in accordance with modern demands. On the other hand, the system of State primary schools is almost wholly the creation of the republic. The work was begun in 1878 by the appropriation of a fund of $23,000,000 to be advanced to the communes, one half in subventions, the other half in loans, to aid them in building schoolhouses.

France

The first official school statistics published under the republic (1876–77) showed for the 36,097 communes 71,547 schools. Of these, 59,021 were classed as public schools, but of this number, 13,205, or 22 per cent, were schools belonging to religious orders. If instead of schools the number of classes be considered, it appears that 32 per cent were in charge of members of religious orders.

The measures by which the republic has freed

France

Statistical Summary of Education in France[1]

Classes of Institutions	Date	Enrolment			Professors and teachers			Total expenditure
		Male	Female	Total	Men	Women	Total	
Infant schools (écoles maternelles), public and private (ages 2 to 6)	1899–1900	(747,108)		747,108	.....	9,831	9,831	.....
Primary schools:								
Public	1899–1900	2,310,929	1,847,983	4,158,912	.....	.....	107,637	[2] $42,803,050
Private	1889–1900	455,339	915,981	1,371,320	.....	.....	48,988	.....
Total primary schools	1899–1900	2,766,268	2,763,964	5,530,232	.....	.....	156,625	.....
Primary normal schools (ages 16 to 19)	1897	[3] 3,865	[3] 3,871	[3] 7,736	897	852	1,749	.....
Secondary schools:								
Public (ages 8 to 20)	1900–1901	88,202	18,320	106,522	.....	.....	.....	7,262,823
Private (ages 8 to 20)	1900–1901	[4] 76,946	.....	76,946	.....	.....	.....	.....
Universities:								
Public	1900–1901	28,959	943	29,902	.....	.....	.....	.....
Private	1900–1901	1,487	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ecole normale supérieure	1901	.....	.....	110	.....	.....	.....	103,120

[1] With the exceptions indicated by foot-notes, these statistics are from the report of M. Maurice-Faure, chairman of the financial committee of the Chamber of Deputies. Budget for 1902 (session 1901).
[2] Expenditure for 1896–97, including all public primary schools and primary normal schools.
[3] *Statistique de l'enseignement primaire*, 1896–97.
[4] Excluding the clerical seminaries (petits séminaires) preparatory to the theological schools, enrolling about 23,000 young men.

the public schools from all relation to the Church were adopted under the direction of Jules Ferry, who was appointed minister of public instruction in 1879. Comparatively little is left to local initiative in respect to the support of public education. Even the local school-tax is levied by the State and collected by State officers. The mayor and civil councilors of every commune (city or rural) have the right to inspect the local schools in respect to the condition of school-buildings, furniture, and supplies, and the health and conduct of pupils; but they have no authority over the schools.

Primary Schools

The department of primary instruction, as organized by the law of Oct. 30, 1886, comprizes infant schools and classes, elementary primary schools, higher primary schools, schools of manual apprenticeship (authorized by law of Dec. 11, 1880, and eventually transformed into national training-schools, "écoles nationales professionnelles"). The departmental normal schools are also included in the category of primary schools. The line of separation between these different classes of schools and the division among them of the prescribed subjects of primary instruction are determined by special regulations elaborated in the superior council of public instruction. These schools are all free and secular, and the teachers in every case must be appointed from the laity. The law with respect to compulsory attendance applies only to the elementary primary schools.

In the infant schools, children of both sexes from two to six years of age receive together physical, moral, and intellectual training adapted to their tender years. These schools are wholly in the charge of women; the teaching force includes a directress, and an assistant, if the number of children is more than fifty. Communes are not obliged by law to found and maintain maternal schools, and it is only in communes having above 2,000 inhabitants, of which at least 1,200 are concentrated in one locality, that these schools are included in the number of public primary schools entitled to support by the commune and to State subventions. These schools have proved to be better adapted to cities than to rural districts. A little more than ten per cent of the communes report at least one infant school.

The elementary primary schools are for the instruction of children from six to twelve years of age; that is, the obligatory school period. In communes having neither infant schools nor infant classes, the age for admission to the elementary primary schools is lowered to five years, while it is raised to seven where there is an infant class. Children above thirteen years of age cannot be admitted to the elementary primaries without special permission. The elementary primary schools may be for boys only, in which case the instruction is given by men; for girls only, or mixed as to sex, in both of which cases the instruction is given by women.

According to the law of March 20, 1883, a commune is bound to provide a school not only in each chief town, but also in all villages or centers of population remote from towns or separated from each other by three kilometers, and containing at least twenty children of school age.

Advanced primary instruction is given either in higher primary schools or in "complementary courses." The establishment takes the latter name if it is annexed to an elementary primary school, and the former if it has a distinct location and is under a separate direction. The complementary courses comprize one or two years. The higher primary schools may comprize two or more years, and must be provided with as many rooms as there are classes. They are called full-course schools (écoles de plein exercise) when they comprize at least three years' study.

Pupils in the Primary Schools at Specified Dates

Year	Total number of pupils	Boys	Girls	In public schools	In private schools	In secular schools	In schools belonging to religious orders
1876–77	4,716,935	2,400,882	2,316,053	3,823,348	893,587	2,648,562	2,068,373
1881–82	5,341,211	2,708,510	2,632,701	4,359,256	981,955	3,567,861	1,773,350
1886–87	5,596,919	2,829,127	2,767,792	4,505,109	1,091,810	3,877,185	1,719,734
1888–89	5,623,401	2,833,218	2,790,183	4,446,851	1,176,550	3,915,915	1,707,486
1891–92	5,556,470	2,805,849	2,750,621	4,281,183	1,275,287	3,900,977	1,655,493
1896–97	5,531,418	2,782,547	2,748,871	4,190,320	1,341,098	3,911,806	1,618,612
1897–98	5,535,125	2,777,739	2,757,386	4,177,590	1,357,535	3,914,352	1,620,773
1898–99	5,539,299	2,774,195	2,765,104	4,169,578	1,369,721	3,938,842	1,600,457
1899–1900	5,530,232	2,766,268	2,763,964	4,158,912	1,371,320	3,953,742	1,576,490

Secondary Education

To the department of secondary instruction belong the lycées, or State classical colleges, for boys; the State lycées for girls; and the communal colleges established by the communal or local authorities and aided by the State. In 1901 the lycées for boys numbered 109 and enrolled 54,830 pupils. The communal colleges numbered 227, with an enrolment of 33,372. This gives a total of 88,202 boys in the public secondary schools. The church secondary schools for boys in 1899 enrolled 91,825 pupils (of these 23,000 in the "petit séminaires" for students intending to enter the priesthood), and private secular secondary establishments for boys, 10,182 pupils. The public lycées and colleges for girls had an enrolment in 1901 of 14,162 students, and there were also 4,158 girls pursuing courses of secondary instruction in classes under public auspices. The attendance upon convent and private secondary schools for girls is not known. The lycée is the typical secondary school. The local colleges have the same curriculum so far as circumstances permit, and students often pass from a college to a lycée for the completion of their studies.

Scope of Secondary Education

Secondary education, as the term is technically used in France, comprizes a complete scheme of education whose goal is the bachelor's degree. It is secondary, not in the sense of a second stage in a continuous process, as implied by the same term in the United States, but in the sense of a higher order of education than that which is technically termed "primary." The distinction between the two arises from the notion that the learned classes, those who are destined for professional careers and for leadership in the State, should be educated from their earlier years in a different manner and in a different class of subjects from the laboring masses. Under this conception the term "secondary education" carries the idea both of social and of scholastic distinction. The men trained in the secondary schools lead the councils of the nation, shape its policies, and form the enlightened opinion which is essential to its stability; hence the government is particularly concerned as to the influences which prevail in secondary education and as to its intellectual outcome. In both respects secondary education as organized in France has been unsatisfactory to the present republic. As regards curriculum and methods of instruction this dissatisfaction is part of that general unrest in secondary education which is manifest in all countries, and which in France, as elsewhere, has been of much longer duration than the republic itself. This unrest, which is conveniently tho inadequately summed up as the conflict between the classics and the sciences, is in fact an inheritance from the eighteenth century. The recent decree for the reorganization of the State secondary schools of France is the solution offered by the republic for a problem which has occupied every successive government from the Revolution to the present time.

But the existing government has a cause of anxiety with respect to secondary education quite apart from the question of studies and methods of instruction. The studies of the independent schools, like those of the State schools, are regulated by the requirements for the degree examination, which is a State function; but the spirit and general conduct of the former schools are very different from those of the State schools, and apparently more in consonance with the feelings of the higher classes of the country.

Enrolment in Secondary Schools for Boys

Classes of Institutions	1887[1]	1896[2]
State schools:		
Lycées	53,816	53,290
Colleges	36,086	32,224
Total	89,902	85,514
Schools of religious associations:		
Classical	50,085	58,506
Petits séminaires (preparatory to theological schools)	.....	21,737
Total	50,085	80,243
Private secular schools	20,174	13,599
Total non-State	70,259	93,842
Grand total	160,161	179,356

[1] From *Statistique de l'enseignement secondaire des garçons*, 1887, pp. lvi, lxxviii, xcviii.

[2] *Rapports faits au nom de la commission de budget*, etc.—*Service de l'Instruction Publique*, par M. Bouge, 1897, pp. 124, 125; also 1898, pp. 32, 33.

University Education

To the department of higher education belong the universities and the special schools of university rank which are under the minister of education. Paris is the seat of these special schools, and also of the principal university. Under the law of 1896, fifteen of the former faculty groups have been organized into independent universities. They registered 29,377 students in 1900, an increase of 11,772, or 68 per cent above the number enrolled in the faculties of 1888. The professors of the State universities are appointed by the president of the republic in advice with the minister of public instruction.

The following table shows the distribution of university students in the different faculties. For more recent statistics, see FRANCE.

Faculties	Number of University Students			
	Jan. 15, 1900		Jan. 15, 1901	
	State universities	Independent universities	State universities	Independent universities
Law	9,709	1,109	10,152	996
Medicine	8,781	151	8,627	139
Sciences	3,857	185	3,910	158
Letters	3,476	168	3,723	181
Pharmacy	3,395	16	3,347	14
Protestant theology	159	....	142	....
Total	29,377	1,629	29,901	1,488

GERMANY

Prussia is taken as a type of German school administration.

Administration

Education in Prussia is in the hands of the Minister of Ecclesiastical, Educational, and Medical Affairs. He is a member of the cabinet, and is responsible to the king for all educational matters.

The councilor at the head of the provincial education department is the provincial school councilor, and he is the official intermediary between the central and local authorities in Prussian education. The members of the provincial school board are appointed by the Minister of Education and confirmed by the king.

Further, each province is divided into "governments" (Regierungen), of which there are thirty-six. Each has a school board consisting of six officers, two appointed by the king and four by the provincial education department. These boards are appointed for six years, and their main duty is the supervision of the primary schools and the training and appointment of teachers.

Elementary Schools

The Kreise (or school districts) may be urban or rural. The head of the city administration is the mayor, or burgomaster, who is a paid official, and whose appointment must be approved by the king. The head of the rural Kreis is the Landrath. In cities a subcommittee of three or five members of the city council act as the local school board, while in villages and towns three or five leading citizens are nominated to act as the local board.

The drawing up and prescribing of courses of study, as well as the certification of all teachers, are retained entirely in its own hands by the State.

State inspection of primary schools is very irregular, as the teacher is so thoroughly well trained that frequent inspections are considered unnecessary. The State reserves to itself the power of a court of appeal in all cases of dispute between teachers and local managers. The actual local management is in the hands of the mayor or the priest. The power of the clergy, indeed, over the school is so great as to be one of the most serious grievances of the German teacher.

All German primary schools are denominational, but the greater part of the religion taught is non-sectarian and there is the right of withdrawal; there are a small number of little schools, called "Simultanenschulen," where children of mixed creeds are taught together, but, as a rule, each faith has its own school. In some towns, such as Krefeld and Cologne, these two separate schools, Catholic and Protestant, exist under the same roof and use the same playground, etc. Nevertheless, the two schools are perfectly independent of each other, with separate teachers and text-books, and with separate local managers.

School Laws.—Children under thirteen years of age cannot be employed in factories, and even those over thirteen only providing they have complied with certain school requirements. The age of compulsory attendance at school in Prussia is from six to thirteen in the country, and six to fourteen in the town. That is the law; but, as we shall see later on, certain exceptions are made in cases of extreme poverty, etc., and, as a rule, the law is less stringently applied in the case of girls than of boys. It has been in vogue so long, and has been so consistently enforced, that the habit of regular attendance has become automatic.

STATISTICS OF THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, PRUSSIA, 1891–2 AND 1900–1

	1891–2	1900–1
1. Public elementary schools	56,563	58,164
2. Fully occupied teachers (male and female)	12,032	144,484
3. Pupils of elementary schools	7,925,688	8,829,812
4. Expenditure for elementary schools, marks	242,399,000	412,886,000
5. State contributions, mk.	69,310,000	120,357,000
6. Number of:		
a. Inhabitants to each elementary school	874	969
b. Pupils to every 100 inhabitants	16.03	15.66
c. Pupils to each fully occupied teacher	66	61
d. Cost of school maintenance for each pupil, mk.	31	47
e. State contribution for each pupil	8.75	13.63
f. Cost of school maintenance of each elementary school	4,285	7,159
g. State contribution for each elementary school	1,225	2,075

Secondary Schools

The name of "Higher Educational Institutions" is, in Prussia, bestowed on those schools that form the connecting link between the elementary schools on the one hand and the universities and other higher colleges on the other. In the south German states these institutions, corresponding to the French "écoles secondaires," are often called "middle-class schools," whereas in Prussia by middle-class schools are understood higher elementary schools. There are three kinds of complete higher educational institutions, viz., Gymnasia, Realgymnasia, and Higher Realschulen, and to these correspond three kinds of incomplete institutions, viz., Progymnasia, Realprogymnasia, and Realschulen. The complete institutions have nine classes, the Latin names of which—sexta, quinta, etc., up to prima—still recall the original existence of only six classes. But long before, the two

upper classes of the Gymnasia had a two years' course, and thus arose a lower and upper prima and a lower and upper secunda.

The Gymnasia owe their origin to the old Latin schools, and have gradually developed themselves, since the time of the Reformation, so as to acquire their present shape. Down to most recent times they were the only institutions that possessed the right of preparing for university studies.

In the second half of the eighteenth century there arose Realschulen or "Higher Burgherschools," as educational institutions originally not for the learned professions, but only for civil and commercial life. The classical languages were replaced in them by French and English, and special stress was laid on mathematics and natural science. The course was at first a much shorter one than that of the Gymnasium, but gradually institutions were developed with a larger number of classes, in which instruction was also given, to a moderate extent, in Latin, but not in Greek. These schools received in Prussia, in 1832, a more definite organization, and at the same time a leaving or final examination was introduced into them, by which admission to certain higher studies was obtained.

In 1882 the Realschulen of the first order, with teaching of Latin, received generally, in Prussia, the name of Realgymnasia, a designation that had already before occurred in other federal states.

The higher educational institutions are partly State, partly communal. Many of the latter, however, receive subsidies from the State treasury.

The permanently appointed, academically trained teachers are called "Oberlehrer" (senior masters); a number of them also have the title of "Professor."

The salary of the senior masters starts, in Prussia, at 2,700 marks, and rises, by seven three-yearly stages, to 6,000 mk. In addition, they receive an allowance for house rent, which in the larger towns amounts to 660 mk., and in Berlin to 900 mk. The salary of the rectors of institutions rises to 7,200 mk. Besides, they mostly have a free house or a corresponding compensation for rent.

The establishment and management of higher girls' schools, in Germany, was for a long time left exclusively to private enterprise, and in the Roman Catholic parts of the country they are still, as a rule, in the hands of conventual institutions. Not till the third decade of the last century were public higher girls' schools established as municipal institutions, but still in comparatively small numbers. State regulations as to the organization, course of instruction, and inspection of these schools have been issued in more recent times, and are in general less incisive than those applying to boys' schools. Three quarters of the higher girls' schools are still under private management. As a rule, the higher girls' schools that are not exclusively boarding-schools, supply also elementary education. The children enter the lowest class, or the lowest of the preparatory school, at their sixth year, and pass through a nine or ten years' course. In Prussia the normal duration of the course is nine years, but with the addition of an extra class with optional subjects.

Girls' Schools

German Secondary Schools

Kinds of Schools	No. of schools	No. of pupils	No. of teachers	Total expenditure in marks	State contribution to the total expenditure in marks
I. In the year 1885–1886.					
Gymnasia	7	3,376	159	317,503	128,260
Realgymnasia	4	2,823	122	465,170	142,725
Higher realschulen	..	....	..		
Progymnasia	2	1,647	98		
Realschulen	13				
Total	26	7,846	379	782,673	270,985
II. In the year 1902–1903.					
Gymnasia	12	2,876	242	1,977,979	859,220
Realgymnasia	3	1,142	115		
Higher realschulen	4	2,015	27		
Progymnasia	3	201	140		
Realschulen	12	2,229			
Total	34	8,463	524	1,977,979	859,220

Universities

The German universities are exclusively State institutions. As regards their origin, four somewhat distinct periods are noticeable.

First Period.—The Middle Ages. Growing up on the soil of the universal Church and its spiritual life, the universities, in this period, reduce the western world to the formative discipline of Greek philosophy and science, especially of the Aristotelian system. Further, they promote the thorough scientific organization of the church-doctrine and of the ecclesiastical law, and bring about a knowledge of Roman law and ancient medicine.

Second Period.—The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is the period of transition between the Middle Ages and modern times; the sixteenth century, the time of the Renaissance and Reformation, the seventeenth century, that of the rise of the modern state and society, and at the same time of modern philosophy and natural science. In the movement of the sixteenth century the universities take a considerable part, not equally so in those of the seventeenth century: the new philosophy and natural science were not born within their walls. The result was that they remained behind the time and fell into discredit.

Universities

Third Period.—The eighteenth century. This is the period of the reception of modern philosophy and science by the German university, at the same time the period of transition from the old principle of the obligatory standard of instruction to the principle of liberty of thought and teaching. The German university, in this period, had obtained the lead, not only in the mental life of the nation, but at the same time in the development of university affairs of the whole European world.

Fourth Period.—The nineteenth century. This is the period of the advance of the single branches of learning, and of the organization of scientific research. The research in the field of natural science and of history is emancipated from all philosophical or theological dogmatism, so as to gather and work up facts by individual labor. In this the German university maintains the lead; it attracts investigators, disciplines the various forces, and organizes labor. In its teaching this change appears prominently in the development of the seminary system.

All the universities possess considerable assets, in the shape of buildings, collections, etc., besides endowments for the purpose of bursaries or for the provision of the families of deceased professors. But only a few, like that of Greifswald, possess property that yields considerable revenues, from which a large part of the costs of maintenance is defrayed. Others receive subsidies from independent public funds, that are devoted to special purposes, as, for example, Göttingen, from the Hanoverian monastic funds. As their own earnings we may also mention the proceeds arising from the clinical hospitals, and from certain fees or charges. By far the larger

portion, however, of the total university expenses is covered by direct State subsidies.

The chief representative of the university is the rector, or in some universities the prorector, especially where the reigning sovereign, or a prince of the royal house, is made rector magnificentissimus. The rector or managing prorector is elected, by a process differing in the various universities, by the total number of the ordinary professors (in Göttingen by a general meeting embracing also the extraordinary professors). He is chosen from their midst for one year, but the election requires to be confirmed by the ruling sovereign. In most universities the senate is composed, in addition to the rector, of the latter's immediate predecessor, of the deans of faculties, of the senators specially elected for one year by the ordinary professors, and of the university judge.

The teaching-staff of the university is composed of ordinary professors, honorary professors, extraordinary professors, "privat-docents," and lecturers (lectors), to whom must be added technical teachers and instructors of bodily exercises.

Only those persons who have matriculated are considered as students, properly so called, of the universities. In addition there are authorized hearers and temporary auditors, who have been admitted by the rector to attend lectures with the consent of the teacher. The normal qualification for immatriculation is the possession of a leaving-certificate of a higher educational institution with nine classes.

The obtaining of the academical degree constitutes the theoretical conclusion of the university course. In Germany such degrees have now a practical importance only for those who intend to devote themselves to an academical career. One can become a clergyman, a judge, a barrister, a physician, a higher-school teacher, without possessing an academical title. The large number of graduations, which still take place every year, is explained by the consideration which the title enjoys of old in public estimation, and by the wide-spread partiality in Germany for titles in general, among physicians also by the endeavor to be marked off from quacks.

Statistics of German Universities (1903–4).

	Total No. of students and hearers	No. of matriculated students	Students of theology
Berlin	14,007	7,774	335
Bonn	2,773	2,568	366
Breslau	2,096	1,870	301
Erlangen	971	942	150
Freiburg	1,626	1,501	224
Giessen	1,167	1,069	76
Göttingen	1,697	1,574	105
Greifswald	766	705	85
Halle-Wittenberg	2,080	1,881	309
Heidelberg	1,551	1,371	59
Jena	1,037	953	38
Kiel	805	745	32
Königsberg	1,099	932	53
Leipsic	4,630	3,880	293
Marburg	1,347	1,276	117
Munich	5,054	4,766	172
Münster	1,308	1,256	275
Rostock	592	556	37
Strassburg	1,714	1,395	249
Tübingen	1,470	1,407	426
Würzburg	1,326	1,298	112
Total	49,116	39,719	3,814

	Students of medicine	Students of philosophy and science	Students of law
Berlin	1,111	3,772	2,756
Bonn	157	1,257	788
Breslau	190	792	587
Erlangen	191	322	279
Freiburg	467	443	367
Giessen	328	502	163
Göttingen	159	886	424
Greifswald	151	254	215
Halle-Wittenberg	180	965	427
Heidelberg	261	652	399
Jena	179	548	190
Kiel	213	310	190
Königsberg	177	356	346
Leipsic	450	1,911	1,226
Marburg	158	679	322
Munich	985	1,856	1,753
Münster	.....	586	395
Rostock	132	285	102
Strassburg	226	590	330
Tübingen	171	315	495
Würzburg	452	340	394
Total	6,338	17,419	12,148

The elementary teachers receive their professional education in preparatory institutions and seminaries. In some states there are only seminaries without separate preparatory schools, but in such the seminary course lasts all the longer, as a rule, six years.

There are in the German Empire 121 seminaries for the preparation of male teachers and twelve for females.

Technical Schools

The technical high schools of Germany deal with the four technical departments of training for architects, civil engineers, mechanical engineers, and technical chemists. Darmstadt and Karlsruhe have a special department for electro-technology, while in the other high schools, except in Hanover, this subject is combined with mechanical engineering, in the latter town with the chemical-technical branch. Besides, as technical departments, Berlin has a special division for ship-building and for marine-engine construction, Brunswick for pharmacy, Karlsruhe for forestry, Munich for agriculture.

In all the high schools the mathematical-physical subjects, and those of general education, have been combined into a "General Department," but in Stuttgart these form two separate branches.

The regular course of study in the separate departments has been laid down, in all the high schools, with due regard to their interdependence and to the necessity for keeping the aims of the various studies separate. Although these schemes are not actually prescribed, they nevertheless afford the students a sure guidance in conducting their studies in such a manner that, within a given time (usually four years), they may be enabled to acquire the scientific training necessary for their profession.

Sweden

The common schools in Sweden are primarily the concern of the parish. Nevertheless they receive considerable assistance from the State and are under the superintendence of State and ecclesiastical authorities. Every parish consti-

tutes a school district, the legislative authority of which is vested in the church assembly.

The school board performs the functions of preparatory and executive administration; it consists of the rector, who is ex-officio president, and of at least four other members (male or female), elected by the church assembly.

There must be at least one common school in every district. When possible, the school ought to be divided into two departments, viz., the infant school for new beginners and the common school proper for more advanced pupils. For those who have passed through the complete course at the common school, proper arrangements are made in many places for free continuation courses.

These courses have diverse names and organizations. For pupils who have been through the common school and entered some trade, a so-called continuation school is arranged. This school provides for a yearly instruction of at least 180 hours, distributed on certain evenings of the week, or often centered within one or two short terms. Pupils engaged in practical work may, on leaving the common school, continue in the higher division of that school, where extended instruction is afforded.

Besides these regular schools, there are others —a sort of provisional institution. When certain parts of a school district are so remote that the children belonging to it cannot readily avail themselves of the common school, it is allowable to establish in its place minor common schools with a weaker teaching staff and a more restricted course.

Elementary Schools

People's High Schools.—During the last decades numerous efforts have been made in Sweden for the promotion of knowledge also among the adult population of the lower classes of the community, or among others who either through their trade or profession are prevented from attending the regular schools. These efforts have taken form, partly in the so-called "People's High Schools" and in the kindred "Workmen's Institutes," both of which institutions have originated on Scandinavian or Swedish ground, and partly in the so-called "university extension" movement, according to a pattern received from England. To this has of late years been added a great activity in popular public lecturing, which is being embraced with a steadily growing interest, and is arranged for by associations specially formed for the purpose.

People's high schools (Folkhogskolor) are institutions which only exist in the three kingdoms of Scandinavia and also in Finland. Their purpose is to furnish adult members, especially of the peasantry, with an education at once civil, patriotic, and practical. There are now thirty of these schools.

People's high schools are all located in the country. Most of them now have buildings of their own, with residences for the teachers and a certain number of pupils, the rest of the pupils living in adjacent houses. Gymnastic halls are provided in some schools, and are also used by the people of the neighborhood for meetings.

Most of the schools were originally private enterprises, but nearly always supported by grants from the county councils and agricultural societies, as well as the State. No special courses of instruction are fixt, and there is no examination on leaving.

Secondary Education

Under this head come the public schools for boys supported by the State, as well as the private schools of the same standing, and also the higher schools for girls, which in range of instruction closely approach the former.

During the school year 1902–3 the entire number of public secondary schools as supported by the State amounted to 82.

During the school year 1900–1, 36 schools had nine classes, 1 six classes, 38 five classes, 1 four classes, 2 three classes, and 1 two classes.

Universities

Sweden has two State universities, viz., in Upsala, founded 1477 (the oldest in Scandinavia), and in Lund, founded 1668, chiefly with a view to promote a closer union of the provinces then newly acquired from Denmark with the rest of Sweden. To make up for the lack of a State university in Stockholm, the capital, private munificence has there established a private university; the same thing has been done also in Gottenborg, the second city of Sweden. Besides this there has existed in Stockholm since 1815 a medical faculty, the Caroline Institute, founded and supported by the State. There are two private universities, the University of Stockholm and the University of Gottenborg.

Italy

For administrative purposes the country is divided into communes and provinces. A commune is the smallest division of territory having a local government. A commune is governed by a "sindaco" (mayor) and a communal council (both elective). A province is governed by a "prefetto" (a kind of territorial governor) and a provincial council. The prefetto is appointed by the national government.

The education department is organized throughout the kingdom under one sole head and system, so that the grade of one student corresponds to the grade of another.

Elementary Instruction.—By "primary school" is meant a school having a five years' course of elementary studies. The course is divided into two sections. The first, named "inferior," is of three years and is obligatory by law upon every child after becoming six years of age. The second section is named "superior" and occupies two years. It is a progressive and complementary continuation of the former, but not compulsory.

The school program of the two sections embraces the rudiments of the Italian tongue, practical arithmetic, rudiments of Italian history, geography, reading and writing, first principles of the rights and duties of a citizen, the metric system, and elementary gymnastics.

Secondary Schools (Ginnasii and Licei).—The ginnasio has a five years' course, divided in two sections, the curriculum of studies including the Italian language and literature, Latin, history, geography, arithmetic, and gymnastics. The second or "superior" section occupies two years; the curriculum continues the above studies and adds Greek, French, and mathematics. Then follows the "liceo" with a two years' course, having a curriculum which completes the gymnasial instruction, and adds German or French, philosophy, physics, and natural history.

This is the routine of studies to be pursued in order to prepare for admission to the university;

in the aggregate it embraces a five years' elementary course, a five years' gymnasium course, and a two years' lyceum course—in all twelve years of continued study before a pupil becomes qualified to enter a university; this for every student in the whole kingdom.

In 1900–1 there were 269 "ginnasii governativi," so called, with an attendance of 31,668 males and 1,178 females, a total of 32,846. In the same year there were 150 "licei governativi," so called, with an attendance of 12,983 males and 287 females, a total of 13,270.

The above statistics of gymnasiums and lyceums for 1900–1 are incomplete. The latest figures which give the whole attendance are as follows:

Total gymnasiums in the kingdom, 708 in 1895–1896, divided into governativi 183, and non-governativi 525, with an attendance of 59,778 students, 25,444 belonging to the first class and 34,334 to the second.

Total lyceums in the same year 332, governativi 116, non-governativi 216, with an attendance of 17,689 students, 10,945 of whom were governativi and 6,744 non-governativi.

Universities

The term "university" is applied in Italy only to those schools of the highest grade in which the students are instructed in special branches for the profession of their choice, and after a four or five years' course, according to the requirements of the profession selected, they are prepared, graduate, and receive the diplomas of doctor of medicine, doctor of laws, etc. There are in Italy twenty-one universities, quite uniformly distributed throughout the kingdom, four of which are independent of government control.

There are also numerous Convitti or boarding-schools both for boys and for girls, agricultural schools, art schools, and various schools of technology.

For other countries, see each country.

United States

Early History

The first school to be established within the present boundaries of the United States was, so far as we have any record, in New Amsterdam, now New York, in the year 1633. Its first teacher was Adam Roelandsen. The work of the school was strictly elementary. Whereas the colonists in Virginia seemed to have been moved by the missionary spirit, establishing schools principally for Indians and orphans, and the Puritans in New England recognized at first only a need for higher education for the maintenance of a learned clergy, the Dutch began at the bottom, with their own children. In the matter of popular education they were leaders. Still earlier than this, in the year 1616, an attempt had been made to found a school in the Virginia Colony, but because of the Indian massacre of 1622 the movement failed.

With the failure of this attempt nothing more was done for a number of years. In fact there is no certainty that any schools were established in Virginia until nearly 1640, when schools began to be founded by private bequest. One Benjamin Symms left by will 200 acres of land and eight cows for a free school in Elizabeth County. The justices of the peace of the county, together with the minister and church wardens of the city parish, and their successors, were to be trustees of the funds. The school opened in 1636.

New England

Within the New England Colony, which figured much more prominently in educational matters than did any other, the first school was established at Boston in 1635. This was the famous Boston Latin School, first presided over by Philemon Parmount, later by Ezekiel Cheever. One year later Charleston arranged with William Witherell "to keep a school for twelve months, to begin the eighth of August, and to have £40 this year." Later schools were established at Salem, Dorchester, Cambridge, Roxbury, and Braintree. They were all in a sense secondary schools since admission to them presupposed at least some slight knowledge of the English language. Since even so much proficiency was not by any means the rule with the children of the colony, the general court in 1647 framed the most important school-law of our whole history. This law marks a tremendous step forward; so far forward in fact that its enforcement was practically impossible.

Yet has this law been the model for a vast amount of subsequent legislation, and may be taken as the mother of all our school-laws. It contained all the essentials of the purest democracy. The teacher was to be appointed by the people and paid by the people "to teach all such pupils as shall resort to him, to write and read," without a shadow of class distinction. Nor was the law simply permissive; it was mandatory as well, requiring that schools be established, and that a fine of £5 await those communities that failed to observe its edicts. There was to be an elementary school for towns of fifty families, and a grammar school for those of 100 families. But like so many laws enacted since its day, this one had its weak point, well-nigh ruining its usefulness. The fines were too small. The town disposed to do so could pay its fine much cheaper than it could keep its school, and many were disposed to do so. In fact, it has been said that Boston alone, of all the towns within the colony, complied fully with the law of 1647 during all the years that it was on the statute books.

Within the Connecticut Colony schools were established at Hartford as early as 1639, and it is even probable a year earlier at New Haven, and in other towns soon after. The other New England colonies were much later in the establishment of schools.

Central States

In the early days of the Middle West the settlers came from the Eastern States across the mountains, and those institutions which had taken long years to evolve in the older states were adopted, ready made, in the newer. The federal government encouraged this adoption, including in the official act which incorporated the Northwest Territory (from which the older states west of the Alleghanies were formed) the following clause: Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." These were no idle words. Altho not intended to be mandatory in any narrow sense, they were, nevertheless, prophetic. No newly occupied country in the whole world's history has ever seen schools established so nearly coincident with the first settlements, nor schools of so high an order in so short a time. In some respects it has even passed the earlier settled region to the East. Its schools contain a larger proportion of the children of school age, both in the elementary and secondary grades. It has, too, a larger total number of pupils in the schools, and makes a greater annual expenditure for school purposes.

Institutions for secondary and higher education flourish particularly in the Central States, which have also been preeminently the home of coeducation, the first college in the country admitting both sexes being that of Oberlin, while the lower schools, almost without exception, have been coeducational from the start.

The South

The South, altho in some parts settled early, has been slow in establishing an organized system of public schools. In the earlier years this was due largely to a prevailing sentiment in favor of private schools, or education within the family by means of tutors. As a consequence, the poorer classes were not educated, or were forced to attend the so-called "pauper school." There were, however, many private schools and academies of a high order throughout the South, and those who were able to pay found educational opportunities in abundance. Especially was this true of the girls, for the South was a leader in the founding of seminaries for them. It was not until the close of the Civil War that the states took up the problem of the education of the masses, but since then they have struggled with it most manfully in the face of odds not equaled in any other part of the country. Many conditions have made the problem difficult. First, the region, never a wealthy one, had been impoverished by the tremendous expense of a war fought within its own confines. Second, 6,000 000 of totally uneducated colored people were freed and left upon their hands for assimilation and some form of education. This involved the setting up of a double system, with all the extra expense which such a plan involves. Third, the population is largely rural, necessitating a greater outlay of money to bring the school to every child than is the case where the population is more urban. Fourth, no part of the country has so large a proportion of its population within the limits of school age as has the South—a most encouraging fact from some points of view, but perplexing to the financiers of public school problems.

Prior to 1870, however, every Southern state had made constitutional and legislative provisions for free schools and a general system of education. In twelve cities the schools were under some form of state control, eight had provided for county supervision, normal schools had been started in six, agricultural and industrial colleges in a still larger number, and in the large cities progress had been made in grading the schools. It is true that the North had helped in this work through the Peabody and other funds, and the federal government had extended its aid; but the great bulk of the labor and funds came from the South itself. Considering that but thirty years have elapsed since its educational machinery was

really started, magnificent progress has been made. The percentage of total population enrolled in the schools, as well as of children of school age, has doubled in that time; the actual number of pupils attending school more than quadrupled; ten days have been added to the school year; and the per capita expenditure for school purposes has been nearly doubled. In proportion to its wealth, the South to-day taxes itself more heavily for its schools than does the great western portion of the country, tho not as yet quite so heavily as the North and East. Yet, in spite of the rapid progress made, much is still to be done before the schools of the South are upon the same footing of general excellence as those of the other portions of the country.

The West

Unlike the great central portion of the U. S., the territory farther west was not occupied, altho admirably suited for agricultural purposes, and promising permanent homes from the very beginning. It was, rather, taken possession of by civilization, through a series of unrelated migrations to particular localities far removed from other settled territories, from which centers of population little frontiers were sent out, until the settlements have now little wholly unoccupied land between their borders. This peculiarity of occupation, and particularly, in some instances, the reasons underlying the special migrations, have influenced educational development to some extent; but in the end the result has been the same as in the Eastern portions of the country, and to-day we find the public school a flourishing institution, even in the remotest corners of this vast western domain. Its schools rank high. Altho but thinly settled, the region enrolls a greater percentage of its population (five to eighteen years) in its schools than does any other part of the country. In its expenditure for school purposes it is generous, exceeding any other portion of the country in per capita outlay.

As the grammar-schools throughout the early colonies declined in efficiency toward the latter part of the eighteenth century, a new institution was coming to the front, providing a means of education that was far-reaching. This was the academy, the successor of the old grammar-school, and the forerunner of the modern high school. From about the time of the Revolution until the middle of the nineteenth century, it was the undisputed leader in secondary education, and altho now in a sense deposed by the public high school, the academy has not outlived its usefulness. In their inception, academies were of two general classes: (1) The local academy, which aimed to do little more than to supply the educational needs of its immediate neighborhood; and (2) the academy of a more pretentious type, with a course of considerable breadth, drawing its students from a wide field. Those of the former class were frequently but ephemeral, while many of the latter possest considerable endowment, and were established upon a permanent basis. The academy was essentially a private institution, but as will be shown later in many instances received such substantial recognition from the state as to warrant its being included under the public school system. So closely did the early academies resemble their predecessors, the grammar-schools, that it is not easy to determine the first, either as to time or place. The first, however, to become incorporated was one which was founded in Philadelphia in 1753, through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. In Massachusetts the first to incorporate was the Phillips Academy at Andover, started in 1778, tho not chartered until two years later. Phillips Academy at Exeter, N. H., was founded at about the same time. Dummer Academy was the third to be chartered in New England, being incorporated in 1782, tho its history begins in 1761, when Lieutenant-governor Dummer bequeathed his mansion and 330 acres of land for the establishment and support of a school. Two years later the school was opened at Byfield, Mass. Because of the celebrity of its first master, Samuel Moody, it may rightly be called the mother of the New England academy. For nineteen years Master Moody managed this school, and made it, says Charles Hammond, "the best type of an English grammar-school that had existed on American soil since the days of Ezekiel Cheever."

The common-school system of the U. S. is in most of the states organized under four different units of administration:

School Systems

1. The school district is the smallest unit in school administration and the most democratic feature in the entire political organization. Under the earlier colonial conditions it arose most naturally. In some form or other, the district school system exists to-day in a great majority of the states. In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Indiana, it has, however, been entirely superseded by the township system. In many other states (as, for instance, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, the Dakotas, and the upper peninsula of Michigan) it exists alongside of the township system. In some states the district is primarily a subdivision of the town or township; in others, of the county. In nearly all, the voters within the district elect the school officers and levy taxes, tho in some those functions are performed by the county.

2. The township and the incorporated city are the units in school organization which are fast superseding the district. Consolidation in school matters is as crying a question as it is in manufacture and finance, and will perhaps prove a greater blessing. The township organization is but a merger of districts with practically the same rights and privileges as were invested in each of the original districts. The officers are chosen at the annual town-meetings by all the electors, or, as is sometimes the case, the township is the unit of school government, and the schools are made uniform throughout its extent. It is less formally democratic and more fully centralized than the system which it is superseding, and has the advantage of forcing the wealthier portions of the township to contribute to the support of the schools in the poorer communities, thus bringing about a more uniform standard of excellence. But a comparatively few states, and those for the most part among the older ones (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Indiana), have compulsory township organization by legislative enactment. Massachusetts was the first to abolish the district system (1882), and was followed by New Hampshire (1886), Vermont (1892), and Maine (1893).

In at least twenty other states—Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wisconsin—there is permissive legislation looking toward some form of school centralization, tho in most of them it is as yet being carried out to only a slight extent.

3. Throughout the South, the county has been the general unit in all forms of government, and consequently the basis of school administration. As a result those functions which were in the earlier times in New England performed by the district school board, such as the examination and appointment of teachers, providing school buildings, and raising school-funds, etc., are the duties of the county officials.

4. The state is the supreme unit for general school legislation. Beyond this it hardly goes, tho where a state board of education, or its equivalent under any title, is maintained, it exercises some administrative powers. In no sense, however, does the state exercise supervisory powers over the actual work of instruction, since in many states it would be manifestly impossible for the state superintendent of instruction to pay even brief visits to all the schools within his jurisdiction in the course of his term of office.

Secondary Education

By the middle of the nineteenth century, public elementary education, supported by taxation, had been established in all parts of the country. The first city to establish a public high school with a two to four years' course of study was Boston, Mass., in 1821. Previous to 1840 six other cities, all but one in New England, had established similar schools: Portland (1821); Worcester (1824); New Bedford (1827); Cambridge and Taunton (1838); and Philadelphia (1839). Within the next decade seven more high schools had been added to the list in the North Atlantic States, one (New Orleans, 1843) in the South, and three (Cleveland, 1846; Cincinnati, 1847; and Toledo, 1849) in the North Central.

The number of students receiving secondary instruction (the ninth to the thirteenth year's

COMMON SCHOOL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES

	1869–70	1879–80	1889–90	1899–1900	1902–3[1]	1903–4[1]
I.—General Statistics						
Total population	[2]38,558,371	[2]50,155,783	[2]62,622,250	[2]75,602,515	[3]79,900,389	[3]81,241,246
Persons 5 to 18 years of age	[2]12,055,443	[2]15,065,767	[2]18,543,201	[2]21,404,322	[3]22,655,001	[3]23,028,748
Pupils enrolled (duplicates excluded)	6,871,522	9,867,505	12,722,581	15,503,110	16,009,361	16,256,038
Per cent of total population enrolled	17.82	19.67	20.32	20.51	20.04	20.01
Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years of age enrolled	57.00	65.50	68.61	72.43	70.67	70.59
Average daily attendance	4,077,347	6,144,143	8,153,635	10,632,772	11,054,502	11,318,256
Relation of same to enrolment (per cent)	59.3	62.3	64.1	68.6	69.2	69.6
Average length of school term (days)	132.2	130.3	134.7	144.3	147.2	146.7
Total number of days attended by all pupils	539,053,423	800,719,970	1,098,232,725	1,534,822,633	1,627,405,037	1,660,507,716
Average number of days attended by each person 5 to 18	44.7	53.1	59.2	71.8	71.8	72.1
Average number attended by each pupil enrolled	78.4	81.1	86.3	99.0	101.7	102.1
Male teachers	77,529	122,795	125,525	126,588	117,035	113,744
Female teachers	122,986	163,798	238,397	296,474	332,252	341,498
Whole number of teachers	200,515	286,593	363,922	423,062	449,287	455,242
Per cent of male teachers	38.7	42.8	34.5	29.9	26.0	25.0
Average monthly wages of male teachers[4]	.....	.....	.....	$46.53	$49.98	$50.96
Average monthly wages of female teachers[4]	.....	.....	.....	38.93	40.51	41.54
Number of schoolhouses[5]	116,312	178,222	224,526	248,279	256,789	257,627
Value of all school property	$130,383,008	$209,571,718	$342,531,791	$550,069,217	$643,903,228	$685,101,343
II.—Financial Statistics						
Receipts:						
From income of permanent funds and rents	.....	.....	$7,744,765	$9,152,274	$12,102,581	$10,193,093
From state taxes	.....	.....	26,345,323	37,886,740	40,455,815	42,552,969
From local taxes	.....	.....	97,222,426	149,486,845	173,730,858	193,215,794
From all other sources	.....	.....	11,882,292	23,240,130	25,347,865	33,172,139
Total received	.....	.....	$143,194,806	$219,765,989	$251,637,119	$279,133,995
Per cent of total derived from—						
Income of permanent funds and rents	.....	.....	5.4	4.2	4.8	3.7
State taxes	.....	.....	18.4	17.2	16.1	15.2
Local taxes	.....	.....	67.9	68.0	69.0	69.2
All other sources	.....	.....	8.3	10.6	10.1	11.9
Expenditures:						
For sites, buildings, furniture, libraries, and apparatus	.....	.....	$26,207,041	$35,450,820	$46,289,074	$49,453,269
For salaries of superintendents and teachers	$37,832,566	$55,942,972	91,836,484	137,687,746	157,110,108	167,824,753
For all other purposes	.....	.....	22,463,190	41,826,052	48,058,443	55,938,205
Total expended	$63,396,666	$78,094,687	$140,506,715	$214,964,618	$251,457,625	$273,216,227
Expenditure per capita of population	1.64	1.56	2.24	2.84	3.15	3.36
Expenditure per pupil (of average attendance):						
For sites, buildings, etc.	.....	.....	$3.21	$3.33	$4.19	$4.37
For salaries	$9.28	$9.10	11.26	12.95	14.21	14.83
For all other purposes	.....	.....	2.76	3.93	4.35	4.94
Total expenditure per pupil	$15.55	$12.71	$17.23	$20.21	$22.75	$24.14
Per cent of expenditure devoted to—						
Sites, buildings, etc.	.....	.....	18.6	16.5	18.4	18.1
Salaries	59.7	71.6	65.4	64.0	62.5	61.4
All other purposes	.....	.....	16.0	19.5	19.1	20.5
Average expenditure per day for each pupil (cents):						
For salaries	7.0	7.0	8.4	9.0	9.7	10.1
For all purposes	11.8	9.7	12.8	14.0	15.5	16.5

[1] The figures for this year are subject to correction.
[2] United States census.
[3] Estimated.
[4] Several states are not included in this average.
[5] Including buildings rented.

STATISTICS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1903–4

Instructors and students in public high schools and in private high schools and academies.

STATE OR TERRITORY	PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS					PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS				
	Number	Secondary teachers		Secondary students		Number	Secondary teachers		Secondary students	
		Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
United States	7,230	12,825	13,935	266,039	369,769	1,606	4,051	5,515	51,599	51,808
North Atlantic Division	1,635	3,467	5,141	88,690	118,320	589	1,837	2,351	21,658	18,634
South Atlantic Division	507	822	696	13,624	20,004	284	648	853	8,381	7,927
South Central Division	771	1,175	895	19,764	29,403	293	531	663	8,831	9,071
North Central Division	3,895	6,462	6,185	125,110	175,242	322	743	1,234	9,248	12,063
Western Division	422	899	1,018	18,851	26,800	118	292	414	3,481	4,113

Statistics of Secondary Education

work of the course of study) was 822,235 in 1904, as against 367,003 in 1890. The number has more than doubled in fourteen years. Of these pupils, 652,804 were enrolled in public institutions, and 169,431 in private institutions and in preparatory departments of institutions for higher education. The public high schools enrolled 77 per cent of the entire number of secondary students. Secondary students constituted a little more than one per cent of the entire population in 1904, having increased from 0.59 per cent in 1890. The number of teachers engaged in public high schools and in private schools of the same grade was 36,326.

The increase in public high schools has been very rapid in recent years. In 1890 there were 2,526 such schools, and in 1904, 7,230. Of the students in the public high schools 323,028 were studying Latin; 364,923, algebra; 11,158, Greek; 176,039, geometry; 251,397, history; and 43,052, chemistry. The number studying Latin in 1892 was 39 per cent of the entire number of students attending public high schools, and in 1904 the percentage had increased to 50.81. The value of the school property of the high schools of the U. S. amounts to nearly $158,000,000; that of private schools of the same grade amounts to about $70,000,000. About one half of the private schools are controlled by religious denominations.

The federal government at Washington has never attempted any control over public instruction in the several states, and in this respect offers a marked contrast to the continental countries of Europe. The need of some national agency which should act in an advisory relation to the schools of the country, collect statistics, and serve as an educational clearing-house, was early felt, however; and in 1867, upon motion by James A. Garfield, who delivered at the time an address which was a masterly review of American education and its needs, Congress passed a bill establishing a department of education, placing Henry Barnard at its head as commissioner. Since the establishment of the bureau, annual reports containing from 800 to 2,500 pages have been issued in addition to nearly 300 separate volumes and pamphlets of the greatest value upon a great variety of educational topics. The annual reports contain, besides detailed statistics covering all the educational institutions of the country, special chapters upon the history and philosophy of education in the U. S. and foreign countries, and other subjects invaluable to the student.

Colleges and Universities

Nine colleges were established during colonial times. These were: Harvard University, 1636; William and Mary College, 1693; Yale College, 1701; Princeton University, 1748; University of Pennsylvania, 1751; Columbia University, 1754; Brown University, 1764; Rutgers College, 1766; and Dartmouth College, 1769. Before the year 1800 no less than thirteen others were established, making a total of twenty-two at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The following table shows the number of colleges and universities established by decades for the various geographical divisions of the U. S.:

	N. Atlantic	S. Atlantic	S. Central	N. Central	Western	Total
1890–99	2	8	13	20	11	54
1880–89	6	14	11	37	6	74
1870–79	9	6	16	24	6	61
1860–69	13	9	13	31	7	73
1850–59	15	12	8	40	7	82
1840–49	7	2	8	18	1	36
1830–39	9	10	4	13	..	36
1820–29	3	3	5	9	..	20
1810–19	4	..	1	..	..	5
1800–9	5	3	..	..	..	8
Total	73	67	79	192	38	449 [1]

[1] Thirty-four of these were maintained by the various states.

The following table shows the states and territories maintaining universities in 1903, together with the year of establishment, and the number of students in each for the years 1875 and 1903:

STATE UNIVERSITIES

	Date of Foundation	1875		1903
		Students	Faculty	Students
Alabama	1831	71	19	396
Arkansas	1872	62	8	1,080
California	1868	134	34	3,057
Colorado	1877	...	7	925
Georgia	1785	202	10	2,689
Idaho	1889	...	...	347
Illinois	1868	332	25	3,300
Indiana	1820	134	22	1,285
Iowa	1847	145	16	1,512
Kansas	1864	78	16	1,350

STATE UNIVERSITIES—*Continued*

	Date of Foundation	1875		1903
		Students	Faculty	Students
Louisiana	1860	8	4	400
Maine	1867	110	9	450
Michigan	1837	324	44	2,900
Minnesota	1868	83	30	3,700
Mississippi	1848	55	9	260
Missouri	1840	132	33	1,681
Montana	1895	...	...	300
Nebraska	1869	35	16	2,256
Nevada	1886	...	...	292
North Carolina	1789	67	16	651
North Dakota	1883	...	5	500
Ohio	1870	40	17	1,516
Oregon	1876	...	8	470
South Carolina	1801	86	13	215
South Dakota	1882	...	...	450
Tennessee	1794	...	11	618
Texas	1883	...	13	1,300
Utah	1850	...	...	643
Virginia	1825	326	28	600
Washington	1861	...	13	601
West Virginia	1867	...	...	900
Wisconsin	1848	216	44	2,810
Wyoming	1886	...	...	200
TERRITORIES				
Arizona	1891	...	...	215
New Mexico	1891	...	...	100
Oklahoma	1892	...	...	410
Total		2,340	470	41,369

Thus it will be seen that in a little more than twenty-five years the number of students in attendance at the state universities increased nearly twenty times (fourteen institutions added during the period). Six out of the ten largest universities in the country (1903) are upon the list, and more than that number which are doing work of as high a character as any.

schools of technology. Comparing 1904 with 1890, the total number of men had increased from 44,926 to 86,006, and the number of women from 10,761 to 32,023. Of the entire number (118,029), 52,131 were in classical courses and 13,009 in other courses for general culture; 9,540 in general science courses; and 2,196 in agriculture, excluding short-course students.

It is interesting to note that the total value of property possest by these institutions for higher education amounts to $465,216,545. Seven of these institutions have endowments of more than $5,000,000 each; and eight have from $2,000,000 to $5,000,000. The total amount of benefactions of all kinds for educational purposes, as well as for philanthropic purposes, for the year was, of course, very much larger than this.

For nearly two centuries after the establishment of the first college at Cambridge, Mass., only occasional and sporadic attempts at specialization in higher education had been made in America.

Professional Education

It is true that, during the later years of that period, some few special schools for each of the so-called learned professions had been established, but the students in attendance were so few, and the successes so moderate, as to argue that the people, as a whole, had not as yet felt the need of special preparation on the part of their ministers, physicians, and lawyers, beyond what could be had in the academic institutions and, for the two latter professions, through apprentice work under some competent practitioner. The earlier colleges had courses especially arranged to meet the needs of the pulpit, and were in many cases primarily established as theological schools. The application of their courses to the demands of medical or legal practise was not so direct, tho furnishing a broad foundation. It is estimated that among the

STATISTICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, 1903–4

State or Territory	Number of institutions	Professors and Instructors		Students						Total income
				Preparatory		Collegiate		Resident graduate		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
United States	443	15,342	2,272	35,620	16,519	67,475	22,839	4,342	1,574	$29,278,516
North Atlantic Division	83	4,989	208	7,887	1,457	25,324	3,377	1,920	487	10,573,719
South Atlantic Division	70	1,576	202	3,905	1,869	6,792	1,016	447	19	2,675,067
South Central Division	69	1,601	372	6,094	3,227	6,584	2,260	150	51	2,201,150
North Central Division	184	5,915	1,282	14,571	7,685	23,800	12,941	1,499	813	10,816,717
Western Division	37	1,261	208	3,103	2,281	4,975	3,245	326	204	3,011,863

The total number of institutions for higher education reporting to the Commissioner of Education in 1904 is 607, of which 121 admit women only; 130 universities and colleges admit only men to the undergraduate department, and 313 admit both men and women. Of the 43 schools of technology, 24 report women among their undergraduates. The total number of students resident at these institutions in 1904 was reported at 118,029. Of these, 71,817 men and 24,413 women were in universities and colleges for men and for both sexes; 6,341 were in colleges for women; 14,189 men and 1,269 women were in

3,500 physicians in the country at the close of the Revolution, not more than 400 had received medical degrees, and it is doubtful if the number of lawyers having received legal instruction in an institution of learning was even as great as that. But as time went on, and the subject-matter to be covered in any adequate professional preparation was increased, the educational machinery adapted itself to the new demands, and special departments, or schools, sprang up wherever the need seemed to be the greatest, some in connection with colleges already founded, and some as separate institutions. Theology

was first to enter the field, with medicine second, and law the last among the three great professions. Pharmacy, dentistry, and veterinary practise followed in order, until we have to-day upward of 500 institutions preparing specialists in these various callings.

Summary of Statistics of Professional Schools for 1903–4

State or Territory	Theological			Law			Medical		
	Schools	Instructors	Students	Schools	Instructors	Students	Schools	Instructors	Students
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
United States	153	1,055	7,392	95	1,167	14,306	152	5,252	26,949
North Atlantic Division	51	453	2,636	17	270	4,875	25	1,048	6,363
South Atlantic Division	21	122	822	20	170	2,133	24	602	3,868
South Central Division	14	70	626	15	97	834	28	644	5,320
North Central Division	61	381	3,195	37	558	5,937	63	2,577	10,386
Western Division	6	29	113	6	72	527	12	381	1,012

Theological Education

The first religious denomination to establish a theological school was the Dutch Reform Church in America. This was in 1784 under the direction of Dr. John H. Livingston, pastor of the Collegiate Church of New York City. Until 1810 Dr. Livingston taught gratuitously in connection with his pastoral work. In 1810 his work was transferred to Rutgers College. Two other theological schools were established before the nineteenth century, one by the Roman Catholic denomination at Baltimore, and another by the United Presbyterians at Service, Pa. From 1820 to 1902, 129 theological schools were founded in the U. S.

Legal Education

The first law-school in the U. S. was established at Litchfield, Conn., in 1784, by Judge Tappan Reeve, and was conducted there until 1833, when it was discontinued. Only two other definite attempts to establish schools of law were made in the eighteenth century. Both of these were in connection with colleges already established, and both were failures, if we may judge from the immediate discontinuance of the work. The first was at the University of Pennsylvania in 1791; and the second at Columbia in 1797. It remained for Harvard to establish the first law-school of permanency, with degree-granting privileges; and this she did in 1817. Previous to the establishment of a faculty of law at Harvard, the University of Maryland, in 1812, had formally established such a faculty comprising seven instructors. A law department was first established at Yale College in 1824, tho the LL.B. degree was not conferred until 1843. The University of Virginia established a department of law in 1826, and it has been in continuous operation ever since, even during the four years of civil war.

Medical Education

The first medical school in the country was established in 1765 as the chair of medicine of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1767 a second medical school was established. This was not in its origin a separate school, as its predecessor had been, but a medical department in connection with King's College, now Columbia, at New York City. Harvard was the second of the academic institutions to provide medical instruction (1782). Nine schools of medicine were in operation at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century. In 1902 there were 154 such schools, of which 123 are "regular," 10 eclectic, and 21 homeopathic.

The number of professional schools, students, and graduates in 1904 was distributed as follows: *Theological*, 153 schools, 7,392 students (187 of these were women), 1,620 graduates; *law*, 95 schools, 14,306 students (of these 163 were women), 3,288 graduates; *medical*, 152 schools, 26,949 students (including 1,188 women), 5,702 graduates; *dental*, 54 schools, 7,325 students, 2,192 graduates; *pharmaceutical*, 63 schools, 4,457 students, 1,308 graduates; *veterinary*, 11 schools, 795 students, 198 graduates.

Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges

There are in the U. S. sixty-six agricultural and mechanical colleges: fifty for white students, and sixteen for colored. Most of these are included in the list of universities and colleges already considered. A few are classed with secondary institutions or with state normal schools. These sixty-six institutions are endowed by the acts of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and Aug. 30, 1890. In 1904 they received in the aggregate: from the states and territories in which they are situated, $5,654,758; from the income derived from the land received under the grant of 1862, $730,004; and from later land and money grants $1,315,959. The federal government in 1904 contributed about 19 per cent of the income of these colleges, as compared with 21 per cent in 1903. The total number of students in the collegiate departments of the institutions for white students was 20,894 (18,743 men and 2,151 women).

In the institutions for colored students there were 2,228 men and 1,926 women in the preparatory departments, and only 372 men and 299 women in the collegiate departments. According to the provisions of the act of Congress of Aug. 30, 1890, no part of the money received from the endowment provided by that act ($25,000 a year to each state or territory) can be appropriated for foreign languages, whether modern or classic. This instruction is, however, provided for out of other funds. The total value of the property owned by these institutions is $74,564,424, of which $3,775,965 belong to the institutions for colored students.

In 1904 there were 269 public and private normal schools reporting to the Bureau of Education. There were 63,627 students in these institutions, 10,848 of whom graduated at the close of the scholastic year. In 1890 there were 178 in-

stitutions, 34,814 students, and 5,237 graduates. The total number of students has nearly doubled, while the number of graduates has more than doubled. Besides these, there were 23,612 students of pedagogics in universities, colleges, and high schools in 1904. State appropriations for public normal schools in 1890 amounted to $1,312,419. Current expenses had reached $3,927,808, and expenditures for buildings $915,443. One hundred and forty-nine public normal schools report an aggregate of $26,914,525 as the value of their school property.

Teachers' Training-Schools

In 1904, 149 manual and industrial training-schools reported to the Bureau of Education. The number of pupils for that year was 65,495 (35,327 boys and 30,168 girls), and the current expenses $1,480,685. EDWIN G. DEXTER.

REFERENCES: Much of the statistical material, especially that having to do with the present organization of foreign school systems, has been taken direct from the *Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education*, for 1904. In the preparation of the material for the U. S., Dexter's *History of Education in the United States* has been largely drawn upon. Consult *The Making of the Middle Schools*, by Elmer E. Brown; *The Meaning of Education*, by Nicholas M. Butler; *Education of the Greek People*, and *A History of Education*, by Thomas Davidson; *Educational Reform*, by C. E. Eliot; *Education and the Larger Life*, by C. H. Henderson; *The Making of Citizens*, by R. E. Hughes; *Public School System of the United States*, by J. M. Rice; *German Higher Schools*, by James E. Russell; *Cyclopedia of Education*, by A. Sonnenschein; *Education*, by Herbert Spencer.

EDWARDS, ALLEN CLEMENT: Member of Parliament (Liberal and Labor); journalist; born 1868, E. Knighton, Radnorshire; became trade-union official, barrister-at-law, author, journalist. He has been labor editor of *The Sun*, and special commissioner for *The Daily News*; elected to Parliament, 1906, for Denbigh District (National Liberal). *Address*: 4 Pump Court Temple, London, E. C.

EDWARDS, ENOCH: Member of Parliament (Labor); president of the Miners' Federation, Great Britain; born 1852; became a collier and secretary of the N. Staffordshire Miners' Association in 1877. He went to Burslem in 1884, and became mayor and alderman. He has also been president of the Midland Miners' Association. Elected to Parliament for Hanley, 1906, as a representative of the Miners' Associations. *Address*: Miners' Offices, Burslem.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY, THE (see also EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY and EIGHT-HOUR DAY, PRACTICABILITY OF. For statements as to the working-hours of different countries, see HOURS OF LABOR): We consider in this article the movement to reduce the hours of work to eight, since in all countries the effort to shorten the hours of labor has held a day of eight hours to be at present the goal to be striven for.

I. History

The history of the short-hour movement begins in England. Thorold Rogers says ("Six Centuries of Work and Wages," pp. 327 and 542):

> It is plain that the day was one of eight hours. . . . The artizan who is demanding at this time an eight-hours' day in the building trades is simply striving to recover what his ancestor worked by four or five centuries ago.

Some writers deny this, but even according to the Statute of Apprentices (5 Eliz., c. 4), when the hours of labor were to be twelve in summer and during day-light in winter, two and a half hours were allowed for meals, while the law was notoriously not observed. In the seventeenth century there is good evidence that the hours were growing considerably longer. William Petty (*q. v.*), whom Karl Marx with no little reason calls "the father of political economy, and to some extent the founder of statistics," says that in the last third of the seventeenth century there was a ten-hour day. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we come to more certain facts. From 1790 to 1820 the hours were practically unlimited, and often even for children fifteen hours and over. Those who would know the horrors perpetrated in England during this period of the triumph of absolute laissez-faire should read Karl Marx's sketch of the period, in the first volume of his "Capital," based on documentary evidence. Mills were often run day and night; children were obtained in gangs from the poor-law guardians and worked in two sets, lodged in sort of pens with one set of beds; one set of children occupying the beds while the other set worked, and vice versa. The children were carried from the beds to the mills and from the mills to the beds. Where this was not done hours were over twelve. Terrible evils resulted, and in 1796 a board of health in Manchester was appointed to investigate the conditions in the mills, the investigation being caused by the statements of a physician, Dr. Aikin. In 1802 the elder Sir Robert Peel brought in and carried a bill to allay the worst evils. It accomplished little, but furnished a precedent. It applied only to pauper apprentices and limited the hours of only the little children to twelve! The short-hour agitation, however, had commenced. Says Sidney Webb and Harold Cox's "The Eight-Hours' Day" (p. 15):

England

> At the beginning of the present century the ordinary working-day of the English artizan appears to have varied from eleven to fourteen hours. In the new industries, such as the textile manufactories, the employers, being free from traditions, often exacted a still longer day. The London bookbinders were working twelve and a half hours a day (fourteen less meal-times) in 1780, when a trade-union was formed to obtain a reduction of an hour a day.
>
> This movement became successful in 1786. King George III. was the first employer to accord the boon, which he did to the "finisher" in the Royal Library. The "second hour" was gained in 1794, and another half-hour about 1810, after an unsuccessful strike in 1806. Eighty years ago, therefore, the London bookbinders had won for themselves the ten-hour day.

In 1815 another parliamentary inquiry took place and an act of 1819 forbade the employment of children under nine, and fixt the hours of children of nine to sixteen at seventy-two hours per week exclusive of meal-times. In 1824 a bill was passed partially giving trade-unions the right to organize, and from this time agitation became more active. In 1825 Sir John Hobhouse carried through Parliament another bill, making legal provision for a Saturday half-holiday. Already, however, further progress was demanded. Says "The Eight-Hours' Day":

> The eight-hours' dream has certainly been in the minds of trade-unionists in England ever since the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824, and has recurred at every season of reviving industrial prosperity since that time.
>
> And even before this date a serious proposal to reduce the hours of factory labor to eight hours was apparently made by Robert Owen in 1817. At that date, when even children were kept at work in the textile mills for fifteen or sixteen hours a day, the proposal of an eight-hour day must have

seemed simply absurd. Robert Owen instituted a regular working-day in his mills at New Lanark of ten and a half hours net, and he lived to see an even shorter day made universal in the textile industry.

Factory Legislation

In 1830 Richard Oastler (*q. v.*), "the Factory King," became converted to the labor movement, and commenced, and for eighteen years, through persecution and imprisonment, carried on his agitation for a ten-hour day. His motto was "ten hours and a time-book." He accomplished little, however, till Lord Ashley (the Earl of Shaftesbury, *q. v.*) took up his cause. In 1831 Sir John Hobhouse secured an act forbidding in the cotton trade the employment of persons under twenty-one by night, and all persons under eighteen over sixty-nine hours. In 1832 Tom Sadler, the factory representative, moved a ten-hour bill.

In 1833 an act mainly due to Lord Ashley limited the hours of children under thirteen to forty-eight, and enacted several advantageous subsidiary provisions. Agitation, however, went on.

The manufacturers, too, threw every obstacle in the way of the factory acts. Most of the provisions hitherto applied only to certain trades like the cotton trades; but in 1840 a commission found grievances very wide-spread, particularly in mining, where men, women, and children worked half-naked, eleven, twelve, and often sixteen hours. This produced the Mining Act, which forbade the employment underground of women and of boys under ten.

The Act of 1844, under Sir Robert Peel's government, classified adult women as "young persons," and extended the provisions of the Mining Act to the textile trades, yet left so many loopholes to the manufacturers that they scarcely opposed it, tho even Liberals like Cobden and Bright protested against most of the factory acts.

In 1847 was enacted the great ten-hour bill introduced by Mr. Fielden. It enacted a ten-hour day for both men and women. It was unquestionably a great advance, and yet its enactments were so often avoided that in 1850 another bill was passed to try and enforce its provisions. Agitation continued.

In 1860 there was a revival of the nine-hour movement, but industrial depression, later, made it cease. Beginning with 1871, however, there were numerous strikes for a nine-hour day, and by 1872 such demands had been granted to most skilled artizans. Legislation, too, went on. Omitting minor bills the Act of 1864 extended the factory acts to many trades, the Act of 1874 reduced the hours in the textile trades from sixty to fifty-six and a half a week, the Act of 1878 codified all the factory acts. In 1878 and 1879, however, many employers undertook to revive the ten-hour day, and there were many strikes (*q. v.*). In 1881 the present Socialist movement began in England, and by 1886 produced a strong agitation for an eight-hour day. Says "The Eight-Hours' Day" (pp. 21–33):

Recent History

During the year 1888 the movement received a very great impetus from the growth of the "New Unionism." The new sense of solidarity in the ranks of labor, which was so marked a feature of the matchmakers' strike in 1888, led to the formation and rapid extension of trade-unions among workers who were either unskilled or who had, for other reasons, hitherto been without organization. As these unions were formed usually under the prevailing Socialist influence, and especially through the exertions of Messrs. John Burns and Tom Mann, most of them adopted an eight-hours' bill as a part of their program. One of the most flourishing of these new unions, the "Gas-workers and General Laborers' Union," demanded, in Nov., 1888, a reduction of their hours from twelve to eight per day. In nearly all the gas-works in the United Kingdom this reduction was conceded without a strike, and in many cases was accompanied by a slight increase in wages. Such a signal success gave an immense impetus to the general eight-hours' movement.

The International Trade-Union Congress had appointed the 1st of May, 1890, for a simultaneous international demonstration in favor of an eight-hours' law. . . . It was decided to hold a London demonstration in Hyde Park on the first Sunday in May, and a similar decision was taken in other towns. No fewer than sixteen platforms had to be provided, and at least a quarter of a million persons were present. Experienced journalists agreed that no demonstration for twenty years had equaled it in magnitude.

Several prominent employers granted the eight-hour day. Mr. Rae's "Eight Hours for Work," published in 1894, collects much evidence. The author commenced his studies of the subject merely to get information. His conclusion he thus states:

All experience indorses the wisdom of reducing the hours of labor. . . . The available evidence is unexpectedly copious, and its teaching is unexpectedly plain and uniform. In the course of the investigation I have found it impossible, personally, not to grow a stronger and stronger believer in the eight-hour day. Shorter work-hours have left every nation that has chosen them at once healthier, wealthier, and wiser; and the shortening to eight seems, if I may say so, to be blessed above its predecessors. According to positive experiences of it, the eight-hour day has been almost invariably fair. . . .

One firm, Messrs. Watts & Manton, say: "The habits of the people are changing; there is a greater desire for home life and greater longing after the means by which it is to be rendered more agreeable." Mr. Johnston, flax-spinner and ex-Mayor of Belfast, says that under the long hours the boys used to lounge about the street corners and frequent the public houses, but since the hours were shortened they attended reading-rooms in large numbers, and when tired of reading would amuse themselves with games. Mr. C. Wilson, manufacturer, Hawick, told the labor commissioner that his men had been using their leisure wisely, and had improved during the years they have now enjoyed it.

Mond & Co. state explicitly of a small reduction made in their works: "To the men it has been the greatest boon. It has had the most material effect in improving their health and decreasing the amount of drunkenness, which before the adoption of the system was very great indeed. The interference of the police is not called for now as it used to be." Messrs. Johnson of Stratford, after four years' experience of the eight-hours' system, say that they have now a more intelligent set of men, and that the men and lads have come, in consequence of their greater leisure, to improve themselves by attending technical classes in the evening.

See Hours of Labor.

Next to England came Australia in agitating the short-hour movement, and with such success that Australia may be called an eight-hour country. Our account is abridged from Messrs. Webb and Cox's "The Eight-Hours' Day":

Australia

When the gold discoveries had given the first great impulse to the growth of industry in Australia, the usual working-day for artizans seems to have been ten hours. During the early prosperity of Victoria artizans' wages rose to a fabulous height, and the trade-unions, instituted on English models, were able practically to impose their own terms. The old ideal of an eight-hour day soon came to the front.

The record of the movement in Australia begins with a public meeting held by the stone-masons in Melbourne at the beginning of April, 1856. An "eight-hour league" was formed at a meeting of the united trades, and immediate notice was given by public announcement that, after the 21st of April, 1856, no man belonging to the unions represented would work for more than eight hours a day. The strength of the artizans,

position in the labor market at that time was such that no resistance was possible, and the eight-hour day, thus won by less than three weeks' agitation, has ever since been general among the artizans of Melbourne. The 22d of April has annually been kept by them as a public holiday, and is now known as the Eight-Hour Day.

From Melbourne the eight-hour movement quickly spread to the other parts of the colony, then very sparsely inhabited, and also to New South Wales. An eight-hour day was generally established in various skilled trades in Sydney, within a few years, but by no means universally adopted, especially in the smaller towns. Subsequently the movement spread to Brisbane, Adelaide, and most of the towns of New Zealand.

At the time when the Melbourne workmen obtained their eight-hour day there was neither need nor possibility of securing it by legal enactment. A royal commission, however, was appointed in 1882 to investigate the subject. The evidence taken revealed that the supposed universal sentiment in favor of an eight-hour day had not sufficed to protect various large classes of workers, such as bakers, shop assistants, and attendants in restaurants, from being kept at work for excessive hours.

As a result, in 1885 an act fixt an eight-hour day for all women and boys, and provided many other labor regulations.

Both in Queensland and New Zealand bills establishing a normal eight-hour day were passed by the Lower House of the legislature, which is elected by manhood suffrage, but were rejected by the Upper House, representing the propertied class.

The eight-hour movement on the Continent of Europe seems to have arisen first in Paris.

One of the first results of the revolution of 1848 was a decree limiting the hours of labor.

France

This decree (dated March, 1848) enacted that the hours of labor should not exceed ten per diem in Paris, and eleven per diem elsewhere in France. It was modified by the law of the 9th of Sept., 1848, which established twelve hours net as the maximum working-day. This hasty legislation was completely ineffective. No inspectors were appointed or other means taken to secure the enforcement of the law.

To the plutocratic Cæsarism which followed the republic, the law itself was altogether repugnant. It was not explicitly repealed; but it was ingeniously made inoperative by a series of decrees.

With the advent of the third republic, a change came over the attitude of the government. In May, 1874, fifteen inspectors were appointed to control the operation of the law of 1848 and its amendments. In the same year, and again in 1883, more stringent factory laws were enacted for women and children. On the other hand, in Nov., 1885, an administrative circular was issued, excluding from the operation of these laws all workshops where only human labor force was used, and where fewer than twenty workers were employed in one building.

The law of 1848 was, however, so far effective that it was thought necessary, by a decree of 1889, to exempt from its observance laborers employed on works executed by order of the government in the interest of the national safety and defense.

The German Empire

In Germany the demand for a law limiting the hours of labor has formed a part of the agitation of the Social Democratic Party. Meanwhile factory legislation, both imperial and State, has to some extent regulated the labor of women and children, and this has, as usual, tended to reduce the hours of men. The law of 1st of June, 1877, with the amendments of the 17th of June, 1887, prescribed a maximum day of ten hours for persons under sixteen. But the laws were very imperfectly enforced, and mills employing young persons often ran eighty-four hours a week. Artizans worked eleven and twelve hours a day. In Leipsic the masons, in 1889, carried a ten-hour day; but this was a local arrangement, not generally followed.

The movement for an eight-hour day exists chiefly among the Social Democrats, whatever their trade, and among the coal-miners. In 1888 the coal-miners in Westphalia struck for an eight-hour day, and secured the intervention of the young emperor in their favor. Accordingly, in Westphalia, Silesia, and Saxony the miners work only an eight-hour shift wherever a high temperature prevails; this limitation of the hours in unhealthy mines was adopted by the Berlin Labor Conference in May, 1890. Many of the workers in the mines, and other industrial establishments of the Prussian Government, have since received the boon of an eight-hour day. Other trades are moving in the same direction.

Switzerland enjoys the distinction of having been the first country to declare in its very constitution the legislative right of the nation, in its political organization, to limit the working-day even for male adults. Nor has this power been allowed to sleep. The Federal Factory Labor Law of 1877 limits the maximum hours of labor for all adult labor in factories or workshops to eleven per day, and to ten on Saturdays or public holidays.

During 1890 a law was passed limiting the hours of railway employees to ten.

Other European Countries

In Holland, Denmark, Austria, Italy, and Spain a large number of the labor organizations adopt an eight-hour day as a part of their program, and such a measure is frequently pressed upon the legislatures of some of these countries by the members representing the working classes. The international demonstration of the 1st of May, 1890, was largely participated in, not only in all these countries, but also by Poland. It may, indeed, be said generally, as regards the Continental nations, that wherever the wage-earners are organized at all, their organizations demand an eight-hour law. But labor organizations do not exist, for effective purposes, among any but a minority of the workers on the Continent.

Meanwhile, as if to stave off the demand for an eight-hour law, factory legislation of the ordinary type is being everywhere adopted or rendered more stringent. Belgium and Holland, long the fields of the most unrestrained exploitation of labor, have both enacted lengthy codes of labor regulations; in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and Austria, the law is being strengthened; Russia and Denmark and Sweden have entered the same path. In some respects, indeed, such as the minimum age for children's work, the provisions relating to the employment of mothers at the time of childbirth, and the prevention of ex-

cessive overtime, England has already lost its honorable lead in factory legislation.

The short-hour movement early developed in the United States. As early as 1806 the organized ship-builders and calkers in New York City sought to obtain a reduction of hours to ten. By 1825 strikes for a ten-hour day were numerous.

The hours of labor at that time seem to have been about twelve per day for artizans. The textile workers were less fortunate. The working-day, even for women and children, often began at 4.30 A.M., and went on for fifteen hours. Most of the New England mills ran thirteen hours a day all the year round. It is not generally remembered that the factory girls of Lowell, in the classic days of the "Lowell Offering" (1832–40), worked seventy-eight hours per week. In 1831 an organization of working men was formed at Boston to secure, among other objects, a ten-hour day. A wide-spread agitation resulted in innumerable strikes, few of which were successful. The ten-hour day became, however, general in Baltimore between 1835 and 1840, as the result of a strike among the laborers. Shortly afterward President Martin Van Buren (April, 1840) proclaimed that the working-day in the navy yard at Washington and all other public establishments should be reduced to ten hours. This led to a general adoption of the ten-hour day in ship-building establishments which has been since maintained. In 1847, however, the masters made a determined but unsuccessful attempt to revert to longer hours.

The United States

On June 16, 1845, a large mass-meeting, attended by 5,000 persons, was held at Pittsburg, Pa., for the same purpose, and led to similar action elsewhere. In Oct., 1845, the first national industrial convention in this country was convened at New York, to organize concerted action toward the same end. Mass-meetings and strikes for the ten-hour system now became very frequent, and in many cases were successful.

In 1845 the textile workers of Massachusetts petitioned the legislature for a ten-hour bill. The first legislation on the subject that we have been able to trace is a law of 1849 of the State of Pennsylvania, providing that ten hours shall be a day's work in cotton, woolen, silk, paper, bagging, and flax factories, and masons had generally won the ten-hour day. The textile operatives were less fortunate. Some of the mills at Lowell adopted the new hours in 1853, but as late as 1865 the mills at Southbridge were still running thirteen hours.

In 1866 the National Labor Union was formed at Baltimore, and it was this body which gave the first great impulse to the movement.

The agitation thus set on foot received legislative recognition in Connecticut in 1867, when it was decreed that eight hours' work should be a day's lawful labor unless otherwise agreed.

On June 24, 1869, a bill for an eight-hour day was introduced into Congress by General Banks, whose wife was once a factory girl at Lowell. This passed the House and Senate, promptly received the signature of President Grant, and was enforced in the navy yard at Charlestown, Mass., July 6th of the same year, tho the employees were notified that the government would reduce wages one fifth; but that those who so desired could work ten hours at the old rates.

In 1869, however, the so-called eight-hour philosophy was formulated by two Boston men, Ira Steward and George E. McNeill. On account of the extent to which this philosophy has affected the American labor movement, we consider it in an especial article. A Grand Eight-Hour League had been formed previously, but had disappeared, when these two men, with a few friends, organized the small but influential Boston Eight-Hour League. With the aid of Wendell Phillips and others, they succeeded the same year in securing the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the parent of all other labor bureaus. Mr. McNeill was deputy and chief manager. The Bureau's statistics largely aided the eight-hour movement. Agitation for shorter hours became general. There were numerous strikes, many of them successful. Eight-hour leagues were formed in many cities, and there were many strikes; 20,000 workmen paraded New York City demanding the eight-hour day. In 1874 Massachusetts enacted a ten-hour law for women and for children under the age of eighteen.

Eight-Hour League

The industrial depression which set in after 1873 throughout the U. S. caused the question of any further reduction of the hours of labor to fall temporarily into abeyance. The great railway strikes of 1877, and other labor disputes during this period, related mainly to proposed reductions in wages. This is probably the reason why the Knights of Labor did not make the eight-hour day at first an express demand. Even at the General Assembly in 1878, when a full "Declaration of Principles" was adopted, the eight-hour day was not expressly mentioned. The eight-hour clause, "To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours," was apparently added about 1883. However, a vigorous effort to institute an eight-hour day was made in many parts of the U. S. in the spring of 1886. *Bradstreet's* estimated the number of strikers for shorter hours in May, 1886, at 200,000, of whom 50,000 were granted their demands, while 150,000 secured shorter hours, generally with full pay, without a strike. But on June 12, 1886, the same paper estimated that one third of these had lost what had been conceded to them, and predicted that a still larger number would lose the advantage gained. The great meetings held at Chicago in May, 1886, in support of the movement were taken advantage of by the anarchists to spread their ideas, and this led to the so-called Haymarket riot.

During the years 1888 to 1890 numerous attempts were made to secure an eight-hour day in particular trades and particular localities, and at the convention of the Federation of Labor at St. Louis in 1888, it was decided to hold mass-meetings in every city on the eight-hour question on four days in the year, including July 4, 1889; Labor Day, Sept. 2, 1889; and Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, 1890.

It was also decided to strike, trade by trade, for the eight-hour day on each 1st of May, one trade at a time, all the other trades being pledged to support it all over the country. The carpenters were chosen to strike in 1890. To a large extent they did so, and in many cities won the eight-hour day, tho in some where they won the hours were subsequently lengthened. In 1891 the miners were to strike, and some did, but dissensions prevented a general movement. Since

then the movement has taken a more desultory form.

For more recent developments and the present conditions of the hours of labor, see HOURS OF LABOR.

EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY, THE (see also EIGHT-HOUR DAY, HISTORY OF, and PRACTICABILITY OF): In England, Australia, and Europe the eight-hour movement is not based upon any one particular economic view, but is favored by Socialists, individualists, and trade-unionists, on various lines of argument. In the United States, however, it has developed historically largely based upon a so-called "eight-hour philosophy," brilliantly stated and so impressed upon the leaders of the trade-union movement that it has colored their whole history to such a degree that it cannot be understood without a knowledge of this philosophy.

The philosophy was mainly developed by two men, leaders in the Eight-Hour League formed in Boston about 1869. Ira Steward (*q. v.*), the so-called "founder" of the philosophy, and George E. McNeill (*q. v.*), its brilliant spokesman, who, as first deputy and manager of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, and also to a large extent the "father of the American Federation of Labor," impressed the philosophy, in innumerable labor addresses and articles upon the whole labor movement.

The philosophy, however, has been most extensively written out by Mr. George Gunton (*q. v.*), at one time a confidential coworker with Mr. Steward and Mr. McNeill, who received Mr. Steward's papers after his decease, and upon them largely based his book "Wealth and Progress," tho in the opinion of some he has somewhat misstated Mr. Steward's ideas and has certainly perverted them to an argument for protection, utterly foreign to the views of Mr. Steward and Mr. McNeill. In spite of the fact, however, that Mr. Gunton has lost the confidence of his former labor friends, we are still largely indebted to him for a summary of the philosophy.

It may be said in general that the eight-hour philosophy traces almost all economic ills to poverty, and claims that to gradually reduce the hours of labor, thus giving men opportunity to realize their wants, and therefore make efforts to gain higher advantages, is the one way to naturally and permanently relieve poverty.

Says Mr. Gunton in "Wealth and Progress," in stating the argument:

> The chief determining influence in the general rate of wages in any country, class, or industry is the standard of living of the most expensive families furnishing a necessary part of the supply of labor in that country, class, or industry. . . .
>
> The laborer cannot and will not work for less than that which will furnish him a living. He will, as experience shows, often work for less than what will supply him with exceptional comforts and luxuries, but he will not continuously work for less than will furnish him with that which, by constant repetition and force of habit, have become necessities. Before he will forego these he will refuse to work, and inaugurate strikes, riots, and other means of endangering the peace and prosperity of the community. . . .
>
> This explains why we always find that those whose families are largest, or those who have more cultivated tastes and wants, and, therefore, whose cost of living is higher than the great mass of their class, are constantly chafing under the pressure of their unsatisfied demands.

It being thus determined that wages cannot be much higher or lower than the standard of living, the eight-hour philosophy next asks, What determines the standard of living? This it answers, in Mr. Gunton's words, as follows:

> The standard of living in any community will be high or low according as the social life of the masses is simple or complex, or, in other words, as the number of the daily wants of the people is large or small. It is lower in Asia than in Europe, lower in Europe than America, lower at Five Points than on Fifth Avenue, for the reason that the wants of the people in the former places are fewer and simpler than those in the latter. . . .
>
> **Wants**
>
> But if the standard of living is governed by the wants, the question that next arises is, What determines the wants?
>
> Man is a twofold being. He has a physical and a social nature, and, consequently, he has social as well as physical wants. The latter arise from his animal existence, and the former from his social relations. Therefore, his physical wants, like those of the lower animals, are few, and mostly hereditary, while his social wants are acquired and have no conceivable limit. . . . If we examine the history of man, we shall find that his wants are few or many, and high or low, according to the quality of the habits and customs of the society in which he moves. . . .
>
> Therefore, how to increase the wants, develop the character, and consequently advance the wages of the laboring classes, ultimately resolves itself into the question, How can the social opportunities of the masses be enlarged?
>
> Now, so long as nearly all the laborer's time not occupied in eating and sleeping is devoted to the former, as at present, no commensurate development of the latter is possible. Therefore, the first condition for increasing the opportunity of the masses to develop their social character, and thereby increase their natural capacity to consume wealth, commensurate with their power to produce it, is more leisure. By leisure, however, we do not mean merely unoccupied time. Enforced idleness is unoccupied time, but it is not leisure. The masses, the world over, have a great deal of unoccupied time, but it is mainly in the form of idleness, and not that of leisure. Tho idleness and leisure are both unoccupied time, the economic and social influence of the one is directly opposite to that of the other. Idleness tends to impoverish, dwarf, and degrade, while leisure tends to enrich, develop, and elevate character. It is very important, therefore, to distinguish clearly between leisure and idleness. Nor is this difficult to do if we observe their essential characteristics. . . .
>
> The immediate and most important question, the answer to which is necessary to enable us to take the first correct step toward preventing enforced idleness, is how to wisely and permanently increase the leisure time of the laboring classes. To this question we are now in a position, on the basis of sound economic principles, to give a definite and emphatic answer, which is—reduce the hours of labor.
>
> In proposing a reduction of the hours of labor as the indispensable first step toward promoting industrial and social reform, we do not say that it is the only means that will, under any and all conditions, tend to promote that end.
>
> But while there are other more or less effectual means of promoting the same end, such as education, free lectures, public libraries, parks, museums, and art-galleries, these are and must necessarily remain practically ineffectual, so far as lifting the community from its present industrial and social mire is concerned, unless the leisure time of the masses is increased.

It is thus that the eight-hour philosophy reaches its conclusion to concentrate all present economic effort on reducing the hours of labor. But this is by no means the whole of the philosophy. It goes on to show how a reduction in hours will also employ the unemployed, and by setting them to work, and giving them money to spend, increase their consumptive powers, and so still more raise the standard of living. Says Mr. Gunton on this point in a tract, "The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight-Hour Movement":

> The adoption of an eight-hour system would tend to increase wages in two ways: first, by reducing enforced idleness; second, by creating new wants and raising the standard of living. The immediate effect of the general adoption of an eight-hour workday would be to reduce the working-time of over 8,000,000 adult laborers about two hours a day. This would withdraw about 16,000,000 hours' labor a day from the market without discharging a single laborer. The industrial vacuum thus created would be equal to increasing the demand for labor nearly 20 per cent. In other words, without increasing either our home or foreign market, but simply to supply the present normal consumption, it would create employment for 2,000,000 laborers, which is nearly equal to 70 per cent of the total number of able-bodied paupers and unemployed laborers in America, England, France, and Germany. In thus eliminating enforced idleness it would remove the first great obstacle to industrial reform and social progress.

Again, the employment of 2,000,000 of new laborers would necessarily tend to increase the number of consumers, and thereby enlarge the market for commodities to that extent. That such a result would tend to increase wages is very clear. Altho wages would not necessarily rise in the same proportion that enforced idleness is reduced, all the influences would be in that direction. It is a law in all nature that the power of primary forces increases directly as the opposing forces are reduced. Since enforced idleness is the most powerful obstruction to a rise of wages, by removing the unemployed the direct influence of the social forces which tend to promote the rise of real wages would be increased.

Effects of Short Hours

Manifestly, therefore, the immediate effect of the adoption of this measure would be to remove the greatest obstacle to industrial peace and progress, and prepare the way for increasing the natural influences which tend to enlarge the general consumption of wealth and raise wages.

The second effect, which would be more gradual, permanent, and far-reaching in its nature than the first, would be the result of the increased leisure and social opportunity upon the social character and consumption of the masses. With the removal of enforced idleness, and its degrading influences, over 8,000,000 laborers would leave their work each day less exhausted, mentally and physically, and have two hours' more leisure. This would mean so much positive opportunity for family life and for general social intercourse, and in a much fresher and more cheerful mood. With increased leisure and less exhaustion, the laborer will be continually forced or attracted into new and more complex social relations, which is the first step toward education and culture in the broadest and deepest sense of the term. In short, it means his gradual introduction into a new social environment, the unconscious influence of which would necessarily awaken and develop new tastes and desires for more social comforts. He would naturally begin to desire more wholesome and better appointed homes, more literature, entertainment, and a greater amount of general social intercourse, not to speak of the intellectual, moral, and social improvement that would necessarily result from such conditions. The purely economic effect of this would be little short of revolution. In proportion to the frequency and extent with which the new desires were gratified, the development of which no power on earth could prevent, would they crystallize into urgent wants and necessities. The satisfaction of these would soon become an essential part of the standard of living demanded by the social character and habits of the people, and therefore would make a general rise of real wages inevitable. In fact, these are the only kind of influences which ever did, or ever can, permanently increase the general rate of real wages. This increased consumption and rise of wages means enlargement of the home market, and thereby making a greater concentration of capital and the use of wealth-cheapening machinery possible.

Such in brief are the main points of the eight-hour philosophy as far as its economics are concerned. As far as its practical program is concerned a few other points must still be noted:

1. The eight-hour philosophy claims that this method of raising wages, by shortening the hours of toil, is not only based on the laws of economics, but suited to the character of all abiding progress, in that it can be introduced without either overturning the present system or jeopardizing the reasonable interests of employers, until all working people be lifted up to a level where cooperative methods can be introduced and the wage system be gradually replaced by one where workmen shall be their own employers.

2. The eight-hour philosophy claims that it is suited to the political and ethical sense of working men, in that it teaches them to look for advance of wages, not to legislative enactment or any other form of paternalism, but by their own efforts in gaining the shorter day, and so lifting themselves up to a fuller manhood.

While it takes this position it recognizes the proper place of government, by asking, as the first step in securing the short-hour day, that government establish an eight-hour day, not indeed in all factories, but in all government works; thus showing what can be done, what an eight-hour day means; making it thus an object lesson both to employers and employees, and so leading the community, not by law, but by example.

3. The eight-hour philosophy recognizes that while industrial progress must come from the working classes lifting themselves up through combination to higher standards of living, the power to combine and agitate for shorter hours implies already a degree of development. Hence, by working along the lines of least resistance, and by following the deep principle that to those who have is given, it holds that the eight-hour movement will develop first among the higher paid artizans, and then, through their gaining higher standards of living, will reach down and lift up those at present unable to organize for themselves. Thus the eight-hour philosophy has always sought and found its chief home among the more intelligent and the better organized trade-unions.

Perhaps the whole of the philosophy may be best summed up in the resolutions passed by the Boston Eight-Hour League at its convention of 1872, drafted by Mr. Steward himself:

Resolved, That poverty is the great fact with which the labor movement deals;

That cooperation in labor is the final result to be obtained;

That a reduction in the hours of labor is the first step in labor reform; and that the emancipation of labor from the slavery and ignorance of poverty solves all of the problems that now most disturb and perplex mankind.

Resolved, That we demand legislation on the hours of labor, as follows:

1. An amendment to the patent laws of the United States, by which an exclusive right to make or sell shall be forfeited when persons are employed in manufacturing an article patented more than eight hours a day.

2. An amendment to the acts of incorporation of cities and towns, requiring them to adopt the eight-hour rule in the employment of all mechanics and day-laborers, and the same hours to apply to the same class of work for the state, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms, or corporations contracting with the state.

3. Manufacturing corporations to adopt the eight-hour system or surrender their charters.

4. All persons under twenty-one years of age to be employed not more than eight hours a day.

5. Eight hours to be made a legal day's work in the absence of a written agreement.

Resolved, That this legislation, tho affecting directly but a small per cent of the people, will establish the facts most important for the working classes to learn;

That eight hours do not mean less wages;

That men are never paid, as a rule, according to what they earn, but according to the average cost of living;

That in the long run—within certain limits—less hours means more pay, whether they work by the day or work by the piece;

That reducing the hours increases the purchasing power of wages as well as the amount of wealth produced;

That dear men mean cheap productions, and cheap men dear productions;

That six cents a day in China is dearest, $3 a day in America is cheapest;

That the moral causes that have made $3 a day cheaper than six cents a day will make higher wages still cheaper;

That less hours mean reducing the profits and fortunes that are made on labor or its results;

More knowledge and more capital for the laborer; the wage system gradually disappearing through higher wages;

Less poor people to borrow money, and less wealthy ones to lend it, and a natural decline in the rates of interest on money.

More idlers working, and more workers thinking; the motives to fraud reduced, and fewer calls for special legislation;

Woman's wages increased, her household labor reduced, better opportunities for thought and action, and the creation of motives strong enough to demand and secure the ballot;

Reaching the great causes of intemperance—extreme wealth and extreme poverty;

And the salvation of republican institutions.

References: George A. Gunton, *Wealth and Progress* (1887) and *Principles of Social Economics* (1891); George E. McNeill, *The Labor Movement* (1886); The first *Reports of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau*. (See also article Poverty.)

EIGHT-HOUR DAY: PRACTICABILITY OF (see also Eight-Hour Day; History of, and Philosophy of): It is necessary to distinguish at the outset between the *immediate* and *ultimate* effects. There are few branches of industry in the United States in which as much work can be immediately turned out in eight hours as in ten. It has indeed been done, by doing away with irregular attendance, frequent pauses, dawdling, etc., but the piece system of wage remuneration has had so extensive a sway in this country that it has squeezed out virtually all wasted time. If, however, we compare the per-capita product of an eight-hour day, after the lapse of several months or years, with that obtained at present, say, in a ten-hour day, may not the change stimulate production and yield even a larger quantum of material goods? Any person who has carefully studied the results of the historical tendency to shorten the hours of labor will be inclined to answer in the affirmative and

for the following reasons: Shorter hours in modern industry mean (1) increased physical efficiency, and (2) greater intelligence and inventiveness among the wage-workers, and (3) promote a purer family life, which in turn means better trained workmen and fewer paupers, tramps, and criminals, to be maintained out of the national product.

The fact, however, that numerous trades have succeeded in reducing the hours of work without suffering a corresponding reduction in compensation does not demonstrate that similar results would follow upon a general reduction of hours throughout all industry. For, in the first place, it is only too obvious that the advantage of a single trade in the way of high wages or short hours may be won at the expense of fellow workmen in other trades. In the case of the carpenters and masons it is clear that unless they did as much work in eight hours as formerly in ten the cost of buildings would be increased and laboring men would foot the bill by paying higher rents. If all trades should succeed in reducing hours, without increasing the average hourly output so as to maintain production, the result would be a general increase in prices; in other words a loss in real, effective income.

Nor is it clear that the particular trade that has won a shorter day has really improved its position even tho it may have succeeded in maintaining the daily rate of wages; for by such reduction in working-time it may have sacrificed an increase in earnings that it could otherwise have obtained. If it merely maintains wages at the prevailing rate in a period of rising prices and wages, it has suffered a loss in real income, since its earnings will buy less in the market.

Again, an increase in wages is often won at the expense of increased idleness in the trade, so that the support of unemployed members of the union may eat up the whole increase in earnings.

These considerations show that, in the long run and taking all industries in the aggregate, no general reduction in the hours of labor is possible without a resultant loss of real wages, unless production is maintained. If any one economic principle passes unquestioned, both among political economists and business men, it is the principle that wages in the aggregate and in the long run depend upon product.

There are, indeed, exceptions to this rule in industries affording monopoly profits. This class of industries is a very large one and is every day increasing in number. It embraces virtually all the industries classed under the head of transportation and communication, which by virtue of their exclusive sites or rights to land, public highways, etc., are natural monopolies. Another large class of industries possess special privileges in the way of patents, etc., which afford them monopoly profits. And lately there has come into prominence the immense interests enjoying profits beyond those prevailing under free competition, simply because they possess sufficient capital to destroy competition—the so-called capitalistic monopolies. Inasmuch as these monopoly profits exceed the normal or usual profits in industries where competition is free, they could be reduced without expelling capital and thus diminishing employment. If working men are strongly enough organized to enforce their demands, they can obtain a reduction in hours in these numerous industries without fearing an ultimate increase in prices to rob them of their gain.

Reduction of Hours Need Not Reduce Production

But even in industries wherein free competition has restricted profits to the normal rate, it is entirely possible for working men to obtain an advance in wages or a reduction in hours without affecting prices. But it will be at the expense of the smaller employers, who are driven out of business as a consequence of their inability to pay increased wages out of their meager profits. The whole tendency of labor organization and higher wages has in fact been to favor the large and well-equipped establishment at the expense of small, inefficient employers, with the ultimate result of making profits bear the cost of higher wages. But it has also promoted the centralization of industry and the growth of capitalistic monopolies mentioned in a previous paragraph.

In the third place, working-time may be shortened without causing higher prices or reductions in wages, by the adoption of improved machinery or processes. In fact, it is one of the glories of America that the high cost of labor has always stimulated the invention and adoption of labor-saving machinery; and it may be urged as an argument in favor of shorter hours that they would so promote the education and intelligent interest of wage-workers as to increase the number of useful inventions that enrich the community.

What has been the experience in the U. S., and particularly in Massachusetts, which has led the way in such state legislation?

The Massachusetts Act of 1874 provided a penalty of $50 for any owner or manager of a manufacturing establishment who "wilfully employed a woman or minor for more than ten hours a day, or sixty hours a week." The word "wilful" however, furnished employers with a convenient means of escape, which with other defects made it almost inoperative for several years. In 1879, however, the word "wilful" was struck out, and in 1880 additional amendments so strengthened the law as to make it fairly effective. Employers who had opposed the law from the outset now made strong efforts to secure its repeal, representing that their expenses of production were so greatly enhanced that they were unable to compete with rival factories in the neighboring commonwealths of New England and New York, which were operated eleven or eleven and a half hours a day. They submitted their books to show that the labor cost of their goods had increased almost proportionately with the forced reduction of hours. While they could not prevail upon the legislature to repeal the law, they succeeded in having an official investigation of the question made by the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

The report of Carroll D. Wright, then chief of the Massachusetts bureau, vindicated the ten-hour law. Colonel Wright's famous report of 1881 declared (p. 457) that "Massachusetts with ten hours produces as much per man or per loom or per spindle, equal grades being considered, as other states with eleven and more hours," and also that "wages here rule as high, if not higher, than in the states where the mills run longer time." He added: "So far as the tables show there is no reason why the mills in New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine should not be run on the ten-hour basis in harmony with the system in successful operation in Massachusetts." The result of this report was that opposition to the law died away for a time in Massachusetts, and that the neighboring states soon enacted similar laws.

Massachusetts' Experience

From that time to this, public opinion in Massachusetts has upheld the ten-hour law, and approved the extension of its principles despite the contention of Massachusetts manufacturers that it handicapped them in their competition with rival establishments in other states. Thus as late as 1895 the "Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers" in a series of articles on "Factory Legislation in New England," which was subsequently reprinted by the Arkwright Club, affirmed that "vast sums of Massachusetts capital have gone into other New England states, driven away from home by the adverse conditions created by legislation."

Fortunately, statistics are at hand which afford simple but fairly effective tests of the assertion that Massachusetts' industries are threatened with ruin by restrictive labor legisla-

tion. In the first place, Massachusetts' cotton industry, the business chiefly affected by short-hour laws, has fully kept pace with that of rival states in the North. In 1870, four years before the enactment of the ten-hour law, Massachusetts had 39.5 per cent of all the cotton spindles in the North Atlantic states, six years after the passage of that law, Massachusetts' proportion was 45 per cent; in 1890 it was 47.5 per cent, and in 1900 53.5 per cent. It is difficult to see what clearer proof could be demanded of the beneficial results of the Massachusetts short-hour laws of 1874 (sixty hours a week) and 1892 (fifty-eight hours).

Again, that the maximum industrial efficiency of a community has been reached under the nine-and-a-half-hour day of England and Massachusetts may be questioned in view of numerous successful experiments with the eight-hour day. A record of these experiments will be found in the books devoted to this question. One of the most notable of these experiments was made by the large machinery manufacturers, Messrs. Mather & Platt, of Salford, England, who employed 1,200 workmen. Their reduction in hours from fifty-three to forty-eight per week resulted in so little diminution of the output that the British Government decided to make a similar reduction in the royal arsenals. But for the most convincing demonstration of the benefits of the eight-hour day one must go to the Australian colonies, where it is nearly universal.

Once more, at the present time there is a growing recognition of the destructive effects upon the life and health of wage-earners, of machine methods and processes of utilizing harmful materials.

It has rarely been so tersely stated as in these words of Professor Clark of Columbia University:

> If you want a man to work for you one day, and one day only, and secure the greatest possible amount of work which he is capable of performing, you must make him work for twenty-four hours. If you would have him work a week it will be necessary to reduce the time to twenty hours a day; if you want him to work for a month, a still further reduction to eighteen hours a day. For the year, fifteen hours a day will do; for several years, ten hours; but if you wish to get the most out of a man for a working lifetime, you will have to reduce his hours of labor to eight each day.

It is an absolute waste to have the workmen in our manufacturing and transport industries die as young as they do. The English mortality statistics (the only accurate figures that we possess of deaths by occupations) show that the death-rate of occupied males is almost twice as great in the industrial as in the agricultural districts. Taking 1,000 as the standard of measurement, we find the mortality among dock-laborers to be 1,829 as compared with 604 among schoolmasters. The enormous disparity points to a most unprofitable organization of industry. And in the U. S., according to the unanimous testimony of American and foreign observers, the working men are worn out at an even earlier age than in England or elsewhere.

A French authority was forced to the conclusion that the maximum working-time should be eight hours in all branches of industry wherein peculiar conditions exist, such as the employment of children or women, special risks of danger, particles of dust in the atmosphere, etc. "The limitation of hours to eight per day," he says, "would have the best effects upon the general health and mental activity of the working classes and would diminish their chronic sickness and mortality."

Dr. Ilia Sachnine after an exhaustive study (La Journée de Huit Heures au Point de vue de L'hygiene et de la Medicine, Lyon, 1900), concludes that the abnormal sickness and mortality among working people is due not simply to poisonous or noxious substances in the materials of work, but also to fatigue, which affects the nerves.

Health and vigor are of primary importance to any body of workers, and whatever policy will promote the health of the community will in the long run prove the best policy, even if its adoption may temporarily cut down profits. The Massachusetts cotton industry affords an excellent example of the wisdom of this policy, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of a part of the employing classes. For as a result of Massachusetts labor legislation and the competition of Southern factories, Massachusetts factory owners have been obliged to seek the latest inventions and improved processes, to produce finer and more attractive goods. As the Southern mills have naturally begun with the production of coarse grades, the Massachusetts manufacturer has endeavored to avoid competition by confining himself to the higher grades. This has of course called for more and more skill on the part of Massachusetts operatives and has led to the establishment of textile schools. The grand result is that Massachusetts has a body of workmen who have leisure to appreciate the public libraries scattered throughout the state; to perfect their technical training as well as to acquire that degree of culture and knowledge which makes an intelligent citizenship and to discharge the duties imposed by that citizenship. What American would hesitate in choosing between this system and the system of the Southern factory villages, where men, women, and children can be regarded as little better than working animals? Even as regards the production of material goods, it is nothing but short-sightedness to regard the Southern industry with its eleven-hour day as superior to the Massachusetts industry with a fifty-eight-hour week.

The objection made to the higher system is that such progress has to be paid for out of the profits. Every capitalist would prefer to continue his machinery in use until it is entirely worn out, and with large profits such as are made now in the South he will do so. But diminished profits in Massachusetts have made the Massachusetts manufacturers the leaders in improving machinery and methods. It is not too high a price to pay for progress.

In discussions of the shorter-hours' question it is usual to refer to the moral aspects and to consider the effects of a shortening of the working-time upon the home life of wage-earners, their pleasures (and more particularly their use of liquor), and in general their disposition of the added hours of leisure. But as a matter of fact no well-grounded distinction can be made between the moral and economic effects, for any change that improves the morals of a community will in the end produce an increase in the amount of material goods made by that community. The family furnishes the really fundamental education of the growing generation—the education of character; and the family life thus really determines the quality of the rising generation as efficient or non-efficient wealth producers. If a reduction in the hours of labor does promote the growth of a purer and better family life, it will unquestionably result in the production of greater material wealth on the part of the generation trained under its influence; nothing else in fact will so effectively diminish the vast number of

criminals, paupers, and idlers, who, in the present generation, consume the people's substance.

Shorter hours improve the worker and therefore also increase product by increasing home life.

A very little observation serves to show that home life can scarcely exist in a family whose head must work twelve or thirteen hours a day. For two or three additional hours must be spent away from home in traveling to and from work and in eating luncheon, and that leaves the workman scarcely more than his sleeping-hours. He may as a result see his children once a week, if he does not have to work on Sunday. The wife's life is darkened even more by the long-hour day, especially if she also be a working woman. Even if the day be one of only ten hours, she must arise as early as five o'clock to prepare breakfast for her husband and herself so that they may be at their work places at seven. Beginning at that early hour her day will be a very long one.

Home Life

Long hours of work exhaust the toiler and unfit him for reading or light social pleasures in the midst of his family in the evening. His body and mind crave excitement and drive him to the saloon, where he drinks heavily. And thus the very appetite for stimulants, created by exhausting hours of labor, is cited in certain quarters as a fatal objection to the shortening of working-hours. The assertion that additional leisure would be spent in drinking and carousals is frequently made the basis of argument against shortening the hours of work. And of course it is always possible to adduce numerous instances of such results. Unskilled and lowly paid laborers may find no other way of spending their leisure, but it is certainly not so among the skilled craftsmen. No complaint has been made that carpenters and masons are now more addicted to intoxicants than they were before they won the eight-hour day. On the contrary, the impression everywhere prevails that drunkenness has decreased in their ranks and in other classes where hours have been shortened. The phenomenal growth of university extension lectures, evening-schools, and public libraries can be explained in no other way than by the increasing participation therein of the wage-workers. The following quotation from a letter by John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, testifies to the improvement in drinking-habits wrought by the shorter working-day:

> You would be surprized to note the progress the coal-miners are making since the inauguration of the eight-hour day three years ago. In many places they are organizing libraries, they are taking a greater interest in public questions, and their family life has become much improved and sweetened. Formerly when they came home in the evening they were so exhausted that they felt crotchety and cross. Now they come home in better time and can always afford to give the "old woman" a smile. But above all, you would be surprized to note what this change has wrought in the mining regions in reducing drunkenness. The eight-hour day is the greatest temperance advocate I know of.

Outdoor recreation and sports have thriven wonderfully among the working people who enjoy short hours and have contributed much to the general improvement in health observed in recent years. An even more profitable way of spending their leisure has appeared among the English and Australian working classes, whose working-hours are shorter than those of American wage-earners, namely, home gardening. Sydney and Melbourne are metropolitan cities with the largest part of their population in suburban homes. The wage-earner by leaving his work early in the afternoon can easily manage to live in a cottage of his own out in the suburbs and can keep his own garden. It has been said that "the city of Melbourne has a wall of security in the belt of working-class cottages by which it is encircled; and the pride of the modest owners in their little home and garden diverts them not merely from political but from convivial temptations."

Thus far we have been discussing what may be called the immediate effects of the eight-hour day. Of greater importance are those more general and remote effects that will be manifested in the industrial success or failure of the next generation of workers whose training and education will be carried on under the shorter-day system.

There is a popular belief that reduction of hours, by diminishing the amount of work performed, would create a demand for additional workmen. Thus, the organ of one of the most enlightened and conservative trade-unions in the U. S. says of the eight-hour bill which has passed the House of Representatives:

> If we can succeed in passing this bill it will create such a demand for labor as was never experienced; it will raise wages and give a boost to the labor movement that will make it respected by those who are its antagonists.

Among working men, indeed, the favorite argument in favor of shorter hours is that more labor would then be required to accomplish equal results. It is believed that the eight-hour day would result in the absorption of the great mass of the unemployed, who are constantly tempted to underbid the employed, thereby keeping down wages, as well as using up large funds set aside by the labor-unions for the maintenance of their unemployed members. Most of the literature in the Eight-Hour Series published by the American Federation of Labor emphasizes this particular effect of a shorter working-day. (See EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY.)

It looks plausible; but it must not be hastily accepted on account of mere plausibility.

Let us suppose that the daily working-time in bakeries is reduced to eight hours a day, and that in order to maintain the supply of bread employers must engage more workmen. The number of persons unemployed is by so much diminished and the number of consumers correspondingly increased. Other trades will therefore expect an increased demand for their goods, and more workmen will be employed to meet this demand, until the unemployed are all at work and everybody is happy. So easy a solution of the labor question is evidently based on a fallacy somewhere, else it would long since have met with general adoption. In the case of the bakers, it will be recognized that the employment of more men will increase the employers' wages bill, which must in the long run be made up by higher prices on account of the tendency of profits to uniformity in all industries. But if the price of bread is increased working men generally will have less money for other things; their purchases of clothing, furniture, books, etc., will dwindle and business in these industries will fall off until in the end many more workmen will be discharged than were originally taken on by the bakers. The number of unemployed will be greater than ever. This is because the aggregate product of the community has been diminished.

As a remedy for the problem of the unemployed the reduction of the hours of labor is therefore illusory. If any one is inclined to scout this conclusion as mere "theory," let him study the labor question in Australia. There the eight-hour day is universal, and yet nowhere else in the world has distress on account of unemployment been greater than it was in Australia in the long depression of the nineties.

Will Not, However, Employ the Unemployed

The effects of reducing the hours of work, therefore, may be summarized as follows:

1. Production, and therefore wages, may be maintained without the employment of additional laborers by: (*a*) "Hauling in slack rope," i. e., abolishing intervals of rest, dawdling, irregular attendance, etc. (*b*) More intense application to work, speeding of the machinery, etc. (*c*) The adoption of improved processes and labor-saving machinery.

2. Production may be maintained by the employment of additional workmen at the expense neither of the wage-earner nor of the consumer, by: (*a*) Eliminating the small employer and concentrating labor in large establishments which can flourish on lower rates of profit by reason of large returns. (*b*) Making monopoly gains pay the increased expenses of production.

3. From a social point of view, production will be increased by any change in industrial organization which diminishes the number of idlers, paupers, and criminals. Shorter hours of work, by allowing higher standards of comfort and purer family life, promise to enhance the industrial efficiency of the wage-working class (improved health, longer life, more content, and greater intelligence and inventiveness).

4. Reduction of the hours of labor will not abolish the problem of unemployment. (See HOURS OF LABOR.)

ADNA F. WEBER.

ELBERFELD SYSTEM: Attention has been widely attracted to the methods of poor relief adopted in Elberfeld, and copied in many German cities. In 1823 the Prussian Government authorized each commune in the Düsseldorf circle to take charge of its own poor relief, but until 1850 the old system, founded upon that of the French Empire, remained in vogue. A system in the charge of wealthy individuals was then tried, but proved very costly. At the instigation of Daniel von der Heydt, a banker of Elberfeld, the existing scheme was authorized.

For poor-law purposes the city is divided into 546 sections, each section consisting of about 300 people. Every fourteen sections constitute a district. Over each section is placed an almoner; and over each district, which has fourteen almoners, is appointed an overseer. All these officers are under the control of a central committee of nine, of which the mayor is ex-officio president, four members are town councilors, and the other four are ordinary citizens. The 546 almoners and thirty-nine overseers are unpaid, but all is under city control.

The duties of the almoners are extensive and precise. Every person needing relief makes application to the almoner of his own district. It is then the duty of the almoner to institute full and particular inquiries into all the circumstances of the case. He is also required to keep himself constantly informed so long as the applicant may continue to need relief. Every fortnight the fourteen almoners of each district meet under the presidency of the district overseer; the reports of each are then considered, and the minute-book prepared for the Central Committee. That committee also meets fortnightly on the day following the meetings of the almoners and overseers. The small size of the sections enables each almoner, without difficulty, to make himself thoroughly familiar with all the distress of his district, and with every exaggerating or favorably modifying circumstance connected with it. Being a citizen and not a paid official, he has no interest but to state the facts as plainly as may be, and to see to it that the relief shall be such as is best suited to the necessities of each case. Relief is granted according to a fixt and uniform scale, which is so framed as to secure that only the minimum necessary for bare subsistence is supplied to the applicant and his family. Any small sums he may earn are considered and deducted so as to bring his rate of relief to the standard minimum. One of the instructions of the almoner is that he is bound to use every possible effort to secure employment for those who may be in receipt of relief.

But while relief is thus strictly limited, much more is really done. For the almoner coming to know the comparatively small section over which he is assigned, and there being developed a civic interest in his work, he is able to help the needy in many ways before they come in need of money relief. He helps the unemployed to find work, the sick to obtain medical attendance; to the beginner in dissipation he gives the word of counsel which often rescues him from evil. He becomes a little father to his section. He is allowed by the city to loan tools, sewing-machines, etc. The best men take these positions. According to W. H. Dawson ("The German Workman," 1906), among 600 almoners recently in charge was 1 who had been in office forty-nine years; 19 in office over thirty years; 81 over twenty years, and 268 over ten years. They included 243 business men, 319 professional men, 9 farmers and landowners. Women aid through their *Frauenverein*, and are now beginning to be appointed as supplemental official almoners.

Little Fathers

The result is that tho the population has increased from 50,000 in 1852 to 162,000 in 1904, the number receiving either temporary or permanent help has only increased from 4,000 to 7,689, a decrease from 8 per cent in 1852 to 4.7 per cent in 1904, or nearly one half. The relief given in 1852 was $44,660, or eighty-nine cents per head of population, and in 1904 (including poorhouse, orphanage, etc.), $143,530, or eighty-eight cents per head, with far better results. Berlin, Cologne, Dresden, Stuttgart, and other German cities have adopted the same general system.

Results

REFERENCES: *Britain's Next Campaign*, Julie Sutter, and *The German Workman*, W. H. Dawson (1906).

ELECTIONS (see also AUSTRALIAN BALLOT PRIMARIES; CORRUPT PRACTISES ACTS; REFERENDUM): Elections seem to have originated in the general assemblies of citizens (or perhaps in the old labor-gilds (see GILDS), as in the Roman concilia (see ROME), the Athenian ecclesia (see ATHENS), or the Teutonic assemblages of freemen (see SWITZERLAND). When these passed away, first in fact and then in form, in the growth of despotism and autocracy, the custom of election was preserved in the monastic fraternities, ecclesiastical conventions, free cities, and trade-gilds. Favored electors, as in Germany, often elected emperors or even kings.

Election by popular vote is now becoming again the rule in all civilized countries, with a tendency everywhere to be by universal adult suffrage, tho to-day for the most part only by adult male suffrage (see SUFFRAGE). The United States was the first country to establish this in a large way in modern times, tho even in the states, when they became independent, the suffrage was limited in each one of the commonwealths by property and other qualifications.

THE UNITED STATES

Elections in the U. S. are numerous and frequent, and here is one of the main sources of their evil. Federal elections come every four years; state elections come usually every year; municipal elections come also yearly, sometimes on the same day and sometimes on different days from the other elections. In the case of each

Frequency

election (federal, state, and municipal) the voter has numerous candidates to vote for. In federal elections he votes for electors for president and vice-president; in state elections he votes for governor, lieutenant-governor, congressmen, representatives to the state legislatures, secretary of state, attorney-general, sometimes judges, and several other officers. In city elections he usually votes for mayor, aldermen, common councilors, school board, commissioners of various departments. Besides this he is usually called upon to vote yea or nay on various questions of granting license or no. For each office three or four parties each nominate different candidates. The result is that frequently the voter has to have before him several hundred names. The ballot upon which the average city voter has to record his choice is often a blanket sheet covered with confusing names. Under the present system, then, the first characteristic of American elections is that even the voter who desires to be honest cannot go by his own personal knowledge of the candidates. It is impossible for him to know personally and to judge between the claims of the different men. He, therefore, is compelled to be guided in his choice by his party, by hearsay, or by the press. Here comes in the opportunity of the professional politician.

For the misuse of elections, see CORRUPTION.

Primaries

The machine controls elections mainly through the primary. The primary is determined by its roll of ward voters entitled to vote in it. This roll is prepared by the ward committee. It knows its own men. Others are admitted to the primaries on the votes of those already admitted. To gain admission, one often has to give a pledge to support the committee. Independent men are gotten rid of or refused admission. Subservient primaries are thus easily gotten. Honest men object to such measures, and either stay away or give up in disgust after fruitless efforts to capture the primary.

Bogus lists of voters are often made. Men are brought in from other districts to vote for the machine.

When the primary meets a "slate" is brought in, and usually the names on it receive the nomination from the subservient primary. If a few opponents are present, they are usually allowed to make opposing but fruitless nominations, the committee being sure of the result. The chairman appointed by the meeting is almost always the tool of the committee. If there should be a split or division, sometimes a disturbance is purposely created, and in the confusion the chairman can declare the nominations carried. Often shouters and roughs are brought in to shout down all opposition. Usually when there is a division, it is merely a fight within the party, between two ward or city cliques, for offices, both of which are subservient to the machine. Honest battles in the primaries are almost unknown, and "reformers" have almost given up in despair attempting to capture the primaries of the old parties under the present system. Their only hope seems to be to make independent nominations of their own. They sometimes win, in cases of the uprisings of indignant citizens, but the indignation does not last, and pretty soon the regular work of the old party machine wins again. Nor is there usually much hope in playing corrupt Republican primary against corrupt Democratic primary, especially in city politics, because the machine which once gets hold of a city usually gets such complete hold of it that in that city there is little rivalry between the two parties. With the rarest of exceptions, New York City is always Democratic and Philadelphia always Republican. So even with many smaller cities. Even where the cities are uncertain, certain wards in each city can always be counted on for a certain party. Sometimes, too, the same municipal ring controls the primaries of both parties. Such are some of the difficulties of reaching the primaries.

Above the primary is the convention. The convention is usually safe for the machine, because the machine has already captured the primaries that send the delegates. The machine nominates a temporary chairman, and he is elected usually by subservient delegates; if not, roughs and shouters are brought in. He names the committee on contested seats, which committee, passing on the titles of delegates, can admit the friends and refuse admission to the opponents of the machine. In all doubtful cases the machine favors itself. It then gets the chairman of the convention, and has practically all power in its hands. Such are some of the methods of American electioneering.

When it comes to the voting, the ward and county committees are instructed to see that the full party vote is polled and that all the doubtful are canvassed. Money is sent to the different committees to buy those who can be bought. Men are hired to go among the trade-unions and secure the labor vote. Papers are bought up or filled with paid editorials and paid "news." The papers of the foreign populations are subsidized. Campaign circulars are prepared suited for special classes and addrest to clergymen, to merchants, to "the American working men." "Orators" are put upon the stump and sent to every district. National orators are carried in special trains from city to city. Carefully prepared reports of extempore speeches by the rival candidates are put in the daily press. Mud, if necessary, is slyly thrown. Sometimes lies are circulated at the last minute when it is too late for the opposing party to refute them. "Claims" are made showing that all the country is going one way. Processions and monster parades are formed. Those away from home get their railway fare paid if they will go home and vote for a certain party. The railroads grant free passage to those who will vote in their interest. Taxes are paid for votes. Minor forms of corruption are resorted to. Such are some of the elements of American elections.

Campaigns

It is to be noted, however, that in a few states reform methods as to primaries and elections have been instituted and are being agitated in almost all states. See article PRIMARIES.

GREAT BRITAIN

The English election system is in many ways different. Corruption is very rare. After the general election of 1906 there were only five election petition trials. In Worcester, which has had the reputation of having the most electoral corruption, a ward committee chairman stated that out of more than 7,600 voters at the polls less than 300 were bribable.

The fact that elections do not all come at the same time attracts general attention to each separate election, and makes dishonesty more difficult, while extending the interest of all classes.

The English system of "heckling," or of having the candidate appear before his constituents with any one free to question him, is often only a farce, but some consider that it interests and educates the separate voters. The main reason, however, for purer elections is the important Corrupt Practises Act (*q. v.*), which limits the amount of campaign expenses that may be incurred, and compels the candidate to have his expenditures all go through the hands of one man, who must make a rigid report, to be scrutinized by members of the other party. This and the ease of nominations, with the irregularity and comparative infrequency of elections, presents the development of the party machine system.

Mr. Albert Shaw thus briefly describes the nominating and polling machinery after the election writs have been made out:

"The names of candidates must be left at the clerk's office, inscribed upon official blanks, a week before the election. Accompanying each name must be the signature of a 'proposer,' a 'seconder,' and eight other citizens. Only such persons as have been nominated in this way may be voted for. Nominations being all in, the list is at once printed and conspicuously bulletined. The announcement contains the full names, residences (street and number), and occupations of the nominees, and the names of the proposer and seconder in each case. If only one nomination has been made in any ward, the nomination is itself the election, and the polls will not be opened in that ward."

Nominations

France

The French electoral system is quite different from either that of the U. S. or Great Britain. Here, again, we do not have the appearance of the party machine, as in the U. S., tho the government often plays an unfortunate part through its use of secret service money in aiding candidates favorable to the administration. There is not much direct bribery, on account of the strictness of the law; but the candidate who can spend for campaign posters, meetings, or sometimes for bodies of supporters, who will keep his meetings in order and disturb or break up the meetings of his rival, has an undue advantage. One reason, perhaps, that the party machine has not developed is that the French governments have been so unstable and parties broken into so many groups that there has been small chance for strong parties to develop. A more effectual reason, however, is the use of the second ballot, in use in France and several European countries. According to the law, there is no election unless some candidate has secured at least one quarter of the registered voters, or at least a half plus one of the votes cast. If no candidate has received this another polling must be held a fortnight later, when a simple majority of the ballots cast suffice for a choice. The result of this is that on the first election day votes may be scattered among different candidates without risk, for they all tell against the common enemy, and on the second election they can all be rallied for that candidate of a party who has received the highest vote. The first ballot thus serves as a democratic way of nominating candidates, with little need of conventions, campaign committees, etc. Elections were formerly by the *scrutin de liste*, or the voting for all the deputies allotted to a department by all in the department. Now, however, some elections are universal, or the election of one candidate by each district.

Second Ballot

ELECTORAL COLLEGE, THE: The Constitution of the United States (see PRESIDENT) calls for the election of the president by electors chosen by the people of each state. This body of electors is called the Electoral College. Each state chooses a number of presidential electors equal to the number of its representatives in both houses of Congress. These electors meet in each state on a day fixt by law and give their votes in writing for president and vice-president. The votes are transmitted, sealed, to the capitol, and there opened by the president of the Senate in the presence of both houses and counted. The electors cannot be members of Congress nor holders of any federal office.

The aim of this law was to secure the election of the president in a quiet, deliberate way by trusted representatives of the people. It was feared that the masses might not elect the best men if left wholly to themselves, and that popular direct elections might lead to disturbances. It was thought, too, that as the electors' votes are counted promiscuously, and not by states, each elector's voice would have its weight. He might be in a minority in his own state, but his vote would, nevertheless, tell, because it would be added to those given by electors in other states for the same candidate.

No part of their scheme seems to have been regarded by the constitution-makers of 1787 with more complacency than this, altho no part had caused them so much perplexity. No part has so utterly belied their expectations. The presidential electors have become a mere cog-wheel in the machine. They have no discretion, but are chosen under a pledge to vote for certain men—a pledge of honor merely, but a pledge which has never (since 1796) been violated. The plan, too, has done positive harm. It has made the election virtually an election by states, for the present system of choosing electors by "general ticket" over the whole state causes the whole weight of a state to be thrown into the scale of one candidate and party. Hence in a presidential election the struggle concentrates itself in the doubtful states, where the parties are nearly equally divided, and is languid in states where a distinct majority either way may be anticipated, because, since it makes no difference whether a minority be large or small, it is not worth while to struggle hard to increase a minority which cannot be turned into a majority. Hence also a man may be, and has been, elected president by a minority of popular votes. (See PRESIDENT.)

ELECTORAL REFORMS. See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT; CORRUPT PRACTISES ACTS; DIRECT LEGISLATION; PRIMARIES; PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

ELECTRICITY: (For Electric Lighting, see LIGHTING; for Electric Railways, see RAILROADS AND STREET RAILROADS.) It is a common thought that we are passing out of the age of steam into the age of electricity, and this is affecting social problems in many ways. It is not affecting social problems in one way, however, in which it was widely claimed that it would a score of years ago. It was widely urged at that time

(see D. A. Wells's "Recent Economic Changes," 1889) that the introduction of electric power, with its ease of transmission and dispersion, would render unnecessary the concentration of production in great factories and industrial centers, would bring back the era of home manufactures and the small producer, increase the possibilities of competition, and arrest many industrial evils, and especially those of monopoly and its resultant ills. Twenty years ago this was a stock argument against socialism. To-day this argument is little heard. It is more than a question of motive power that produces the economy of the factory and the tendency to combination. The latter especially is a question of the market rather than of the means of material production. Electric plants themselves are developing monster factories, and combination is if anything more developed under electricity than under steam. Especially has the use of electric motor power, widely transmitted, aided in the connecting of towns and cities by electric car lines, and the combination of these into gigantic systems. The sale again of electric power by one company to different companies tends to bring them sooner or later into one general combination. Electricity certainly thus far has not prevented the steady disappearing of competition. It is on the other hand believed by many that the use of electricity will aid the advance of many reforms in the line of socialism.

When the telephone can enter every home and electric power be furnished every house, many domestic operations, like sewing, can be managed by electricity, and meals be ordered at cooperative ovens by telephone. It is in such ways that many believe that our "domestic problem" is to be largely worked out. When one realizes how far the weather signal service has affected and may affect agriculture and navigation, how commerce to-day is dependent upon the telegraph and telephone, how easily power can be sold from one center to widely distributed factories, it means such a development of combination (rather than competition) that communities will not long like to be dependent on private companies for the power of so many activities, but will come to own and operate the centers of power, allowing with this of great freedom of individual operation.

How far industry is being revolutionized to-day by electricity is not always realized. Yet the value of electrical apparatus manufactured in the United States in 1906 was estimated at $260,800,000. In Great Britain the growth of electrical industries is seen that in 1895 there were thirty-eight such companies and thirty-three municipalities, with electric plants, and in 1905 187 companies and 237 municipalities. Yet the use of electricity seems but in its beginnings. Electric railways (not street-railways) were scarcely used in commerce in 1904. Electric motor-cars, the electric cab service, electric elevators are commercially but little older. Electro-metallurgy and electric chemistry were only beginning in 1900. Wireless telegraphy was not commercially used before 1901. The New York Edison Co., for selling electric power, only completed its plant in New York City in 1901. The electrical transference of music, the telharmonium, dates from 1907. Yet the possibilities of electricity seem inexhaustible. It has been calculated that 7,000,000 of horsepower can be generated and electrically transmitted almost any distance by the Niagara Falls alone. Electric power in California is now transmitted 230 miles. In Africa it is seriously proposed to work the South African mines with power from the Victoria Falls. It is believed that steamers will before many years cross the Atlantic with stored electric power, instead of having to carry enormously expensive and bulky tonnage of coal. It is probable that goods will be carried in electric trains of some nature which already have run some distance at the rate of 140 miles per hour. Electric motors, many believe, will make air locomotion practicable. The use of electricity is the physical industrial question of the day.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING. See LIGHTING.

ELLIOT, EBENEZER: English poet, called the "Corn-Law Rhymer"; born at Marlborough, near Sheffield, 1781. The son of a manufacturer of the somewhat rough early type, he received little education, but read widely and early wrote verse. Entering business himself, he met with some success, but also with losses, which he laid to the Corn Laws. He developed a fierce indignation against the law that had kept him poor as an employer, and that prest so hardly on the workers whom he wished to benefit. In "The Splendid Village," "The Village Patriarch," and, above all, in "The Ranter," the reader feels the depth of his feeling for the poor and his hatred of the landlord class. In the "Corn-Law Rhymes" (1831) the whole of his bitter anger breaks out, and the famous rimes play no small part in the agitation which finally abolished the Corn Laws. He died soon after seeing their abolition in 1849.

ELLIS, HENRY HAVELOCK: English physician and author; born at Croydon, Surrey, 1859; educated in private schools and St. Thomas's Hospital, London. From 1875 to 1879 he was engaged in teaching in New South Wales; and on his return to England he qualified as a medical practitioner, but soon gave up his practise to devote himself to scientific and literary work. He is fellow of the Medico-Legal Society of New York and of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, and honorary fellow of the Chicago Academy of Medicine. He edited the "Contemporary Science Series" (1889) and Vizetelly's "Mermaid Series of Old Dramatists" (1887–89). Among his works are: "The Criminal" (1890); "Studies in the Psychology of Sex" (5 vols., 1897–1906); "Affirmations" (1897), etc. *Address:* Carbis Water, Lelant, Cornwall, England.

ELMIRA REFORMATORY, NEW YORK: The sociological experiments and results arrived at in Elmira Reformatory, N. Y., entitle it to an article by itself. (See PENOLOGY.)

The Elmira Reformatory was opened in 1876, when the first inmates were received. The institution, however, did not take its distinctive position until 1877, when the bill providing for the "indeterminate" sentence was incorporated in the statutes.

System

According to this bill, convicts sent to Elmira cannot be sentenced for any definite term, altho a maximum term can be given. The length of residence of the convict is left wholly to the decision of the management, and this gives the key to the whole institution. On his arrival the con-

vict is carefully examined as to his history, mental and physical characteristics, and all circumstances of his case, and is then treated as a moral patient, built up into self-supporting character as rapidly as possible, and only allowed to go out (unless the maximum term intervenes) when in the opinion of the management he is capable of self-supporting citizenship. He is, however, even then only allowed to go out for the first six months on parole, being kept in close correspondence with the management until he has proved himself worthy of absolute freedom.

Such is, in brief, the thought of the reformatory. But the way the convicts are built up into character is by teaching them how to work. In 1888 the New York Legislature passed the Yates Bill, practically prohibiting the industries then being carried on at Elmira by the convicts, and absolutely forbidding the application of power machinery to prison labor, to prevent its competition with outside labor. It forced the prisoners into immediate idleness, and the management scarcely knew what to do. But in a few hours the whole industrial life of the institution was revolutionized. All thought of making profit was given up and industrial classes were commenced simply for the good of the men. The whole mass of convicts, too, for sake of exercise, were brought out and drilled in military exercise. The result of both measures has been good beyond all expectation. The military exercise gives the convicts a carriage and bearing, both mental and physical, that makes them wholly different. To-day they form a notable regiment of men, organized, officered, and commanded by those convicts proving themselves the most worthy, and with their own band, and all appointments of a regiment.

The reformatory population is divided into three grades: first, second, and third. Each man upon admission to the institution is placed in the second grade, from which, by making a good record in demeanor, school of letters, and trades-school, he may rise to the first grade or, by failure to do this, may drop to the third. Six months of proper institutional record in the second grade insures promotion to the first grade; a like six months in the first grade entitles the prisoner to consideration by the board of managers for parole. For improper demeanor, if sufficiently serious, reduction in grade is possible at any time. Poor school work, if below certain prescribed standards, and persisted in for a month or more, also necessitates grade reduction. After reduction to the third grade, at least one month of proper record is required before eligibility for promotion can be considered.

Grades and Wages

Under the Elmira Reformatory system it is designed that each prisoner, from the date of his admission until granted his absolute release, shall be taught the value of self-support and to this end his personal account is credited with a small daily amount, intended to represent wages, and is debited with the cost of all he receives, be it for meals, lodging, clothing, medical attendance, or fines incurred; nothing being furnished gratis with the exception of his first outfit of clothing, and a few other necessary articles of like character. It is possible for a prisoner of average health and intelligence to defray all his institutional expenses, as enumerated above, and still have remaining to his credit, when released, a small balance, sufficient to pay for his transportation to place of employment, and temporary subsistence until he receives his first wages in free life.

The prisoners take their meals in dining-rooms, to which they are assigned according to grade. The food supplied to the three grades is uniform in quality, but the ration of the first grade admits of a somewhat greater variety than does that issued to the second and third grades.

First-grade prisoners who have been economical in their various expenditures, and have thus obtained a certain credit balance, showing a specified sum saved, occupy a separate dining-room and are allowed a more extended dietary than their fellows, their accounts being duly debited with the cost of the additional items received. These prisoners are also permitted to converse while at table, another privilege not accorded to inmates using the other dining-rooms.

The engagements of each inmate are intended to absorb his thoughts completely during most of his waking moments, and they are sufficiently varied, tho systematized. The program is varied for individuals. There are those who are employed at productive labor or in domestic service.

Classes

A majority of the trades-school pupils spend a portion of two days a week in the drawing-class room. Wednesday and Saturday afternoons work is suspended in the shops and trades-class rooms and the four hours are devoted to drilling and military ceremonies. There are evening-class meetings for every man as often as twice a week, and for those most nearly illiterate and those taking special courses as often as four times a week. On Sundays there are classes in ethics. There are kindergarten classes for the under-witted, classes for the others in all branches of study, from elementary subjects to the higher sciences and philosophy. The elementary classes are usually taught by advanced convicts. The main classes are, however, industrial.

At the present time twenty-nine trades, as enumerated in the following list, are taught in the trades-school: Barber, bookbinder, brass-smith, bricklayer, cabinet-maker, carpenter, clothing cutter, electrician, frescoer, hardwood finisher, horseshoer, house-painter, iron-forger, machine-wood-worker, machinist, molder, paint mixer, plasterer, plumber, printer, shoemaker, sign-painter, steam-fitter, stenographer and typewriter, stone-cutter, stone-mason, tailor, tinsmith, and upholsterer.

In many workshops containing scores or even hundreds of workers, convicts are the only teachers and convicts the only watch on guard. Much attention is given to physical training. Every convict, on coming in, is physically examined, and then the endeavor is made to develop to the norm that which is abnormal.

The principal regulations governing paroled men, which are printed on the certificates issued to each, are these:

1. The graduate shall proceed directly to the place of employment provided for him and there remain, if practicable, for at least six months from date.

2. In case he finds it desirable to change his employment or residence, he shall first get the consent of the managers through the general superintendent.

3. He shall on the first of every month, for the period of six months or more, and until absolutely released by the managers, forward to the general superintendent a report of himself certified by his employer or an agent of the managers, which report shall state whether he has been constantly under pay during the month and if not, why not, and how much

money he has expended and saved, together with a general and full statement of himself and surroundings.

4. He shall in all respects conduct himself honestly, avoid low and evil associations, and shall abstain from intoxicating drinks.

Each man is advised, prior to his departure, that he need not fear to communicate with the management in case he loses his situation or becomes unable to labor by reason of sickness. He is assured that he may at all times rely upon the aid and counsel of the managers and superintendent, and that, in case of disaster, he may find the reformatory a desirable retreat. If the terms of the conditional release are faithfully complied with for a period of six months, the board of managers, by vote at one of their monthly meetings, grant absolute release, which operates the same as a pardon by the governor.

Results

The results of the plan are the most favorable. According to the report for 1906, there had been received on the indeterminate term (1876–1906) 15,107 prisoners (besides 709 on definite term from U. S. federal courts). Of these 33 had been absolutely released, 10,216 paroled; 1,347 had had their maximum sentence expire; 48 had been pardoned; 31 had escaped; 248 had died; 1,963 had been transferred to other prisons, hospitals, etc.; 1,221 were in prison. Of the 1,016 who had been paroled the year ending Sept. 30, 1906, 348 had served well and earned absolute release, and 530 were serving well, tho their time of parole had not expired, indicating a probable reformation of 86.4 per cent.

The gross cost of maintenance for 1906 was $237,059. Income from sales, etc., was $8,209. The per diem cost of maintenance per capita was .44 cents. The *Year Book* of the reformatory, bound, printed, and, in part, written by the convicts, can be had ordinarily on application. The closing sentence of one *Year Book* says: "The time will come when every punitive institution in the civilized world will be destroyed, and all places for the treatment of crime be hospitals, schools, workshops, and reformatories." (See also Penology; Crime.)

ELY, RICHARD THEODORE: American economist, educator, and writer on social and economic questions; born in Ripley, N.Y., 1854. Until the age of eighteen he lived in the country, working on a farm of which, for a time, he had entire control. His father was a civil engineer, and for some time he was employed on his engineering corps in laying out a railroad. After completing the course of the State Normal School he entered Dartmouth College, going from there to Columbia College, where he was graduated in 1876. Afterward he continued his studies in German universities, receiving the degree of Ph.D. from Heidelberg in 1879. A year after his return to America he was called to Johns Hopkins University, where he was professor of political economy until 1892, when he resigned to take the professorship of that science at the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Ely has made a record of incessant activity as university professor and lecturer. More than any other man he was identified with the formation of the American Economic Association. In Baltimore he was for one year (1885–86) a member of the city tax commission and for two years (1886–88) a member of the State Tax Commission. He has taken an active part in the Chautauqua movement, has lectured for several years at the annual summer assemblies, and is a member of several societies, notably the Christian Social Union, of which he was the first secretary. Dr. Ely has written numerous works and contributed largely to the leading periodicals and papers; and he has become a recognized leader of American public opinion in matters of economics and applied ethics. He has devoted particular attention to the study of taxation, socialism, the labor question, and municipal government. His "Taxation in American States and Cities" and the "Labor Movement in America" represent pioneer work in their respective fields. Among other works of his may be mentioned: "French and German Socialism in Modern Times" (1883); "The Past and Present of Political Economy" (1884); "Problems of To-Day" (1888); "Social Aspects of Christianity" and "An Introduction to Political Economy" (1889); "Outlines of Economics" (1894); "Socialism and Social Reform" (1894); "The Coming City" (1902); and "Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society" (1903). He edited the "Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology."

Professor Ely has been called a Socialist, and altho he has steadfastly denied this, he has continued none the less earnestly to write and speak against monopolies and in favor of the public ownership of natural monopolies, of trade-unions, and of other progressive measures, when the circumstances make them practicable.

ELY, ROBERT ERSKINE: American economist; born at Binghamton, N. Y., 1861; educated at public schools and Amherst College; studied divinity at Union Theological Seminary, graduating in 1888. From 1891 to 1901 he was president of the Prospect Union of Cambridge, Mass., and in the latter year became director of the League for Political Education, of New York City. In social reform Mr. Ely is an opportunist. He believes in the gradual extension of public ownership as experience shows it to be best for the common welfare. *Address:* Care of City Club, 55 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City.

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO: American poet, essayist, and philosopher; born in Boston, 1803; studied at Harvard University (1817–21), and became pastor of a Unitarian church in Boston in 1829. He resigned in 1832, owing to differences in thought and opinion. After that he lived a retired life, chiefly in Concord, becoming eminent as an author and lecturer. In the midst of his literary labors he found time to manifest his interest in great public questions as they arose. He was deeply interested in Brook Farm, tho he never resided there. He was earnest and outspoken in his views against slavery. At Waltham, in 1845, Emerson attacked slavery with no feeble weapon:

> It is certain that, if it should come to question, all just men, all intelligent agents, must take the part of the black against the white man. Then, I say, "Never is the planter safe; his house is a den; a just man cannot go there except to tell him so." Nature fights on the other side; and as power is always stealing from the idle to the busy hand, it seems inevitable that a revolution is preparing, at no distant day, to set these disjointed matters right.

In 1844 he had touched upon another crying evil, the seizure of colored sailors of Massachusetts when they went into the ports of Carolina:

> Gentlemen, I thought the deck of a Massachusetts ship was as much the territory of Massachusetts as the floor on which

we stand. It should be as sacred as the temple of God. If such a damnable outrage can be committed on the person of a citizen with impunity, let the governor break the broad seal of the state; he bears the sword in vain. The great-hearted Puritans have left no posterity. The rich men may walk in State Street, but they walk without honor; and the farmers may brag their democracy in the country, but they are disgraced men.

As early as 1838 he addrest a letter to President Van Buren protesting against the wrongs then endured by the Cherokee Indians at the hands of the government. His antislavery speeches, his remarks on the attack made upon Charles Sumner in 1856, his speech in behalf of the Kansas farmers in the same year, his eulogies of John Brown in 1859, his speech of welcome to Kossuth at Concord Bridge in 1852, his speech at the centennial celebration of Concord Fight in 1875, and many other brief addresses, are the fearless utterances of the reformer. He was an active citizen in practical ways, and was punctual in his attendance at the town meetings, where he often took part in debates; yet he sympathized to some extent in the no-government theories of his friends Alcott and Thoreau, influenced by his partly socialistic, partly individualistic philosophy. He died at Concord in 1882.

EMINENT DOMAIN: The right of eminent domain is the right to take private property for public uses. It is a common phrase in America, tho until recently little used in England, and seems to be derived from a phrase of Grotius ("De Jure Belli ac Pacis," l. 1, chap. iii. vi. sec. 2). The Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides that it must always be used with just compensation to the owners of the property taken.

EMPLOYERS. See PROFITS.

EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS (see also CITIZENS' INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION): Employers' associations, of one kind or another, have existed from the days of the medieval gilds (see GILDS) or even earlier, but for the most part, except for the gilds, have been short-lived, and often only temporary agreements, or combinations formed to accomplish certain common ends, or the defeat of striking unions, etc. More recently, however, in the United States, in England, and Germany, these agreements are developing into permanent organizations. For Germany (where they are called Cartels), see article TRUSTS. In Great Britain there were reported in 1903 thirty-eight national associations and federations and 727 local associations, formed largely to affect legislation. In the U. S. the Citizens' Industrial Association (*q.v.*), a federation of such associations formed in 1903, claims from 400 to 500 local associations affiliated with it in forty-three states of the union and there must be some not affiliated with it. The first president of the association, Mr. Parry, is quoted by Professor Adams ("Labor Problems," 1905) as characterizing trade-unionism as a "system that coerces and impoverishes the worker, ruins the capitalist, demoralizes our politicians, and destroys our trade—a system which seems hopelessly and irremediably bad, a bar to all true progress, a danger to the state, and a menace to civilization." The National Association of Manufacturers, with 500 local associations, is a distinct but somewhat similar organization. Professor Adams makes the following quotations from its circulars, indicating plainly enough its animus and methods:

"The National Trade Association of Manufacturers is the largest and strongest trade organization in the world—whether one considers capital invested, hands employed, or output. . . . The association concerns itself with national and state legislation, publicly and powerfully if required, secretly and just as powerfully if that seems best. It knows what its own members and all manufacturers desire; it knows what they want antagonized. It pushes wise legislation it defeats unwise legislation." In another publication, says Professor Adams, the association announced its deep hostility to the Hoar Anti-Injunction Bill, and to the bill limiting the working-day upon all materials manufactured for the government to eight hours, and then continued: "The determination is that, unless the business interests have lost their intelligence and their fighting spirit, these unwise or dangerous tendencies shall be combated; and all of the persistence and ingenuity at the command of the greatest trade body in the world, and of all its members, are brought to bear in exactly the right way at exactly the right time, and in exactly the right place. . . . At Washington the association is not represented too much either directly or indirectly. Sometimes it is known in a most powerful way that it is represented vigorously and unitedly. Sometimes it is not known that it is represented at all. It is easy to see that in the advocacy of public measures certain methods are most effective and most proper to be pursued. It is also true that this continuous effort is sometimes most successful when it is not known exactly whence the pressure comes."

Professor Adams also quotes the following from the declaration of principles of the National Metal Trades Association:

After "disavowing any intention to interfere with the proper functions of labor organizations," and announcing their intention not to discriminate "against any man because of his membership in any society or organization," the employers further declare:

(4) The number of apprentices, helpers, and handy men to be employed will be determined solely by the employer. (5) Employers shall be free to employ their work people at wages mutually satisfactory. We will not permit employees to place any restriction on the management, methods, or production of our shops, and will require a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Employees will be paid by the hourly rate, by premium system, piece work, or contract, as the employers may elect. (6) It is the privilege of the employee to leave our employ whenever he sees fit and it is the privilege of the employer to discharge any workman when he sees fit. (7) The above principles being absolutely essential to the successful conduct of our business, they are not subject to arbitration. In case of disagreement concerning matters not covered by the foregoing declaration, we advise our members to meet their employees, either individually or collectively, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty on a fair and equitable basis.

By no means, however, do all employers feel this way. Nor do all employers act on these lines. The Mason Builders' Association of Boston has long been favorable to trade-unions, and very many associations of employers are coming to find that to treat with organized labor, in collective bargaining, is the easiest, best, and safest way. In fact one of the distinct dangers of the future is said by many to lie in the danger of combinations between organizations of capital with organizations of labor, to raise prices, limit output, etc., contrary to the interests of the public. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

Almost all economists and thoughtful trade-unionists welcome the formation of employers' associations, because tho in the formative and transitive period they may lead to heated and prolonged conflicts with labor-unions, especially when the employers' associations are newly formed like newly formed trade-unions, in the long run it must work for organized peace. Indeed, trade agreements and collective bargaining, which almost all economists are agreed to be the main hope of industrial peace, are almost impossible without employers' associations on the one hand which can enter into agreements with the trade-unions on the other. There have been strikes of employees to try to force their employers into an

employers' association and so carry out certain contracts.

Such associations, tho sometimes, like foolish trade-unions, doing temporary harm, are undoubtedly on the line of progress, to that organized peace which is slowly replacing unregulated competition.

REFERENCES: *Labor Problems*, T. S. Adams and H. L. Sumner, 1905; *Getting a Living*, G. L. Bolen, 1903; *Industrial Democracy*, S. and B. Webb, 1902.

EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY: Among the many problems which the modern industrial system offers for solution is that of securing to the workingman a just compensation for the accidental injuries incident to his employment. The common laws of England and the United States offer only such protection as is afforded by the rules of what is briefly known as the "employer's liability." It is axiomatic that each man is accountable for his own acts, voluntarily performed; but it is a further well-established principle that an employer is responsible for the acts done by his employee within the scope of his employment. This rule inures, not only to the benefit of outside parties, but also, within certain limits, to that of employees; so that where an injury to an employee is chargeable to the negligence of the employer or of his personal representative, an action may be brought for the recovery of damages. In reading the following summary of the employer's duty, it must constantly be borne in mind that each statement is subject to qualifications and refinements, differing locally, and that the employer may be found to be not liable for his apparent negligence because of the defenses of assumption of risk, contributory negligence, or fellow-service.

Common Law

The briefest statement of the rule of the employer's duty is that he is required to use due care for the safety of his employees while they are engaged in the performance of their work. This is taken to include the use of all reasonable means and precautions, the facts in each particular case being taken into consideration. If such provisions have been made as a reasonably prudent man would supply if he were himself to be exposed to the dangers of the employee's position, the charge of negligence will not be sustained. In the case of corporations, the supreme court has said that that degree of caution and foresight is required which a corporation controlled by careful and prudent officers would be expected to exercise.

The required degree of care is not capable of absolute determination, but is proportioned to the dangers which the employee must face. The ordinary incidents of railroading, mining, and of certain classes of manufacturing are, in themselves, in comparison with many other employments, unusually dangerous. In such cases the measure for ordinary care is advanced beyond the requirements resting on the employer under less dangerous conditions. Excepted from this rule is the position of the employee who is engaged expressly for the purpose of making repairs or of remedying known conditions of danger. Place, materials, tools, and appliances are all subjected to the same test of reasonable safety and an adequate adaptation for the work in view. The employer cannot be made an insurer, nor is he bound to experiment with every invention that promises a greater degree of safety. He will not be allowed to disregard them entirely, however, and particularly where a device is shown to be of marked value. The law of general usage largely controls, and this may at one time compel the adoption of what, at an earlier day, would not have been considered an essential. The duty of keeping places and appliances in repair devolves on the employer, but under limitations that are not at all agreed upon by the courts. In general, the care of simple tools and the avoidance of obvious dangers may be left to the employee at his peril, while conditions demanding closer examination or greater skill for their discovery and remedy are chargeable to the employer.

Ordinary Care

Springing out of the duty of maintenance and repair is that of inspection. The measure of this duty varies with the nature of the circumstances, as of simple or complex machinery, stable or rapidly deteriorating instrumentalities, etc. Nothing more is to be required in any case than a reasonably careful inspection, both as to thoroughness and frequency. Passing from the inanimate and irresponsible instrumentalities, we find the rule that the employer must be reasonably and properly careful and diligent to secure employees of such qualifications and in such numbers as will enable his business to be carried on without unnecessary risk to those engaged in it. This involves proper care in the original hiring, due diligence in subsequent inquiry, and the maintenance of a suitable system of conducting business and in the organization of the working force. Related to these duties is that of making and enforcing proper rules and the giving of suitable instructions, where the business is such as to warrant them.

Duties of Organization

The duties above enumerated are generally considered as being matters of personal obligation, of which the employer can relieve himself only by their performance; or in other words, they are non-delegable, and must be performed, if not by the employer, then by his personal representative, for whose acts he is responsible. It is for negligence of one or another of these duties, resulting in injury to an employee, that actions for damages may be brought under the common law liability of the employer. As already mentioned, certain defenses are open to the employer, which will now be noticed in the order named above.

According to the doctrine of assumption of risks, a workman of mature years and ordinary intelligence, offering himself for employment, is presumed to know and appreciate the conditions and to assume the risks ordinarily incident to the undertaking; or, as is often said, the law imports into his contract of employment an agreement to assume the ordinary risks of the service, and such other risks as may be known to and appreciated by him; and if the accident occasioning an injury is traceable to causes embraced within this description, the employer will not be held liable therefor. Risks which may be obviated by the exercise of reasonable care on the part of the employer are to be classed as extraordinary, and these the employee is held not to have assumed unless he knows and comprehends the dangers arising from the employer's negligence. If the dangers are open or are duly brought to his knowledge, an employee entering upon or remaining in service is presumed to have

Assumption of Risks

waived his claim against his employer for resulting damages. If a complaint is made, however, and is answered by a promise to repair, the employee will be relieved of the risk for a reasonable time, after which it will again devolve upon him if he continues to work without the repair actually having been made.

When a risk involves such a degree of danger that a man of ordinary prudence would not assume it, the employer's defense would be, not that the employee assumed the risk, but that he was negligent in engaging in work under such circumstances, and that by such contributory negligence he is debarred from any recovery of damages. The doctrine of comparative negligence, according to which the court weighs the negligent acts of the two parties and attempts to apportion the fault, has been followed in some jurisdictions; but it is commonly said that in cases of mutual fault the courts will neither cast all the consequences on the employer, nor attempt any apportionment thereof. Statutes have been enacted in some jurisdictions, however, and notably by the Congress of the U. S., requiring the courts to take notice of the comparative negligence of the employer and the injured employee, and to render judgment accordingly.

The remaining defense of the employer is what is known as the fellow-servant rule, or the doctrine of common employment. This rule has been stated thus: "A master is not bound to indemnify one servant for injuries caused by the negligence of another servant in the same common employment as himself, unless the negligent servant was the master's representative." This doctrine was enunciated in England in 1837, and independently the next year in this country; and as a result of the growth of the number of employees in large undertakings and the consequent lack of immediate supervision by the employer, its application has come to be of the utmost importance. What constitutes common service is impossible to determine by fixt rule; and various tests, as of departments of work and of contemplated risks, questions of rank, and whether the same person may not be as to certain acts a vice-principal and as to others a co-servant, have been propounded and discust more or less favorably in various jurisdictions. The courts of different states contradict each other in their rulings on these points, while within the same state, and even in the Supreme Court of the U. S., opinions have shifted from time to time so as to effect practical reversals of former positions. It was said in an opinion from that court a few years ago that "there is perhaps no one matter upon which there are more conflicting and irreconcilable decisions in the various courts of the land than the one as to what is the test of common service so as to relieve the master from liability for the injury of one servant through the negligence of another." And it may also be said that the stream of litigation on this point shows no signs of diminution.

Fellow-Servant Rule

Reasons for the doctrine are hardly better fixt than are the rulings under it, and it seems quite within bounds to say that none of them justifies the exclusion of employees from the benefit of the rule of *respondeat superior*, that makes the principal responsible for the acts of his agent. As to the defense of the assumption of risks the inquiry may equally be raised as to why the laborer should be compelled to bear the burden of pure accidents or of the results of the so-called "acts of God"—the *vis major* of the Roman law—which befall in the prosecution of undertakings the benefits of which are to be reaped by the employer; while as to the plea of contributory negligence, it would seem to suffice as a reason why such a plea should not be accepted as a complete defense when we observe that it is in itself a confession of negligence on the part of the employer, to the consequences of which the employee is only a contributor.

Each of these defenses has been the subject of legislation looking toward definition and restriction. Thus, in Colorado the doctrine of common employment as a defense is practically abolished, while several states eliminate or restrict it in connection with railway labor. State mining regulations and laws requiring safety appliances on railways and in factories frequently contain provisions excluding the defense of assumed risks and contributory negligence where the injury results from the employer's failure to conform to the requirements of the statute. The results of such legislation are, however, only the securing of a partial relief, at best. The real difficulty is to be found in the principle of the law, and is well exprest in the following statement contained in the preamble of a German accident-insurance bill of 1881. Speaking of the employer's liability law then in force, it was said: "To burden the person injured with the requirement of furnishing proof of negligence on the part of the employer or his agents transforms the beneficence of the law for the workingman into an illusion in the majority of cases. The procurement of such evidence, sufficiently difficult in any event, is not seldom rendered impossible as respects some of the most severe injuries brought about by natural forces, such as happen in mines, establishments with steam boilers, and factories for the manufacture of explosives. Herein the condition of the work place, the implements and appliances, upon which the whole case of the workman really turns, are so altered by the accident itself as to be unrecognizable; while those persons through whose testimony alone negligence in many cases can be proven have been killed or injured in the accident."

Legislation and its Difficulties

In continental Europe, as in England and America, the idea of the employer's liability was at first embodied in the general law of negligence, and employees were under no special rule. The Code Napoleon presented a development closely resembling that of our own common law, except for its omission of the doctrine of common employment, and its recognition of a doctrine of comparative liability. It is said that the law was in general interpreted more favorably to the workingman by the continental courts than was the case in England. The German common law restricted the employer's liability to cases of defective machinery or appliances, and those of the employment of incompetent superintendents. In 1871 the empire adopted a statute on the subject, with the intention of extending the employee's rights and of simplifying procedure in the recovery of damages. That the law was not satisfactory is indicated in the quotation given in the foregoing, as well as by the fact that Germany was the first country to adopt the principle of insurance as opposed to the older one of individual liability.

Europe

In all countries it was necessary to prove the default of the employer or his agent before an injured employee could recover damages for injuries. In other words, the trade risk or *risque professionnel* rested on the employee. Legislation to fix more exactly the relative rights and liabilities of the two parties was enacted by various countries in the early part of the last century, and such laws are still generally in force; tho there is in every European country of industrial importance, unless Switzerland be excepted, some provision for the insurance of working men against accident, or for workmen's compensation, which has for most purposes superseded the earlier type of law. It can hardly be denied that the adoption of one or other of these plans, or of some other provision by which the burden of the industrial risk would be shifted from the shoulders of the worker and made a proper charge against the industry, and the right of his recovery of damages made more secure, would mark a great advance over present conditions in the United States.

LINDLEY D. CLARK.

REFERENCES: *Commentaries on the Law of Master and Servant*, vols. i. and ii. (*Employers' Liability*), by C. B. Labatt, 1904; *The Legal Relations Between the Employed and their Employers in Pennsylvania, Compared with the Relations Existing between Them in Other States*, by Albert S. Bolles, 1901; *Four Lectures on the Law of Employers' Liability at Home and Abroad*, by Augustine Birrell, 1897; *Employer and Employee under the Common Law*, by the U. S. Bureau of Labor, 1901; *Industrial Accidents and Employers' Responsibility for their Compensation*, in the *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York*, 1899. All enactments by the state and federal legislatures of the U. S. relative to *employers' liability*, and a selected list of *current decisions on the subject*, are published in the *Tenth Special Report* (1904), and the bimonthly *Bulletins of the U. S. Bureau of Labor*.

The following summary or digest, prepared and published by the U. S. Bureau of Labor, is based on its compilation of the labor laws in 1903, revised to include the legislation of 1904:

The legislation enacted in the various states with regard to the liability of employers for injuries sustained by employees may be grouped as follows: (1) Statutes declaratory of the common-law doctrine with regard to the liability of employers, their duty toward employees, etc.; (2) statutes modifying the fellow-servants doctrine by adopting the theory (*a*) that all superior employees are vice-principals as regards their subordinates, and (*b*) that co-service is not a bar to an action for injuries caused by the negligence of an employee in a different department; (3) statutes by which employers have been, either entirely or in regard to certain classes of injuries, deprived of the protection afforded by the defense of common employment; (4) statutes holding employers liable in damages for injuries caused by reason of employers' failure to comply with specific provisions of law concerning conditions of ways, machinery, appliances, and plants, hours of labor, or other statutory regulations for the protection and safety of employees; (5) statutes concerning the right to recover damages for injuries resulting in death; (6) statutes concerning accident insurance, relief associations, etc.

Common-Law Liability

The States of California, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota have enacted statutes stating the common-law doctrine by declaring employers liable for injuries sustained by employees in consequence of the discharge of duty, or in obedience to the employers' directions, or on account of the want of ordinary care on the part of the employers, exceptions being made in the case of losses suffered in consequence of the ordinary risks of business or of the negligence of fellow servants. Statutes passed in Connecticut and in Minnesota define the term "vice-principal," and require employers to provide their employees with a safe place to work and to furnish reasonably safe tools, machinery, etc. A Georgia statute provides that "except in the case of railroad companies, the master is not liable to one servant for injuries arising from the negligence or misconduct of other servants about the same business." Statutes providing that persons who are in a position to give orders or directions, or who have supervision over work, are vice-principals, have been enacted in Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Porto Rico, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, and Virginia. Statutes providing that co-service is not a bar to an action for injuries caused by the negligence of an employee in a different department have been enacted in Arkansas, Indiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Ohio, Oregon, Porto Rico, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, and Virginia. These statutes in most states apply only to the railroad service.

Modifications

Statutes by which employers have been either entirely or in regard to certain classes of injuries deprived of the protection afforded by the defense of common employment have been enacted in thirteen states and territories. In Colorado the statute applies to all industries, and thus practically abolishes the fellow-servant doctrine. In Arizona, where the statute applies to all corporations, there is a proviso that the corporation must have had previous notice of the incompetence, carelessness, or negligence of the fellow servant in order to become liable. In Maryland the statute applies to steam and street railroads, mines, quarries, excavations, etc. In Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, and Wisconsin these statutes abrogate the fellow-servant doctrine in the railway service only.

Twenty-eight states and territories have statutes and one state has a constitutional provision holding employers liable in damages for injuries sustained by employees by reason of the failure of employers to comply with specific provisions of law concerning condition of ways, machinery, appliances, plants, etc., hours of labor, or other statutory regulations designed for the protection and safety of employees. In Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, and Porto Rico these statutes apply to industries generally; in Arkansas and North Carolina, to railroads and mines; in Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Vermont, Virginia, and Wisconsin, to railroads only; in California, Colorado, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Utah, the statutes, and in Wyoming, a constitutional provision apply to mines only; in Washington the statutes apply to sawmills; in the District of Columbia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island employers are liable for damages to their employees for injuries due to failure to provide fire-escapes on factories, workshops, or other places of work; in Rhode Island, for failure to provide proper protection on elevator shafts, and in Illinois for failure to provide guards on the thrashing machines, corn-shellers, or other machines run by horse-power. A federal statute provides that any employee of a railroad company engaged in interstate commerce who may be injured by any locomotive, car, or train by reason of the company's failure to comply with the provisions of the law requiring the placing of safety couplers and power brakes on engines and cars, "shall not be deemed thereby to have assumed the risk thereby occasioned, altho continuing in the employment of such carrier after the unlawful use of such locomotive, car, or train had been brought to his knowledge."

Nearly all the states and territories have enacted laws changing either wholly or in part the common-law rule that no action for damages caused by the killing of a human being can be maintained, namely: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Porto Rico, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming. These statutes usually give the widows, dependents, executors, etc., the same right to recover damages as if death had not resulted from the accident. In a number of these states the statutes fix the maximum amount that may be recovered in such cases. In Utah the constitution provides that the right of action to recover damages for injuries resulting in death shall never be abrogated, and the amount recoverable shall not be subject to any statutory limitation.[1]

The following states have included in their statutes regulating the liability of the employer, provisions to the effect that no contract restricting the liability imposed by the statutes or waiving the benefit of the same shall be legal and binding: Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin.[2] In Wyoming this is provided for in the constitution.

Relief and Insurance Institutions

The States of Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, and also Porto Rico, have statutory provisions concerning relief or insurance funds or associations for the compensation of injured workmen. These laws differ greatly in their scope and purpose. An Ohio statute prohibits railroad corporations from compelling employees to join relief organizations or entering into contracts with the employees whereby the latter waive or surrender their right to damages. In Michigan it is unlawful for a company or corporation to require employees to take out life or accident

[1] An identical provision exists in the Constitution of New York (Art. I., sec. 18).—ED.

[2] In New York such waivers or releases are void at common law (Johnson *vs.* Fargo, 98 App. Div. 436).—ED.

policies in any particular insurance organization, and all contracts requiring or stipulating that employees should procure such policies are void. Employees may, however, contribute toward voluntary mutual benefit funds and have the amount of the contributions deducted from their wages. In Iowa, Montana, and South Carolina statutes provide that contracts of insurance, relief, benefit, or indemnity in case of injury or death between employees and employers in the railway service, or the acceptance of such relief, etc., do not constitute a bar or defense to a cause of action for injury. The Indiana statute provides, however, that a settlement may be made after the injury. In Indiana the law declaring contracts releasing employers from liability void does not apply to voluntary relief departments or associations organized for the purpose of insuring employees. The South Carolina law authorizes manufacturing companies to become members of mutual companies or associations for insurance against accidents to their employees. Railroad companies having relief departments for which members are required or permitted to pay dues are required to pay persons entitled to the benefits the amounts agreed upon, the law providing that the acceptance of such relief does not estop an employee or his representatives from recovering damages for injury or death caused by the negligence of the employer. In Massachusetts, New York, and Porto Rico the statutes provide that employers who contribute toward insurance funds or relief societies or have insured employees in insurance companies may prove in mitigation of the damages recoverable by an employee, such proportion of the pecuniary benefit received by the employee from such fund or society as the contribution of the employer bears to the whole contribution to the same. A Massachusetts statute expressly authorizes the organization of railway relief associations and permits steam and street railway companies to associate themselves with such organizations. Such associations must report their membership, financial operations, etc., to the board of railroad commissioners, who have authority to inspect their books and papers. The by-laws of such associations must be approved by the railroad commissioners before they can conduct their operations.

The Maryland statute[1] differs from all other laws passed in this country in that it provides for a form of cooperative insurance under the immediate control of the state. It provides that any corporation, partnership, or individual engaged in operating any coal or clay mine, quarry, steam, or street railroad in Maryland, and any incorporated town, city, or county engaged in constructing a sewer, excavation, or other physical structure, or the contractor for such town, city, or county, shall be liable for damages flowing from an injury to or the accidental death of an employee or servant. If the injury was caused by the joint neglect of the employer or his servant on the one hand, and the injured or deceased person on the other, then the employer is liable for one half the damages sustained by the injury or death.

The employers above mentioned may, however, be relieved of this liability if they pay the following annual sums for each employee into the hands of the state insurance commissioner: Operators of coal- or clay-mining or quarrying, $1.80; operators of steam railways, $3; operators of street or trolley railways, sixty cents; cities, towns, counties, or contractors, such sum as the insurance commissioner may deem necessary. The employers, etc., may deduct a sum not exceeding one half the amount payable to the insurance commissioner from the wages of employees. The insurance commissioner may extend the benefits of this insurance scheme to other occupations than those indicated. The only indemnity provided for under this scheme is the payment, in case of death by accident as above mentioned, of $1,000 to the administrator or executor of the deceased or to the widow, husband, or children. The insurance commissioner has the custody of the funds and is required to invest them in safe securities.

Any party subject to the provisions of this act who is making better provision, either by way of payment in case of death, injury, sickness, or old age, or all combined, than he would be obliged to do under this scheme may be absolutely released by the commissioner from the liability imposed by virtue of this act, but the legal effect of the act may be revived whenever the party fails to continue the scheme or system on account of which the order of release was granted.

EMPLOYMENT. See OCCUPATION and UNEMPLOYMENT.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS. See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.

ENFANTIN, PROSPER: French communist; born in Paris, 1796. Coming under the influence of St. Simon, he acted with Bazard as leader of the movement after St. Simon's death in 1825. The two leaders attracted a considerable following. In 1831 the school attempted communism on some property of Enfantin's at Menilmontant. But commencing as a devotee of mysticism, Enfantin finally adopted the doctrine of "free love"; this brought him into trouble with most of his fellow religionists. Bazard differed from Enfantin, who became, after Bazard retired, the sole chief of the St. Simonians, called "the supreme father" in their somewhat fantastic religious forms. But their practises produced troubles. Enfantin was condemned on Aug. 28, 1832, in company with Charles Duveyrier and Michel Chevalier, to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs for having assisted, without previously obtaining permission, in the formation of an association consisting of more than twenty members, and in the promulgation of articles injurious to public morality. The penalty was before long commuted, and Enfantin made his way to Egypt, where he studied the question of piercing the Isthmus of Suez. Subsequently he returned to Paris, and was appointed, in 1845, a director of the first company for constructing a railway from Paris to Lyons.

After the Revolution of 1848 Enfantin founded, in conjunction with Charles Duveyrier, the journal *Le Crédit*, which continued to appear till 1850. Finally he became the administrator of the second Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Railway Company, a post which he continued to hold till his death, at Paris, in 1864. Before the fall of the St. Simonian school, Enfantin published, in conjunction with others, "Doctrine de St. Simon, Exposition," 2 vols., 1830–32; afterward, in his own name, "Economie politique et Politique," "Morale," etc.

ENGEL, ERNST: German statistician; born in Dresden in 1821. After completing his studies and traveling extensively, he became, in 1850, manager of the recently founded Royal Saxon Statistical Bureau. In 1858, on account of attacks from the Saxon Chamber, which his official activity had called out, he resigned this position and founded a mortgage insurance company at Dresden, but in 1860 was appointed director of the Prussian Statistical Bureau at Berlin, where he remained twenty-two years, earning the position of one of the leading statisticians of Europe, and issuing many private as well as official works. In 1882 he retired to private life, residing near Dresden until his death in 1896. From 1860 until 1882 he was editor-in-chief of the "Jahrbuch für amtliche Statistik des Preussischen Staates," and from 1875 of the "Statistische Korrespondenz." He was the author of many works, mostly statistical, and some of great human interest. Among these may be mentioned "Der Preis der Arbeit" (1872) and "Der Wert des Menschen" (1883).

ENGELS, FRIEDRICH: German socialist; born at Barmen, Rhenish Prussia, 1820. A clerk from 1837–41, he discharged his military duties and then entered his father's cotton business at Manchester, England. Visiting Paris in 1844, he met Karl Marx and became his lifelong friend. In 1847 he went with Marx to Brussels. Banished from Paris and Brussels, Marx and Engels published the famous communist manifesto. (See SOCIALISM.) From 1848 to May, 1849, he was with Marx on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, published at Cologne. He took part in the South-German uprising of 1849. On the suppression of the revolution he returned to England and re-

[1] Held unconstitutional by the Baltimore Court of Common Pleas, April 27, 1904.

entered his father's business, remaining in it till 1869; after this he resided in London. He wrote numerous German works, but is best known as the editor of the second and third volumes of Karl Marx's works, published after Marx's death. Engels spoke ten languages, and wrote in English the "Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1848." Among his German works are "Die Entwickelung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft" and "Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigenthums, und des Staats." He died in London, 1895.

ENGINEERS, AMALGAMATED (marine and general): One of the largest and strongest of English trade-unions, organized in 1851, as an amalgamation of several societies, and mainly through the efforts of William Newton and William Allan. Allan was elected the first secretary, and annually reelected till he died in office in 1874, making his union a model of the trade-unions of his day. In 1892 it elected seventeen salaried officers. It has become one of the more conservative of the English unions. In 1904 it had 660 local branches with 89,403 members in the United Kingdom and 6,703 in other countries. Their funds at end of 1904 were £605,981, and their income during the year £371,730. Of this £120,580 was spent in unemployed and emigration benefits, £111,368 in superannuation benefits, £53,884 in sick and accident benefits, £41,735 in working expenses, £11,496 in strike benefits, £10,423 in grants to other societies.

ENTAIL: The legal meaning of "entail" is "the act or custom of limiting inheritance of land to a particular class of heirs," or "an estate settled with regard to the rule of its descent" (Wharton's "Law Lexicon"). The origin of entail is to be looked for in feudalism under which system each man's rights, duties, and social consideration depended on his relation to the land, and therefore it seemed well to try and fix the tenure of land and permit its disposition. Entails were thus a political and social institution, and were found in all countries where feudalism existed. In most countries, however, they have disappeared in the course of the political changes of the latter part of the eighteenth century. In England they have survived, tho greatly changed by many and complicated laws.

ENTREPRENEUR: This is a French word, to-day frequently used in English to designate the person who organizes and directs the productive factors. The English words formerly used for this, *undertaker* and *adventurer*, are now used in other senses. The true meaning of this word in French is contractor.

EPILEPTICS. See HOSPITALS.

ESSENES: A Jewish sect of mystic ascetics, who combined Jewish, Greek, and Oriental doctrines with communistic and ritualistic modes of life. They are not spoken of in the Bible, probably because they dwelt in retired communities. They represent the mystic and ascetic forms of Judaism, as opposed to the orthodox Pharisees and rationalistic Sadducees. Neither their name nor origin has been satisfactorily explained. They left no writings themselves, and Philo and Josephus are our only authorities as to their habits and beliefs. They appear to have separated themselves from the commercial and political life of the cities and towns, and to have dwelt in small and isolated villages. Most of them were not far from the Dead Sea. Their most distinctive characteristic was *ascetic communism*. They literally had all things in common. Philo says:

> There is no one who has a house so absolutely his own private property that it does not in some sense also belong to every one; for besides that they all dwell together in companies, the house is open to all those of the same notions who come to them from other quarters. There is one storehouse among them all; their expenses are all in common, as are their garments and food. They do not retain their wages as their own, but bring it into the common stock. They take care of their sick and honor their elders.

Every Essene rose before sunrise, and with his face turned toward the east, repeated his morning prayer. As soon as the light permitted they commenced their daily labors, farming, bee-keeping, cattle-raising, and such-like humble occupations. Each little colony had in its midst a room or hall where the members met at regular hours daily. They kept apart from commerce, war, and trade. Their dress was as plain and simple as possible—a light, sleeveless garment in summer, and in winter a warm hairy mantle. They cared only for decency and a moderate degree of comfort; luxury and show were unknown among them. Both during winter and summer they wore leathern aprons. At 11 A.M. they ceased work, bathed, drest themselves in spotless white linen, and assembled for their simple meal. A blessing was asked before the meal, and thanks returned after by a priest. They were both vegetarians and total abstainers. At the close of the meal they sung a hymn, and then worked again until sunset. The seventh day was one of perfect rest. On it they read and expounded the Law and their own peculiar writings. As their asceticism prohibited them from partaking of the feasts held at Jerusalem, and their mode of worship interfered with their entering the Temple, they broke the Law in one important point—they did not attend the regular feasts at Jerusalem. They forwarded their gifts instead. The majority of them were celibates, and they kept up their numbers by adopting children, whom they taught with great care and patience. If a man wished to join them, he was obliged to submit to a three years' novitiate, being rigidly excluded from their gatherings. At the end of each year he was advanced by ceremonies and privileges, and after three years became a full member. The only time oaths or vows were allowed was during the initiation into full membership. The candidate was bound by tremendous oaths to be worthy of the order and obedient to its rules. The Essenes were never very numerous. Philo gives their number as 4,000. After the destruction of Jerusalem they disappear from history.

They believed in the immortality of the soul, in a fixt Providence, in the future rewards of the righteous, and punishment of the wicked. They did not believe in the resurrection of the body. They were said to practise magic, and were believed by all Jews to have prophets among their members. It is probable that they derived from the Zoroastrian religion their celibacy, sun homage, abstinence from sacrifice, magical rites, and intense striving after purity. They were everywhere known for their kindness to the sick and poor. Their knowledge of roots and herbs enabled them to perform many acts of healing that to spectators seemed miraculous. They were greatly averse to slavery, and always opposed it.

With few exceptions they abstained from all public affairs, being invariably modest and retiring. Philo gives the three chief rules of their conduct as follows: "The love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man." It has been the theory of some rationalists that Jesus spent some time among the Essenes, and sought to widen and propagate their theology and communism. (See De Quincey's "Essays on the Essenes.")

ESTATES: Term used in political history for classes or orders in society. Since the earliest civilizations the tendency to make distinctions in the relative position of one set of people toward others has appeared. Plato, in his "Republic," divides men into three classes: philosophers or magistrates, warriors or gymnasts, and laborers or artizans. The first are the wise thinkers, who are fit to rule; the second the fighters—men of force and action; the third are the bulk of the common people, whose first care is the supplying of every-day necessities; and as the one or other element predominated in the nature of the individual, so he became either philosopher, warrior, or artizan. What was first, however, the natural selection of ability soon becomes a matter of inheritance; and after a time the distinction was looked upon as a direct act of Deity. The castes of India, tho part and parcel of the Brahman religion, are unmistakably of such origin. According to Brahman theology, Brahma created three different men: one, the *Brahman*, emanated from his head, and was endowed with all knowledge of science and art; he has all wisdom and is king and head of all the earth. The second, the *Kohatriya*, came from Brahma's arms, and it was his right and duty, under the control of the Brahman, to make war and peace, to make laws and execute them, and to maintain social order and the division of the castes. The *Vaisyas* sprang from Brahma's feet, and were the tillers of the soil, the artizans, upon whom devolved the supplying of all the physical needs of humanity.

The development of the modern "estates of the realm" was brought about originally by the same natural selection of the fittest leaders of thought and the strongest protectors. In France, before the Revolution of 1789, the three estates were king, nobles, and clergy; while the three estates in England were king, lords, and commons. The substitution of commons for clergy in England was the direct result of the Reformation, and of the more independent thought of the English people. The conditions which M. Taine speaks of as being the reason of the power of the clergy undoubtedly still held good to some extent in England till Henry VIII. confiscated all their property. The English clergy, like their brethren in other new civilizations, were not only the most learned men, but also by their tact became powerful in the affairs of the nation. When, however, the Reformation swept away their monopoly of power over men's consciences, and when they lost their enormous estates, a new element began to arise. From early times the system of gilds had developed a certain amount of local self-government among the commoners, who had thereby gained confidence in their own judgment; and now a wish to act for themselves in matters concerning the whole nation grew up, which finally led to the execution of Charles I. and founding the Commonwealth. From that time the clergy ceased to have an independent standing of their own; and tho to-day the bishops have seats in the House of Lords by right of their office, they are practically no more than a section of the privileged class. Their place as rulers was taken by the wealthy commoners.

In France the "three estates" continued to hold sway long after their beneficial effects had ceased; until, indeed, the load of oppression had become more than could be borne. As there was not even a nominal representation of the people, the evils continued until the volcanic wrath of the people swept away all three estates, and put the management entirely into the hands of the bourgeois commoners. They, however, were not yet equal to the task, and the warrior had again to be looked up to. The bourgeois were called the fourth estate; but the great mass of the people—the working people—are not of any estate as yet, tho the lesson of history goes to show that in due season there will be no distinctions of estates or classes. Modern socialism is sometimes considered the rising of the fourth estate, which shall abolish all estate and introduce equality.

EVANS, FREDERICK WILLIAM: American Shaker; born at Bromyard, England, 1808; came to America in 1820. Apprenticed to a hatter, he managed to educate himself, and later traveled to New Orleans, also paying a visit to England. In 1830 he joined the Shakers at Mount Lebanon, N. Y., and in 1838 became assistant elder in the "North Family," and in 1858 elder of three families. From 1873 to 1875 he edited a little paper, *The Shaker and Shakeress*. Among his works are: "Autobiography of a Shaker" (1869); "Religious Communism" (1872); "The Second Appearing of Christ" (1873). He died in 1893.

EVANS, GEORGE HENRY: American editor; born at Bromyard, England, 1805; came to America in 1820. He edited and published the first labor papers in America: *The Man*, at Ithaca, N. Y., about 1822; "*The Working Man's Advocate*, New York, a part of the time 1825–30; *The Daily Sentinel* in 1837 in New York, and *Young America* in New York and Rahway, N. J., 1853. The demands advocated by Evans and printed at the head of *Young America* were: 1. The right of man to the soil. "Vote yourself a farm." 2. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank. 3. Freedom of public lands. 4. Homesteads made inalienable. 5. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts. 6. A general bankrupt law. 7. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages. 8. Abolition of imprisonment for debt. 9. Equal rights for women with men in all respects. 10. Abolition of chattel slavery and of wages slavery. 11. Land limitation to 160 acres. 12. Mails in the U. S. to run on the Sabbath. Evans became a friend of Horace Greeley, and followed the political movements of the time with interest. He died in 1855.

EVENING-SCHOOLS: The evening- or night-schools are supplementary to the day-schools. They may be either elementary, high, or professional. In countries where education is compulsory the evening-school usually has a professional character, and becomes a trade-school, combining, however, general information with professional instruction. Germany alone has about 750,000 pupils in these schools. The evening-schools of France are mostly professional (*écoles professionnelles*), and have a very high standing—giving both theoretical instruction and

practical training. Sweden, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Italy Russia, Switzerland, Rumania, have introduced schools of this character; and in most of these countries attendance is compulsory. Boys and girls are usually separate where the object is professional instruction. The expenses are borne by the municipality and the state or province conjointly; in some cases by private or professional organizations. Attendance is compulsory in all cases where the community supports the school. The period lasts from two to four years; i. e., from the fourteenth to sixteenth or eighteenth year. The law of Sweden (1898) provides that religion, Swedish language and literature, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, botany, and history should be taught as general branches; professional branches separately to girls and boys.

Great Britain has an extensive system of evening schools. In 1903–4 the government granted aid to 5,579 schools in England and Wales alone to the amount of £304,962. The enrolment was 469,686. They were partly of a professional, partly of a general character; in many cases both features were combined.

As in other instances, the United States have taken up the system of supplementary instruction by evening-schools extensively. This has become an absolute necessity in many large cities of the East and North, since the influx of adult foreigners has been so great during the last few years that something had to be done to initiate them into the language, history, and politics of the country. Accordingly, systematic attempts have been made to organize the evening-schools in such a manner that adults can attend without embarrassment. The evening-schools have, consequently, a double aspect: 1. They are to serve as an agency of general education, both elementary and higher, for all those who are able to understand English sufficiently well to profit by such instruction. The branches taught are those of the corresponding grades in the municipal schools. 2. The evening-schools are to make provision for the instruction in the English language, in civics, in American history, arithmetic, and other branches profitable to adult foreigners. These classes are arranged chiefly in national groups, i. e., German, Italian, French, Russian, Yiddish, etc. The Educational Alliance (*q. v.*) is doing excellent work in New York City along this line, particularly for the Jews from different countries.

In many of these schools instruction is given in free-hand and mechanical drawing, and other professional branches. Nevertheless, there is a great need for professional evening trade-schools where instruction is systematic for each profession on European models. The city of Berlin alone has twenty-five evening trade-schools, with an enrolment of over 25,000. While this system of trade-schools would add considerably to the school budget, the expenditure would be amply returned by superior work in craftsmanship, as is witnessed in all manufacturing centers of western Europe.

In addition to regular class instruction, New York City and other cities have introduced *free lecture courses* in the evening. These courses are of a scientific character on certain evenings and in certain localities; but more frequently they are of a popular, altho instructive character—dealing with literature, travel, history, etc. New York City began this system tentatively in 1890 with six centers. In 1904 there were 140 centers, 4,200 lectures with about 1,200,000 attendants. The city expended $545,000 for evening-school instruction during 1905.

EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL REFORM: That biological principles and the teachings of the evolutionary philosophy have an important bearing on social reform is to-day all but universally admitted; yet, strange to say, even the best writers and authorities are utterly disagreed as to the reform position to which these principles lead. Mr. Herbert Spencer and some other writers use the theory of evolution as an argument against state interference with private property and the necessity of industrial competition to human progress. Mr. Benjamin Kidd is equally clear that evolution teaches the necessity of a great expansion of state interference, tho it must be an interference which shall preserve and not destroy competition. Professor Huxley uses biology to ridicule Spencer's position, while Professor Ritchie and most Socialists make biology prove the necessity and practicability of an organic social life, where industrial competition shall disappear. Finally Prof. S. N. Patten, in his "Theory of Social Forces," a work published in January, 1896, says (p. 5): "Even the theory of evolution has had as yet but little influence on the social concepts and ideals of the race"; and he argues that economics are psychological quite as truly as biological. To understand this confusion it is necessary to ask what evolution is.

Definitions of Evolution

"Evolution," says Professor Huxley ("Evolution in Biology") "is at present employed in biology as a general name for the history of the steps by which any living being has acquired the morphological and the physiological characters which distinguish it." He says again ("American Addresses," p. 10): "The hypothesis of evolution supposes that in all this vast progression there is no breach of continuity, . . . but that the whole might be compared to that wonderful process of development which may be seen going on every day under our eyes, in virtue of which there arises out of the semifluid, comparatively homogeneous substance, which we call an egg, the complicated organization of one of the higher animals."

But we can be more definite than this. Says Spencer ("First Principles," § 145):

"Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." But the word is often used in a still narrower sense than this, a sense which identifies it with some form of what is often also called Darwinism, and which makes it the theory of "the derivation or descent, with modification, of all existing species, genera, orders, classes, etc., of animals and plants from a few simple forms of life, if not from one" ("Century Dictionary").

Thus far all authorities are practically agreed. But when we come to ask how this evolution has taken place we find more disagreement. We do not here refer to the fundamental questions of how evolution started; whether it is teleological; what it teaches concerning the existing of a divine power in or above nature. With these questions we are not here concerned. But the authorities differ even as to the ways in which evolution works wholly apart from the question of its origination or any divine element in it. There may be more agreement than first appears, but it is necessary to refer to the different views of evolution in order to understand their bearing on social reform.

The evolutionary hypothesis did not originate with Charles Darwin. The general thought of evolution is as old indeed

as the Indian mystics and the Greek physicists. It finds a comparatively clear expression in Leibnitz's principle of continuity, and plays no small part in all German philosophy.

Various Forms of the Theory

Even in its Darwinian form it appears quite explicitly in the writings of Lamarck (Paris, 1809–22), of Dr. W. C. Wells, of Charleston, S. C. (1813), and of Sir Charles Lyell (1850). Lamarck taught, among other things, that the production of a new organ in an animal body results from the supervention of a new want (*besoin*) continuing to make itself felt, and a new movement which this want gives birth to and encourages. It is this law which has been principally associated with Lamarck's name, and is often referred to as his hypothesis of the evolution of organs in animals by appetence or longing, although he did not teach that the animal's desires affect its conformation directly, but that altered wants lead to altered habits, which result in the formation of new organs, as well as in modification, growth, or dwindling of those previously existing.

Mr. Alfred Wallace, as early as 1855 ("Ann. and Mag. Nat. Hist.," 1855), formally announced his belief in the theory of descent of species, and intimated that the manifest adaptation of certain varieties to their surroundings secured them the best chances of perpetuation. Later records show that Mr. Wallace did not stop at this stage of development.

But it was Charles Darwin who, in his great book, "The Origin of Species," first placed the idea of evolution clearly before the world and gained the gradual assent of almost the whole thinking world to his argument in general, if not in detail. Darwin's theory has as its special points the inherent susceptibility and tendency to variation according to conditions of environment; the preservation and perfection of organs best suited to the individual in its struggle for existence; the perpetuation of the more favorably organized beings, and the destruction of those less fitted to service; the operation of natural selection, in which sexual selection is an important factor; and the general proposition that at any given time any given organism represents the result of the foregoing factors, acting in opposition to the hereditary tendency to adhere to the type or "breed true." Since Darwin's day two main schools have arisen. One school, sometimes called the Lamarckian, holds to the distinguishing principle of Lamarck, that acquired variations can be transmitted, and that since these variations are and must be adapted to external agencies and surroundings, and hence of greater value to the individual and the race, such variations are most important in the differentiation of new forms of life. The other school, following Weismann in Germany, has in the name of pure Darwinism or neo-Darwinism claimed that there is no satisfactory evidence that those variations which are the result of mechanical causes (acquired variations) can be inherited, that every instance in which the effects of use and disuse, of mutilations and prenatal influences and the like are supposed to be shown are capable of another explanation.

Most embryologists to-day probably incline to the school of Weismann; but the other side is ably supported, nor must it be forgotten that both sides admit that some variations at least can be transmitted.

Nor must the agreement of the two schools and the general acceptance by all biologists of the principle of evolution by the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest be forgotten. Says Mr. Benjamin Kidd ("Social Evolution," p. 34):

> Progress everywhere from the beginning of life has been effected in the same way, and it is possible in no other way. It is the result of selection and rejection. In the human species, as in every other species which has ever existed, no two individuals of a generation are alike in all respects. There is infinite variation within certain limits. Some are slightly above the average in a particular direction as others are below it, and it is only when conditions prevail which are favorable to a preponderating reproduction of the former that advance in any direction becomes possible. To formulate this as the immutable law of progress since the beginning of life has been one of the principal results of the biological science of the century, and recent work, including the remarkable contributions of Professor Weismann in Germany, has all tended to establish it on foundations which are not now likely to be shaken.

With such a succinct statement as to the views of various schools of biologists as to evolution, we are now able to better understand the bearings of their views on social reform. That such a view must have deep bearing on social reform is obvious. That man's development is subject, in part at least, to the same laws which govern the development of plants and brute animal life no thinking man to-day denies, tho, as we shall see, good authority questions whether these are the only laws which control human progress. We pass, therefore, to consider the different applications of evolutionary thought to social reform.

The leadership in the application of the doctrine of evolution to social science belongs undoubtedly to Herbert Spencer, tho by no means all scientists follow his conclusions.

Herbert Spencer

Comte had already prepared the way by treating of human history as a natural process of continuous development, and much German philosophy tends the same way. But Herbert Spencer's "First Principles" (1862) first developed this thought into a connected system (*Synthetic Philosophy*), while his other works apply the thought to psychologic religion, ethics, sociology, education, etc. Bagehot's "Physics and Politics" applies the thought to politics. John Fiske's "Cosmic Philosophy" applies it still more to man's origin and development.

Herbert Spencer makes biology teach the folly of state intervention and the necessity of industrial competition. He argues that it is absolutely necessary to human progress that each individual should stand on his own legs, and that the "fittest" should survive. The struggle, he says, should go on "without violence" ("The Sins of Legislators" in "The Man versus The State"), but government should not interfere. He believes this process to be really benevolent, and says, "the poverty of the incapable, the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which leave so many in shallows and in miseries, are decrees of a large, far-seeing benevolence" (quoted by Mr. William M. Salter in "Anarchy or Government" from "Social Statics"). Mr. Spencer also believes this competition to be just. Each one should gain "neither more nor less of benefit than his activities normally bring" ("Sociology," vol. ii, § 575). "The superior," he says, should "have the good of his superiority, and the evil of his inferiority," and he would put a veto "on all public action which abstracts from some men part of the advantages they have earned, and awards to other men advantages they have not earned" (ibid., vol. ii., § 567).

Mr. Spencer gives particular instances of what he means—he condemns public libraries, public museums, and public schools, since these mean the taxation of the more well-to-do for the benefit of the less well-to-do, and every one, he maintains, should have all the benefits of his exertions to himself, and none should have more benefits than his own exertions entitle him to ("The Sins of Legislators" and the "Great Political Superstition," in "The Man versus The State." Cf. "Sociology," vol. ii., § 569). This gives Mr. Spencer's general position, which he has developed at length in his "Social Statics," "Man versus The State," etc. (For a fuller statement of his view, see SPENCER.)

On questions of the method in evolution, Mr. Spencer follows the Lamarckian view. Mr. Benjamin Kidd, however (in his "Social Evolution"), takes Weismann's theory. Of the bearing of this difference on social reform, Mr. Kidd says (p. 191):

> "If the old view is correct and the effects of use and education are transmitted by inheritance, then the Utopian dreams of philosophy in the past are undoubtedly possible of realization. If we tend to inherit in our own persons the result of

the education and mental and moral culture of past generations, then we may venture to anticipate a future society which will not deteriorate, but which may continue to make progress, even tho the struggle for existence be suspended, the population regulated exactly to the means of subsistence, and the antagonism between the individual and the social organism extinguished, even as Mr. Herbert Spencer has anticipated" ("Data of Ethics," ch. xiv.). But if, as the writer believes, the views of the Weismann party are in the main correct; if there can be no progress except by the accumulation of congenital variations above the average to the exclusion of others below; if without the constant stress of selection which this involves, the tendency of every higher form of life is actually retrograde; then is the whole human race caught in the toils of that struggle and rivalry of life which has been in progress from the beginning. Then must the rivalry of existence continue, humanized as to conditions, it may be, but immutable and inevitable to the end.

Benjamin Kidd

Mr. Kidd argues that this is the law of all progress. He says (pp. 35–37):

Looking back through the history of life anterior to man, we find it to be a record of ceaseless progress, on the one hand, and ceaseless stress and competition, on the other. This orderly and beautiful world which we see around us is now and always has been the scene of incessant rivalry between all the forms of life inhabiting it—rivalry, too, not chiefly conducted between different species, but between members of the same species. The plants in the greensward beneath our feet are engaged in silent rivalry with each other, a rivalry which if allowed to proceed without outside interference would know no pause until the weaker were exterminated. . . . The trees of the forest which clothe and beautify the landscape are in a state of nature engaged in the same rivalry with each other. Left to themselves, they fight out, as unmistakable records have shown, a stubborn struggle extending over centuries, in which at last only those forms most suitable to the conditions of the locality retain their places.

But so far we view the rivalry under simple conditions; it is among the forms of animal life as we begin to watch the gradual progress upward to higher types that it becomes many-sided and complex. It is at this point that we encounter a feature of the struggle which recent developments of biological science tend to bring into ever-increasing prominence. The first necessity for every successful form engaged in this struggle is the capacity for reproduction beyond the limits which the conditions of life for the time being comfortably provide for. . . . Recent biological researches, and more particularly the investigations and conclusions of Professor Weismann, have tended to greatly develop Darwin's original hypothesis as to the conditions under which progress has been made in the various forms of life. It is now coming to be recognized as a necessarily inherent part of the doctrine of evolution, that if the continual selection which is always going on among the higher forms of life were to be suspended, these forms would not only possess no tendency to make progress forward, but must actually go backward. That is to say, if all the individuals of every generation in any species were allowed to actually propagate their kind, the average of each generation would continually tend to fall below the average of each generation which preceded it, and a process of slow but steady degeneration would ensue.

Natural Selection

Mr. Kidd applies this principle to man, and says (pp. 31–34):

These laws, the observer soon convinces himself, have not been suspended in human society. On the contrary, he sees that they must have their most important seat of action there. To recognize this truth, one has only to remember that the discovery which in our time has raised biology from a mere record of isolated facts to a majestic story of orderly progress was not suggested by the study of life among the lower animals. The law, by the enunciation of which Darwin most advanced the science of the nineteenth century, took shape in the mind of the great biologist, after observation of human society—that society in particular which we see around us at the present day. Speaking of the workings of his mind before the "Origin of Species" was begun, Darwin says: "In October, 1838—that is, fifteen months after I had begun my systematic inquiry—I happened to read for amusement Malthus on population; and being well prepared to appreciate the struggle for existence which everywhere goes on, from long-continued observation of the habits of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances favorable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavorable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the foundation of a new species. Here, then, I had at last got a theory by which to work" ("The Life and Letters of Darwin," by his son, autobiographical chapter, vol. i.) . . . Looking around at the lowest existing types of humanity, and comparing them with the highest, one feels immediately constrained to ask, Do we ever fully realize how this advance of which we are so proud, and which is represented by the intellectual social distance between these two extremes, has been brought about. We talk vaguely about it, and take for granted many things in connection with it; but the number of those who have grasped certain elementary biological laws of which it is the result, and which have controlled and directed it as rigidly as the law of gravity controls and directs a body falling to the earth, is surprisingly small. . . .

Applied to Man

At the outset we find man to be in one respect exactly like all the creatures which have come before him. He reproduces his kind from generation to generation. In doing so, he is subject to a law which must never be lost sight of. Left to himself, this high-born creature, whose progress we seem to take for granted, has not the slightest innate tendency to make any onward progress whatever. It may appear strange, but it is strictly true, that if each of us were allowed by the conditions of life to follow his own inclinations, the average of one generation would have no tendency whatever to rise beyond the average of the preceding one, but distinctly the reverse. This is not a peculiarity of man; it has been a law of life from the beginning, and it continues to be a universal law, which we have no power to alter.

As a result of this view, Mr. Kidd believes that to insure progress society must insure the perpetuation of competition. This, he says, is against the immediate interests of the industrially weaker classes, and therefore they are advocating socialism, the essence of which Mr. Kidd finds to consist in the elimination of competition. But Mr. Kidd says this cannot prevail, because it would mean biological deterioration and death. Through all our Western civilization Mr. Kidd finds a process going on born of the superrational sanctions of Christianity, tending to altruism, lifting up the lower classes, by an ever-widening democracy not toward socialism, but toward a condition where all classes can compete on planes of more perfect equality. He says (pp. 154–65):

The Reformation liberated, as it were, into the practical life of the peoples affected by it that immense body of altruistic feeling which had been from the beginning the distinctive social product of the Christian religion (p. 154). The clue to modern history, he says, lies "in the fact that it has consisted essentially in the gradual breaking down of that military organization of society which had previously prevailed and in the emancipation and enfranchisement of the great body of the people hitherto universally excluded under that constitution of society from all participation on equal terms in the rivalry of existence. . . . And it tends to culminate in a condition of society in which there shall be no privileged classes, and in which all the excluded people shall be at last brought into the rivalry of life on a footing of equality, of opportunity, the significance of the whole process consisting in its tendency to raise the rivalry of existence to the highest degree of efficiency as a cause of progress, to which it has ever attained in the history of life.

Mr. Kidd thus formulates his conclusions as to social reform (pp. 237, 238):

In the era upon which we are entering, the long, uphill effort to secure equality of opportunity, as well as equality of political rights, will of necessity involve not the restriction of the interference of the State, but the progressive extension of its sphere of action to almost every department of our social life. The movement in the direction of the regulation, control, and restriction of the rights of wealth and capital must be expected to continue, even to the extent of the State itself assuming these rights in cases where it is clearly proved that their retention in private hands must unduly interfere with the rights and opportunities of the body of the people. But the continuity of principle may be expected to remain evident under the new appearances. Even in such cases, the State will, in reality, assume such functions *in order to preserve or secure* free competition rather than to suspend it. Hence, the general tendency must be expected to be toward State interference and State control, on a greatly extended scale, rather than toward State management. It may, perhaps, be inferred from this that the development of society in the direction indicated will itself be a movement toward socialism. This is not so. The gulf between the state of society—toward which it is the tendency of the process of evolution now in progress to carry us—and socialism is wide and deep. The avowed aim of socialism is to suspend that personal rivalry and competition of life, which not only is now, but has been from the beginning

Not Socialism

of life, the fundamental impetus behind all progress. The inherent tendency of the process of social development now taking place among us is (as it has been from the beginning of our civilization) to raise this rivalry to the very highest degree of efficiency as a condition of progress, by bringing all the people into it on a footing of equality, and by allowing the freest possible play of forces within the community, and the widest possible opportunities for the development of every individual's faculties and personality. This is the meaning of that evolutional process which has been slowly proceeding through the history of the Western peoples.

Contrary both to Mr. Spencer and to Mr. Kidd are the views of Professor Huxley. Of Mr. Spencer's view, Professor Huxley says ("Administrative Nihilism," an address delivered to the Midland Institute, Oct. 9, 1871):

One of the profoundest of living English philosophers, who is at the same time the most thoroughgoing and consistent of the champions of astynomocracy, has devoted a very able and ingenious essay to the drawing out of a comparison between the process by which men have advanced from the savage state to the highest civilization, and that by which an animal passes from the condition of an almost shapeless and structureless germ to that in which it exhibits a highly complicated structure and a corresponding diversity of powers. . . . All this appears to be very just. But if the resemblance between the body physiological and the body politic is any indication not only of what the latter is, and how it has become what it is, but of what it ought to be, and what it is tending to become, I cannot but think that the real force of the analogy is totally opposed to the negative view of State function.

Suppose that, in accordance with this view, each muscle were to maintain that the nervous system had no right to interfere with its contraction, except to prevent it from hindering the contraction of another muscle; or each gland, that it had a right to secrete, so long as its secretion interfered with no other; suppose every separate cell left free to follow its own "interests," and *laissez faire* lord of all, what would become of the body physiological?

The fact is, that the sovereign power of the body thinks for the physiological organism, acts for it, and rules the individual components with a rod of iron. . . . Hence, if the analogy of the body politic with the body physiological counts for anything, it seems to me to be in favor of a much larger amount of governmental interference than exists at present, or than I, for one, at all desire to see. But, tempting as the opportunity is, I am not disposed to build up any argument in favor of my own case upon this analogy, curious, interesting, and in many respects close as it is, for it takes no cognizance of certain profound and essential differences between the physiological and the political bodies.

Huxley Opposed to Spencer's View

Professor Huxley then goes on to state his own views, and says:

When men living in society have once become aware that their welfare depends upon two opposing tendencies of equal importance—the one restraining, the other encouraging, individual freedom—the question, "What are the functions of government?" is translated into another—namely, What ought we men, in our corporate capacity, to do, not only in the way of restraining that free individuality which is inconsistent with the existence of society, but in encouraging that free individuality which is essential to the evolution of the social organization? The formula which truly defines the function of government must contain the solution of both the problems involved, and not merely of one of them.

Locke has furnished us with such a formula, in the noblest, and at the same time briefest, statement of the purpose of government known to me:

"THE END OF GOVERNMENT IS THE GOOD OF MANKIND" ("Of Civil Government," § 229).

But the good of mankind is not a something which is absolute and fixt for all men, whatever their capacities or state of civilization. Doubtless it is possible to imagine a true "Civitas Dei," in which every man's moral faculty shall be such as leads him to control all those desires which run counter to the good of mankind, and to cherish only those which conduce to the welfare of society; and in which every man's native intellect shall be sufficiently strong, and his culture sufficiently extensive, to enable him to know what he ought to do and to seek after. And in that blessed state police will be as much a superfluity as every other kind of government.

But the eye of man has not beheld that state, and is not likely to behold it for some time to come. What we do see, in fact, is that states are made up of a considerable number of the ignorant and foolish, a small proportion of genuine knaves, and a sprinkling of capable and honest men, by whose efforts the former are kept in a reasonable state of guidance, and the latter of repression. And such being the case, I do not see how any limit whatever can be laid down as to the extent to which, under some circumstances, the action of government may be rightfully carried. . . . The question when to draw the line between those things with which the State ought, and those with which it ought not, to interfere, then, is one which must be left to be decided separately for each individual case. The difficulty which meets the statesman is the same as that which meets us all in individual life, in which our abstract rights are generally clear enough, tho it is frequently extremely hard to say at what point it is wise to cease our attempts to enforce them.

Professor Huxley wrote before Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution" appeared; but among his latest utterances he showed that there was a deep division to be drawn between the biological laws which govern the development of the lower forms of creation and those which govern man. He says ("The Struggle for Existence," in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888, pp. 165, 166):

Society, like art, is a part of nature. But it is convenient to distinguish those parts of nature in which man plays the part of immediate cause as something apart; and, therefore, society, like art, is usefully to be considered as distinct from nature. It is the more desirable, and even necessary, to make this distinction, since society differs from nature in having a definite moral object; whence it comes about that the course shaped by the ethical man—the member of society or citizen—necessarily runs counter to that which the non-ethical man—the primitive savage, or man as a mere member of the animal kingdom—tends to adopt. The latter fights out the struggle for existence to the bitter end, like any other animal; the former devotes his best energies to the object of setting limits to the struggle.

The history of civilization—that is, of society—is the record of the attempts which the human race has made to escape from this position (i. e., the struggle for existence in which those who were best fitted to cope with their circumstances, but not the best in any other sense, survived). The first men who substituted the state of mutual peace for that of mutual war, whatever the motive which impelled them to take that step, created society. But in establishing peace, they obviously put a limit upon the struggle for existence. Between the members of that society, at any rate, it was not to be pursued *à outrance*. And of all the successive shapes which society has taken, that most nearly approaches perfection in which war of individual against individual is most strictly limited.

Prof. D. G. Ritchie, in his "Darwinism and Politics," carries the argument still further, and shows, in the first place, that "the survival of the fittest" does not necessarily mean the survival of the best. He says:

The phrase "suryival of the fittest" is very apt to mislead, for it suggests the fittest or best in every sense or in the highest sense, whereas it only means, as Professor Huxley has pointed out, "those best fitted to cope with their circumstances" (article "The Struggle for Existence," in *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888, p. 165), in order to survive and transmit offspring. Now when we come to consider society, we have to deal with a very complex set of phenomena, and what is fittest in one aspect may not be fittest in another. But natural selection implies no further morality than "nothing succeeds like success." If the struggle for food and mates be carried on on its lowest terms, the strongest and the strongest only would be selected. But cunning can do a great deal against strength. Now we cannot be sure that a good combination of strength and cunning will be selected: strength in some cases, cunning in others, is what we find by comparing different species of animals and different races of men. Again, the strongest and largest, and in many ways finest animals are not necessarily those most capable of adapting themselves to changed circumstances. The insignificant may more easily find food and escape enemies. We cannot be sure that evolution will always lead to what we should regard as the greatest perfection of any species. Degeneration enters in as well as progress. The latest theory about the Aryan race makes the Aryans come from the north of Europe, conquer the feebler races of the south, and, having proved its fitness in this way, prove its unfitness in another by being less capable of surviving in a warm climate than they; so that an Aryan language may be spoken where there remains little or no Aryan blood. Are we entitled to maintain, with regard to human races and human individuals, that the fittest always survive, except in the sense in which the proposition is a truism, that those survive who are most capable of surviving?

"Survival of the Fittest" Not the Best

Further, we must emphasize the fact that the struggle goes

on not merely between individual and individual, but between race and race. The struggle among plants and the lower animals is mainly between members of the same species; and the individual competition between human beings, which is so much admired by Mr. Herbert Spencer, is of this primitive kind. When we come to the struggle between kinds, it is to be noticed that it is fiercest between allied kinds; and so, as has been pointed out, the economic struggle between Great Britain and the United States is fiercer than elsewhere between nations. But so soon as we pass to the struggle between race and race, we find new elements coming in. The race which is fittest to survive, i. e., most capable of surviving, will survive; but it does not therefore follow that the individuals thereby preserved will be the fittest, either in the sense of being those who in a struggle between individual and individual would have survived, or in the sense of being those whom we should regard as the finest specimens of their kind. . . . Admirable, doubtless—this scheme of salvation for the elect by the damnation of the vast majority; but, pray, do not let us hear anything more about its "beneficence."

I am not speaking at random about these ethical applications of the conception of struggle for existence. Darwin himself, as always, is most cautious and guarded in his reference to anything that lies outside his own special sphere of observation. He looks forward to the elimination of the lower races by the higher civilized races throughout the world ("Life and Letters," i., p. 316). He points out how "a struggle for existence, consequent on his rapid multiplication," has advanced man to his present high condition; "and if he is to advance still higher, it is to be feared that he must remain subject to a severe struggle. Otherwise he would sink into indolence, and the more gifted men would not be more successful in the battle of life than the less gifted" ("Descent of Man," p. 319). This, doubtless, includes the old objection which Aristotle brought against Plato's communism, that man needs a stimulus to exertion and industry. But there is no jubilation, no exaltation of a natural law into an ethical ideal. And let us know how Darwin modifies this very statement in the words that follow:

"Important as the struggle for existence has been and even still is, yet as far as the highest part of man's nature is concerned there are other agencies more important. For the moral qualities are advanced, either directly or indirectly, much more through the effects of habit, the reasoning powers, instruction, religion, etc., than through natural selection; tho to this latter agency may be safely attributed the social instincts which afforded the basis for the development of the moral sense."

Socialists, however, usually go further than any of the above writers, and argue from evolution not only that the struggle for existence is not the only law of human progress, but that it teaches the development and survival of combination over competition. Says a recent writer (anonymously):

Society an Organism

This law of organic evolution does not stop with the development of the physical. It is the same throughout the entire realm of phenomena. It passes over into the immaterial and builds up political, social, and moral institutions in almost precisely the same manner as physical organisms are formed. In the political aspect of the world the start is also had with the individual or unit. Then follows a community of units, the town, for instance. The same law of development or community of vital interests results in the organization of counties, states, and nations, each a political organism, with functions peculiar to its specific plane of being or place in the body politic; but all, when perfected, working harmoniously together for the common good and equal rights of the units, the individual men and women that form the organism or political body. This same law of progressive development also foreshadows the time when there will be a confederacy of nations, a political world organism, a race unity, the highest functions of which will be to secure to the race—unit—man the freedom of a fair chance in the exercise of his inalienable right to preserve and enhance his inherent individuality.

Socialists believe in the evolution of competition. Says W. D. P. Bliss ("Handbook of Socialism," p. 21):

Competition was once mainly physical; this produced the survival of the fittest to survive in *physical strife*. "There were giants in those days," the Nimrods, the Goliaths, the Agamemnons, "kings of men." Organized society gradually restrained that physical strife, and competition became chiefly military between states. This was the distinguishing feature of the Greek State and of the Roman civilization. It produced an Alexander, a Hannibal, a Cæsar, and continued to the time of Napoleon, and is not yet dead. But gradually advancing fraternalism has replaced military by industrial competition. To-day men strive neither with guns nor with poisoned arrows, so much as with cornerings of the market and with poisoned groceries. It has produced the survival of the fittest to survive in such a strife—the Rothschilds, the Jay Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Pullmans, the Napoleons of finance. Therefore, Socialists do not urge the abolition of competition. They simply say that it is time to lift competition to a higher level, and make it intellectual, and not industrial. As organized fraternalism has to a large measure put down physical strife, and is putting down militarism, so Socialists would have it gradually supplant industrial competition by industrial cooperation.

A recent work, however, on social evolution is Prof. S. N. Patten's "Theory of the Social Forces" (January, 1896). He says (p. 7): "Evolution has thus far been studied as a problem of biology. This has been due more to what I would call a happy accident than to any necessity of the situation. Darwin admits that he obtained the clue to his theory through reading Malthus's 'Essay on Population,' and in many respects the attitude of the author of the 'Origin of Species' is that of an economist. It is only by later writers that the economic elements in the problem are neglected, and that the theory is based solely upon biologic evidence. The happy accident to which I have referred is the fact that the history of past organic life is so plainly recorded in the various organisms of the present and in the fossil remains of earlier forms."

Professor Patten then goes on to argue that evolution is the result of the action of environment upon organism; that biology has studied organism (because of the "happy accident" that this is what could be best historically studied), but has neglected environment. He quotes Spencer as saying ("Psychology," vol. i., p. 134): "Throughout biology proper the environment and its correlated phenomena are either but tacitly recognized, or overtly and definitely recognized, are so but occasionally, while the organism and its correlated phenomena practically monopolize the attention." Here Professor Patten finds the weak point in current economic discussions. They have overlooked environment, and, says Professor Patten (p. 5), "the present environment of the race is so different from its predecessors that a new social philosophy is demanded to explain its effects." Hence Professor Patten's essay is "an attempt to recast current social philosophy and to introduce into it elements which thus far have been overlooked." These elements are largely psychologic, and, according to Professor Patten, deserve to rank equally with the biologic factors. By such an analysis of man's present environment Professor Patten forecasts "a social commonwealth," based upon a pure pleasure economy, even as state socialism, according to him, is the ideal of those suffering from the evils of a fair economy. This social commonwealth, however, he says, must not be assumed to be the highest or final state. "If a progressive evolution continues," he tells us (p. 6), "other societies will be possible, each of which will differ from its predecessor as radically as the society I describe differs from our present society." See also the article on BIOLOGY.

EXCISE DUTIES (from Latin *ex-cide*, cut off) are duties laid upon any commodity produced within a country in distinction from those custom duties which are levied upon imports. The derivation implies that the excise is something cut off from the price for the benefit of the State. It is an indirect tax, because, tho levied on the product, it falls on the consumer. Excise duties are an old form of duty, begun in England under this

name as early as 1643, being laid on ale and all forms of intoxicating drinks, and later on a long list of articles of food and clothing. The necessities of life were later excepted. Excise duties were at first duties on commodities produced in or out of a country. Robert Walpole, in 1733, introduced a famous excise scheme, whereby tobacco and, later, wine paid no duty, but were warehoused under the control of excise officers, and paid excise duties only as sold within the country. It produced a great excitement, and was abandoned. To-day excise duties are paid in England on many things, like beer, wine, spirits, tobacco, dogs, gun and game licenses, carriages, male servants, armorial bearings, railway tickets, by auctioneers, pedlers, farm brokers, tavern-keepers, etc.

In the United States excise duties were disliked as inheritances from the English Government, and an effort was early made to enact a constitutional amendment forbidding excise duties; but in 1790 Hamilton proposed and got passed an excise duty on spirits. In 1792 it was lowered, and under Jefferson abolished. The War of 1812 led to an excise duty on distilled spirits, domestic refined sugar, salt, carriages, etc. But in 1817 these were abolished, and no excise duty was levied till the internal tax of 1862. (For a discussion of excise duties, see TAXATION.)

EXNER, WILHELM FRANZ: Austrian technologist; born in Gaenserdorf, Lower Austria, 1840; frequented the polytechnic in Vienna; became teacher in the real-school in Elbogen, Bohemia, 1862, and in that of Krems in 1865. In 1869 he was appointed lecturer on engineering and mechanic technology at the forestry academy at Mariabrunn, and in 1875 professor of forestry, forestry-engineering, etc., at the agricultural college at Vienna. Since 1874 he has been inspector of trade schools for the ministry of commerce. In 1879 he founded the Technologische Gewerbemuseum (industrial museum) in Vienna, and has been its director ever since. Since 1882 he has been a member of the chamber of deputies of the Reichsrat, where he identifies himself with the German liberals. Since 1905 Exner has been a member of the Austrian Upper House. Among his works may be mentioned: "Holzhandel und Holzindustrie der Ostseeländer" (1876); "Das Moderne Transportwesen im Dienste der Land- und Forstwirtschaft" (1877); "Die Hausindustrie Oesterreichs" (1890). He has edited "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gewerbe und Erfindungen Oesterreichs" (1873), and the "Mitteilungen des Technologischen Gewerbemuseums" (1880, sqq). *Address*: Technologische Gewerbemuseum, Vienna, Austria.

EXPENDITURES (Family. See also PRICES): According to the well-known laws formulated by Dr. Engels, head of the Prussian Royal Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, expenditures in different families conform to the following principles:

1. That the greater the income, the smaller the relative percentage of outlay for subsistence.

2. That the percentage of outlay for clothing is approximately the same, whatever the income.

3. That the percentage of the outlay for lodging or rent, and for fuel and light, is invariably the same, whatever the income.

4. That as the income increases in amount the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater.

These principles seem in the main substantiated by the most careful investigation.

THE UNITED STATES

The latest and most careful statement of the cost of living in the U. S. is the report by Mr. G. W. W. Hanger of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, from facts secured by the bureau as to 25,440 families in principal industrial localities in thirty-three localities, and comprizing the families of mechanics of all kinds, railroad employees, common laborers, and clerks earning less than $1,200 per year. The following are some of the tables:

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION AND GENERAL NATIVITY OF HEAD OF FAMILY.	PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE MADE FOR—					
	Food	Rent	Clothing	Fuel	Lighting	Sundries
North Atlantic States:						
Native	42.26	19.97	13.04	4.55	1.15	19.03
Foreign	44.45	19.33	12.30	4.53	1.21	18.18
Total	43.17	19.70	12.73	4.54	1.18	18.68
South Atlantic States:						
Native	43.39	16.56	12.69	4.96	.97	21.43
Foreign	46.77	16.35	12.28	4.50	.91	19.19
Total	43.64	16.54	12.67	4.93	.96	21.26
North Central States:						
Native	42.33	15.15	13.04	4.23	1.08	24.17
Foreign	46.17	15.46	12.99	5.51	1.09	18.78
Total	43.47	15.25	13.02	4.61	1.08	22.57
South Central States:						
Native	41.48	16.29	13.19	3.89	.82	24.33
Foreign	43.09	17.38	12.45	3.94	.74	22.40
Total	41.67	16.41	13.11	3.89	.81	24.11
Western States:						
Native	40.38	20.29	15.65	4.66	1.06	17.96
Foreign	41.87	19.62	15.44	4.63	1.08	17.36
Total	40.85	20.08	15.58	4.65	1.07	17.77

PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE MADE FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES IN NORMAL FAMILIES, BY SIZE OF FAMILY

FAMILIES WITH—	PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE MADE FOR—					
	Food	Rent	Clothing	Fuel	Lighting	Sundries
No children	40.33	20.23	12.43	4.76	1.14	21.11
One child	41.74	18.48	12.64	4.67	1.14	21.33
Two children	43.21	17.81	13.03	4.59	1.13	20.23
Three children	44.56	17.44	13.17	4.45	1.10	19.28
Four children	45.69	16.76	13.36	4.23	1.08	18.88
Five children	47.24	16.54	13.85	4.52	1.04	16.81
All families	43.13	18.12	12.95	4.57	1.12	20.11

Prof. John A. Ryan ("A Living Wage," p. 150, 1906) after a careful study of the evidence says:

"The conclusions that seem to be abundantly justified by the facts . . . may therefore be stated as follows: *First:* Anything less than $600 per year is *not* a living wage in any of the cities of the U. S."

Mr. Britt, of the *Railroad Man's Journal*, former editor of *Public Opinion*, contributed the following suggestive statements in *The Independent*, Aug., 1907:

Not long ago the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor statistics reported that in 797 stores in Boston the number of debtors on the hopeless list was 45,482, about 7½ per cent of the population of the city, with a total indebtedness of $570,912. In the list of non-payers 2.32 per cent, or a little over 1,000, were classed as moneyed people. Therefore more

[The average shown for each item of expenditure relates to those families only that reported expenditures for such items; the total expenditure per family is for all families.]

Geographical Division and General Nativity of Head of Family	Families		Total income per family	Average Expenditure of Families Having an Expenditure for—						Total expenditure per family.	Per cent of total income expended
	Total	Average size		Rent	Fuel	Lighting	Clothing	Food	Other purposes		
North Atlantic States:											
Native	7,359	4.53	$748.81	$130.73	$30.66	$7.79	$93.08	$306.31	$135.47	$696.44	93.01
Foreign	6,423	5.11	763.15	123.93	30.33	8.17	94.20	327.49	136.27	713.01	93.43
Total	13,782	4.80	755.49	127.63	30.51	7.97	93.60	316.18	135.84	704.16	93.21
South Atlantic States:											
Native	1,995	5.11	683.06	97.95	30.54	6.12	86.08	289.09	142.42	641.80	93.96
Foreign	198	5.68	768.75	107.20	31.12	6.85	103.11	354.07	152.11	734.55	95.55
Total	2,193	5.16	690.80	98.68	30.60	6.19	87.62	294.96	143.30	650.18	94.12
North Central States:											
Native	4,227	4.68	756.82	107.62	30.48	7.50	96.81	308.09	171.28	713.63	94.29
Foreign	3,113	5.39	744.55	100.23	36.30	7.45	99.36	328.90	149.28	702.42	94.34
Total	7,340	4.98	751.62	105.02	32.95	7.48	97.89	316.92	161.95	708.88	94.31
South Central States;											
Native	1,027	5.21	670.64	94.21	23.86	4.96	87.11	278.33	153.45	635.74	94.80
Foreign	194	5.26	700.73	103.19	24.95	5.05	93.98	294.76	172.19	665.33	94.95
Total	1,221	5.22	675.42	95.38	24.04	4.97	88.20	280.94	156.43	640.44	94.82
Western States:											
Native	553	3.96	883.14	148.86	34.69	8.07	118.21	311.18	142.30	741.75	83.99
Foreign	351	4.42	883.78	144.78	35.09	8.25	121.95	327.77	152.20	748.59	84.70
Total	904	4.14	883.39	147.48	34.84	8.14	119.66	317.62	146.14	744.41	84.27

Average Expenditure Per Family for Various Purposes in 1901, by Geographical Divisions and for the United States

Expenditure for—	North Atlantic States		South Atlantic States		North Central States		South Central States		Western States		United States	
	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure	Per cent of families having an expenditure	Average per family, based on families having an expenditure
Food	100.00	$338.10	100.00	$298.64	100.00	$321.60	100.00	$292.68	100.00	$308.53	100.00	$326.90
Rent	87.70	131.34	75.80	98.03	70.18	114.16	79 51	91.51	73.33	143.55	80.87	122.92
Mortgage:												
Principal	3.18	[1] 145.89	6.85	110.88	9.71	[1] 152.10	4.10	[1] 182.50	7.78	141.86	5.53	[2] 145.82
Interest	5.51	[1] 75.02	9.59	36.50	13.31	[1] 43.57	.82	(1)	7.78	17.14	7.91	[2] 53.73
Fuel	100.00	31.79	100.00	32.52	100.00	33.98	99.18	24.64	100.00	35.05	99.96	32.24
Lighting	100.00	8.81	100.00	6.41	100.00	8.01	100.00	4.77	100.00	7.71	100.00	8.15
Clothing:												
Husband	98.37	34.18	95.43	31.79	98.61	35.99	96.72	29.60	98.89	37.07	98.13	34.38
Wife	98.52	27.18	98.63	22.79	99.17	25.73	97.54	19.51	100.00	36.53	98.71	26.37
Children	86.64	51.86	85.84	51.94	93.62	58.04	90.98	52.53	87.78	64.11	88.78	54.15
Taxes	32.44	15.14	37.44	16.22	35.51	21.75	44.26	13.74	33.33	8.88	34.32	16.86
Insurance:												
Property	29.12	4.16	27.40	4.62	36.34	5.63	22.95	7.35	48.89	6.11	31.40	4.89
Life	67.21	29.74	68.49	32.00	66.44	28.94	63.93	26.06	34.44	30.35	65.80	29.55
Organizations:												
Labor	39.15	9.55	19.63	8.75	37.45	10.22	24.59	10.50	52.22	25.39	36.77	10.52
Other	51.59	11.90	36.53	11.43	34.40	11.91	29.51	10.08	32.22	13.00	43.75	11.84
Religion	82.97	9.81	77.17	8.55	77.39	8.83	77.05	9.05	74.44	12.24	80.33	9.49
Charity	44.95	4.61	56.62	4.30	57.84	4.53	57.38	4.34	71.11	7.48	51.07	4.68
Furniture and utensils	87.92	34.44	69.41	30.74	83.91	26.90	64.75	30.75	100.00	14.64	84.53	31.13
Books and newspapers	96.89	8.45	79.45	6.87	96.26	9.69	84.43	6.49	100.00	14.02	94.74	8.82
Amusements and vacation	77.46	14.96	54.79	14.58	63.66	24.99	34.43	13.47	100.00	14.79	70.39	17.44
Intoxicating liquors	53.50	23.72	46.58	19.48	49.38	30.38	52.46	14.09	25.56	11.91	50.72	24.53
Tobacco	81.48	12.34	79.00	11.79	76.42	18.19	75.41	11.04	71.11	11.63	79.20	13.80
Sickness and death	74.42	25.77	83.11	28.83	81.41	28.27	93.44	25.63	36.67	25.17	76.70	26.78
Other purposes	99.43	32.15	93.15	63.28	99.45	61.08	99.18	84.51	100.00	40.79	98.91	45.63

[1] Not including payments made by six families, in which principal and interest were combined.
[2] Not including interest paid by six families, included in principal.

than 7 per cent of the inhabitants of the entire city were unable through lack of funds to meet the current expenses of living.

To charge 45,000 people with extravagance or downright dishonesty is too wholesale an indictment. Was it not rather a failure in the hopeless struggle to make both ends meet and to maintain a decent standard of living at the same time? Have not these people been caught in a maelstrom of high prices and, in order to live in the present, been forced to neglect the obligations of the past and discount the possibilities of the future? In other words, are they not paying the cost of prosperity?

Rise of Prices

In two bulletins issued last year by the Bureau of Labor of the Department of Commerce and Labor statistics were presented showing the relation of the cost of living to average annual incomes in the year 1905 as contrasted with the ten-year period 1890 to 1899. In the first of these two bulletins wholesale prices of 259 articles of common consumption were tabulated for sixteen years with the following result:

The 1905 average contrasted with the year of lowest average prices during the sixteen years from 1890 to 1905, in each of the general groups of commodities, shows farm products 58.6 per cent higher than in 1896; food, etc., 29.7 per cent higher than in 1896; cloths and clothing, 22.9 higher than in 1897; fuel and lighting, 39.4 per cent higher than in 1894; metals and implements, 41.8 per cent higher than in 1898; lumber and building materials, 41.4 per cent higher than in 1897; drugs and chemicals, 24.1 per cent higher than in 1895; house-furnishing goods, 21.5 higher than in 1897, and the materials included in the miscellaneous group, 23.4 higher than in 1896.

Summing up these statistics it is seen that the average cost of these articles was 15.9 per cent higher than the average for the ten-year period. In the later bulletin, which deals with wages and hours of labor from 1890 to 1905, it is shown that average earnings per week in the latter year were only 14 per cent higher than the average from 1890 to 1899, leaving cost of living, according to these statistics, 2 per cent in the lead.

But these statistics do not bring the facts home to us with sufficient force. . . . Here again the tireless Bureau of Labor at Washington comes to our aid with statistics showing the incomes and the expenditures of a large number of families.

Households to the number of 25,446 in all parts of the United States, averaging approximately five persons to the family, have been canvassed with the following result: The average annual income per family is $751.34; the average annual expenditure is $689.61, leaving a margin between income and expenditure of $61.73 on the profit side.

Food, the basis of the physical life, constitutes by far the larger part of this expenditure, or 42.54 per cent; rent eats up 12.95 per cent; clothing takes 14.04 per cent; fuel and lighting account for 5.25 per cent; taxes and principal and interest on mortgages, which together with rent must cover the cost of lumber and building materials as well as ground rent, amount to 2.33 per cent; furniture and household utensils are answerable for 3.42 per cent, and sickness and death, no small part of the expense of which is chargeable to drugs and chemicals, demand 2.67 per cent.

The remainder is divided in small portions among insurance, labor, and other organization fees, religious purposes, charity, books and newspapers, amusements and vacations, intoxicating liquors, tobacco and "other purposes." Religion claims only .99 per cent; charity fares even worse with .31 per cent; while 1.62 per cent is dissolved in alcohol and 1.42 per cent goes up in tobacco smoke. Amusements and vacations are responsible for 1.60 per cent, and 1.09 per cent are devoted to the alleged improvement of the mind in the purchase of books and newspapers.

To make the matter still more concrete, the average family spends each year $114.83 for rent; $37.53 for fuel and lighting; $97.39 for clothing; $305.32 for food, and $148.73 for all other purposes. In the year 1905, therefore, this same family spent for food $71.28 more than in 1896; for clothing $18.32 more than in 1897, and for fuel and lighting $7.88 more than in 1894.

Dun's index figure of wholesale prices gives the best available basis of comparison, year by year. This shows that the average actual cost of commodities per individual in the U. S. on July 1, 1906, had increased over 1905 to a marked degree. Food of all kinds had risen from $47.399 to $49.385; clothing from $17.986 to $19.177; metals from $15.916 to $16.649, and miscellaneous articles of general use from $17.061 to $19.555. The total cost had risen from $98.312 to $105.216, the greatest increase that has taken place in any year for the last decade except from 1901 to 1902.

As compared with 1896 the total cost has increased from $74.317 to $107.516, a rise of more than 41½ per cent.

In order to find the actual cost per family from these figures, it is necessary to multiply the statistics for individuals by 4.7, the average number of persons per family according to the census of 1900, and to add to that the retailer's profit. Rent is not included in Dun's index, nor are taxes or principal and interest on mortgages. For purposes of comparison between various years, however, no better basis can be found.

This means the need of higher wages. Dr. Edward T. Devine, general secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, some time ago made an estimate which showed that:

"In New York, where rentals and provisions are, perhaps, more expensive than in any other large city, for an average family of five persons the minimum income on which it is practicable to remain self-supporting and to maintain any approach to a decent standard of living is $600 a year."

Latest Estimates

In 1907 he says that this estimate is without doubt now far too low. Prof. Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, is quoted as saying: "No man can live, bring up a family, and enjoy the ordinary human happiness on a wage of less than $1,000 a year." John Mitchell estimates the minimum wages that will maintain a workingman and his family in the coal region, according to the so-called "American standard," at $600 a year.

In 1906 five prominent social workers came together in New York, and, after fixing on a typical family of a man, his wife, and three children under earning age, the result of their calculations was that $931 was the minimum wages that such a man must earn to support his family decently; $3.10 a day for 300 working days.

The question was then submitted to sixteen other social workers in close touch with actual cheap living conditions. One group of six combined in averaging their estimates, and the result was placing the figure at $942 a year. The other estimates were $768 (two estimates), $879, $900, $901, $986, $1,078, $1,394, $1,403, and $1,449. It will readily be seen that a reasonable average of these estimates is $950 a year as the cost of a normal standard of living of such a family in New York City.

It has been calculated for Chicago by investigators at $900, by New Orleans investigators at $1,000, and by Philadelphia investigators as low as $600, the difference arising through the inclusion of items like insurance, savings, vacations, reading, and other "cultural" expenses in the higher estimates and not in the lower. The standard of living fixt in Philadelphia was an exceptionally low standard and one probably more closely resembling a subnormal standard than any of the others. These were all for families of six persons.

One of the latest of these investigations is that of Baltimore, which has resulted in the conclusion that $750 a year is the minimum amount required by a family of six persons. This investigation was made by the Maryland Bureau of Statistics, which has just issued a report.

Other Countries

The most extensive investigation thus far made in regard to different countries is probably that reported by the U. S. Commissioner of Labor for 1891. Tho now somewhat out of date, it is approximately equally so for all countries, and can be brought up to date by noting the changes in prices. (See Prices.) It is based on investigations in the iron, coal, glass, cotton, and woolen industries. The following tables are abridged from the report (vol. ii., pp 864, 865):

Countries	Income	Average Expenditures			
		Rent	Fuel	Food	Other
United States	$657.39	$76.03	$26.67	$250.62	$305
Great Britain	502.76	47.21	20.47	232.61	202
France	413.80	32.99	13.44	182.21	185
Belgium	433.27	29.93	15.99	200.64	187
Germany	320.02	27.07	10.59	168.82	123
Switzerland	358.56	25.44	23.48	179.28	130

Countries	Amusements and vacations	Intoxicating liquors	Tobacco	Books and newspapers	Religion	Charity
United States	$13.38	$22.82	$10.66	$6.41	$7.99	$3.93
Great Britain	23.55	23.22	11.43	4.95	6.74	3.08
France	17.43	25.77	6.29	2.33	0.96	1.83
Belgium	13.38	31.84	6.60	3.35	3.00	3.47
Germany	7.97	12.50	3.87	2.11	1.17	0.78
Switzerland	20.57	15.97	3.25	1.77	1.76	.....

Countries	Clothing			Taxes	Insurance	Societies	
	Husband	Wife	Children			Labor	Other
United States..	$33.68	$23.72	$54.83	$7.37	$24.84	$7.33	$8.64
Great Britain..	22.15	20.50	37.94	8.44	15.60	7.34	7.93
France.....	19.49	14.76	38.35	2.47	4.34	3.79	3.78
Belgium.....	23.98	12.38	48.25	4.69	2.75	3.23	5.08
Germany.....	20.04	11.29	25.88	3.54	10.34	1.36	3.15
Switzerland....	22.68	11.78	30.92	2.07	8.89	.39	3.35

These statistics for the U. S. are based on the expenditures of 487 families in the pig-iron industry, 293 in the bar iron, 70 in the steel, 309 in the bituminous coal, 104 in the coke, 66 in the iron ore, 639 in the cotton, 323 in the woolen, 773 in the glass. Each industry was averaged separately, and the above averages are the average of the industry averages.

For Great Britain, the statistics are based on the expenditures of thirty-nine families in the pig-iron industry, 73 in the bar iron, 72 in the steel, 137 in the bituminous coal, 11 in the coke, 164 in the cotton, 59 in the wool, and 22 in the glass. For France: 40 in the bar iron, 61 in the cotton, 128 in the wool. For Belgium: 7 in the pig iron, 45 in the bar iron, 9 in the bituminous coal, 4 in the coke, 24 in the glass. For Germany: 22 in the bar iron, 35 in the steel, 16 in the bituminous coal, 10 in the coke, 17 in the iron ore, 70 in the cotton, 23 in the woolen. For Switzerland: 46 in the cotton industry.

Great Britain

The following tables are compiled from reports of the English Board of Trade for 1903 and 1904:

Changes of Workmen's Expenditures in Cost of Living in London and Large Towns in Great Britain 1878–1903

Cost in the Year 1900 = 100

(From "Report of Board of Trade," 1904)

Average of Quinquennial Period, of which Middle Year is—	Food	Rent[1]	Clothing	Fuel and light	Total average weighted[3]
1880.....	139.7	86.6	108.5[2]	77.3	120.5
1885.....	119.8	90.1	102.9	74.1	108.2
1890.....	107.4	89.9	101.2	76.5	100.9
1895.....	97.3	96.3	98.8	74.8	95.5
1900.....	101.8	100.0	98.7	86.0	99.7

[1] The figures for rent apply to the years stated.
[2] Figures for the year 1881.
[3] The report allows food the weight of 7 out of 12; rent 2 out of 12; clothing 2, and fuel and light 1.

Budgets of Working Men's Family

Weekly expenditures of—	No. of budgets reported	Average size of family	Food	Rent	Fuel and light	Clothing	Insurance tax, doctors	Sundries	Total
Germany			$	$	$	$	$	$	$
Under $5..	6	5.8	2.46	.43	.22	.66	.16	.45	4.38
$5–$6.25...	4	7.5	3.16	.64	.25	.79	.20	.45	5.49
$6.25-$7.50	3	6.3	3.62	1.20	.39	.87	.22	.70	7.00
$7.50–$8.75	1	4.0	4.00	1.33	.37	.81	.22	1.00	7.73
$8.75–$10..	2	6.0	4.18	1.52	.39	1.06	.32	1.43	8.90
France[1] 1901									
$5–$6.....	.....	2.	2.81	.33	.29	.89	.31	.64	5.27
$6–$10....	.....	4.	3.41	.43	.39	1.10	.45	.93	6.71

[1] Budgets of French schoolmasters with same income as working men.

The English working men of the Mosley Commission which visited the U. S. reported answers to the Board of Trade, saying most of them (not all) that American working men were better fed than English working men, that their houses were more roomy, tho perhaps not more comfortable, that American rents were nearly double English rents, and that the cost of food and good clothing did not materially differ.

London Rents Paid by the Poor

(Compiled from "Board of Trade Report," 1904, and based on records of district committees of the Charity Organization Society.)

Year	Average Weekly Rent for Tenement		Mean per cent of rent in 1899
	One room	Two rooms	
1880.....	$0.78	$1.25	89.3
1890.....	.80	1.31	92.7
1899.....	.86	1.41	100.0

Paris XIII Arrondissement

329 one-room tenements averaged forty-five cents per week.
337 two-room tenements averaged sixty-two cents per week.
359 three-room tenements averaged eighty-seven cents per week.

Germany

(From U. S. Special Consular Report, XXXIII (1905)

A Prussian town working men's room (not poor) averaged fifty-one cents.
A Saxon town working men's room (not poor) averaged thirty-five cents.

Comparing German and English working men's expenditures, U. S. Consul Meyer (U. S. Special Consular Report XXXIII, 1905) finds that well-paid German and especially Saxon working men are more overcrowded and pay in Prussia fifty cents, and in Saxony thirty-five cents per week per room, where English working men of the same grade usually live in separate houses with not less than four rooms, and pay twenty-eight cents per week per room. Eggs are cheaper in Germany, wheat flour and butter are about the same, sugar is about double, and beef and mutton are considerably dearer than the cheapest quality in England, which is little, if at all, inferior. He says:

"Having closely observed many thousands of German workmen in and out of the workshop, I can say with conviction that they are hearty, well-nourished men, and that their children are well kept and well cared for. Parents are very seldom wasteful or self-indulgent. The mothers have the knowledge and the will to make money go as far as possible. The condition of the working classes in respect to food has greatly improved during the last half century, and particularly during the last twenty years; for, while wages have increased steadily, the cost of food has not."

Dr. Arthur Shadwell ("Industrial Efficiency"; a comparative study of industrial life in England, Germany, and America, 1906) finds that the cost of living in America (especially rent) is enough above English prices to neutralize the difference in wages in the case of skilled workmen in large industrial centers, tho he is not able to say this for all workmen and in all places. Between Germany and America he thinks this not true because the difference in wages is greater and the cost of living less.

See also Food; Prices; Wages.

F

FABIAN SOCIETY, THE (ENGLISH): A society which, as its basis states, consists of Socialists, and no one who cannot sign the basis is admitted to membership. It was founded in 1884 by a group of young people who were attracted by the teachings of the late Prof. Thomas Davidson of New York, then an occasional visitor to London. He advocated the formation of communities to live "the higher life," but his English disciples quickly adopted another line. The Socialist movement in England was just then beginning with Marxian ideas imported from Germany, and the Fabians resolved to adapt the German principles to English political conditions. They considered that the Kingdom of Heaven was within us, in the sense that it must be evolved out of the old system, by reforms, petty in themselves, but all making to one end.

Aims

To this general idea the Fabian Society has kept. Its basis states that the members aim at the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people. The society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites. The society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (tho not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails. For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic, ethical, and political aspects.

The policy of the society has always been opportunist. It has endeavored to educate all classes and to gain something from all parties. To achieve its ends it uses whatever means are nearest to hand. It seeks to instruct its own members by the careful investigation of social and political problems, and having formulated a remedy for any particular evil, it tries to induce other Socialists and politicians to carry out its plans. Its members believe that there is evolution of ideas as well as of society. They decline to attach any sanctity to the doctrines of Marx, and they do not purpose to set up any other prophet in his place. They place the Golden Age in the future, and look to the young as those most likely first to perceive its dawn. Consequently their creed is always held open to revision, and their principles are maintained only as long as they withstand criticism.

Perhaps the most important social theory which the society has advocated, is the recognition of municipal ownership of monopolies and municipal trading as a practical embodiment of the Socialist idea. The municipal movement in England sprang up spontaneously apart from any social theory. Fabian writers interpreted its meaning and advocated its extension in every direction. This harmonized with their view that the people already possess wide powers, local as well as central, of which insufficient use was being made. Since the formation of the society Parliament has reconstituted a large part of the local government of England, by the creation of county, district, and parish councils, the reorganization of the government of London, and the recent great reform in the system of national education. In these changes the society found its opportunity, both for improving the laws as they were in preparation, and in directing toward social reform the newly constituted authorities.

Municipal Ownership

The Fabian Society holds fortnightly lectures and meetings at which papers on some social subject are read and discust. A few of these lectures and other papers specially prepared are published as *Fabian Tracts*, of which 133 have been issued. These deal with socialism in its various aspects and with proposed social and political reforms, while some explain the powers of local authorities which may be used to improve the condition of the people. Besides the tracts the principal publication issued by the society is "Fabian Essays in Socialism" (1889), several editions of which have been printed in America.

The society carries on educational work in different ways at different times. In some years a great deal of lecturing has been done by its members at meetings of other organizations, political associations, clubs, cooperative societies, and debating and mutual improvement societies connected with churches and other bodies. Sometimes it employs professional lecturers for these purposes, these lecturers being assisted by unpaid members. It has about 180 circulating library boxes, each containing about twenty-five books on political and social subjects, which are lent to any trade-union or other association on payment of a small annual fee. For these libraries there is a constantly growing demand.

Educational Work

The society has never attempted to form a political party, but it took part in founding, and is affiliated to, the Labor Party which at the election of 1906 returned twenty-nine members to Parliament. With the Socialist society called the "Independent Labor Party," which was formed largely as the result of Fabian agitation in the provinces, the society has always been closely allied. Its relations with the Social-Democratic Federation, though less intimate, have always been friendly. At the present time there are ten Fabians in the House of Commons, of whom five belong to the Labor Party and five to the Liberal Party. Among the former are J. Keir Hardie, the Chairman, and Will Crooks, the well-known member for Woolwich.

The society has now about 1,300 members residing chiefly in the London district, but also throughout Great Britain, with a few in America and other countries. Most of the English universities have affiliated societies of undergraduates, and there are a few other societies in provincial towns. The influence of the society has always been out of proportion to its numbers, because some of those who have inspired it from the first are men of exceptional

Prominent Members

ability. George Bernard Shaw, the dramatist, and Sidney Webb, the author, have been members of its executive board from the earliest days; and among other well-known persons who have been active Fabians are the Rev. Stewart Headlam and Graham Wallas (educationalists), Richard Whiteing (novelist), Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mrs. Annie Besant (up to 1890), Mr. and Mrs. Bland (the latter best known as "E. Nesbit"), the late William Clarke, and in recent years Percy Alden, M.P., Dr. Stanton Coit, and Mr. H. G. Wells. One of the oldest and most active members, Mr. Sydney Olivier, has just been appointed Governor of Jamaica.

The best exposition of socialism, as understood by the society, is Mr. Wells's book "New Utopia," tho the society is in no way committed to the views therein exprest. The offices of the society are at 3 Clements Inn, Strand, London, W. C., and the secretary is Edward R. Pease, one of the original members. EDWARD R. PEASE.

FACTORY LEGISLATION: The body of laws which has come into existence since the opening of the last century relating to the regulation of factories, workshops, and all places where industry is carried on, comes under the general title of "factory legislation," and it has stamped itself most emphatically upon the written law of all countries where the factory system has taken root, and also upon the social and moral laws which lie at the bottom of the forces which make written law what it is. The establishment of the factory system of labor, resulting in the congregation of large bodies of people working in the same branches of labor, called attention to industrial conditions, and while prior to the establishment of the factory system industrial conditions were apparently much worse than after its establishment, the workers under the old system were so distributed that their surroundings did not attract public attention, or, at least, the attention of legislators; but when great bodies were brought under one roof or into one community, whatever evils existed became noticeable, and the attention of the legislator was called to them. The factory system was first instituted in England. At the time there were few laws relating to master and man upon the statute-books of England, and those which did exist bore mostly upon criminal matters. There was one law, however, in force which had been considered by many as an obstruction to advancement in the mechanic arts, but which, with the establishment of the factory system, was to become the only point upon which labor legislation could turn. This old law was known as "The Apprenticeship Act," and was passed in 1562, during the reign of Elizabeth. It is to be found in 5 Elizabeth, c. 4. It provided that no one should work in certain trades as journeymen until after an apprenticeship of seven years. It was under this act that the custom of apprenticing pauper children by parish officers grew up, and under it there grew also the very worst practises, for the act allowed apprentices to be worked from 5 A.M. until between 7 and 8 P.M., from March to September, and, as the law expresses it, from September to March, from the "spring of the day until the night closed in." When the first cotton factories were erected in England, necessarily where watercourses were found sufficient to supply power, they became so numerous in such localities that the supply of children from the immediate neighborhoods was found to fall far short of the demand. The reverse of this condition prevailed in the agricultural counties, where general misery existed on every hand. The unprincipled poor-law guardians in the latter counties, being anxious to rid their parishes as speedily as possible of pauper children, were very eager to meet the requirements of the industrial communities where the factory system had been established for cheap labor. Children were, therefore, transferred in large numbers to the north, where they were housed in pent-up buildings adjoining the factories, and were kept to long hours of labor. These primary facts soon drew attention to the evils of the factory system as they appeared at its inception, and for the first time the consequences of congregated labor were made clearly apparent. A generation of operatives was growing up under conditions of comparative physical degeneracy, of mental ignorance, and of moral corruption; and it was then that the great questions began to be asked: Has the nation any right to interfere? Shall society suffer that individuals may profit? Shall the next and succeeding generations be weakened morally and intellectually that estates may be enlarged? These great questions forced themselves upon the public mind, and the fact that pauper apprentices might be better off under such apprenticeship than in the workhouse had no great weight under the influence of the religious and moral waves which affected England in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The first man to ask such powerful questions of Parliament was Sir Robert Peel, in the year 1802. Sir Robert was a master manufacturer, to whom the new system of labor had brought wealth and power and station, but he sought to remedy the evils which, from his own personal experience, he knew had grown with the factory system; so in 1802 he introduced a bill, the object of which was to interfere by law with the natural tendencies of unrestricted competition in the labor of human beings; but he could not, under the sentiment of the English legislature that precedent must be sacred, go very far beyond the regulation of the labor of parish apprentices. His bill was therefore entitled "An act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in the cotton and other mills and in cotton and other factories." The whole notion of Peel's measure was that as apprentices were already under statutory provisions, and were subjects of a legal contract, it was permissible that their hours of labor should be regulated by positive enactment; but Parliament, which was familiar with restrictions on the products of labor, and with restrictions of monopoly on labor itself, would not listen to any proposal to regulate what was called "free" labor for the purpose of avoiding even the most frightful moral evils. In the case of apprentices, however, it was conceded that restriction might be tolerated. Such a concession came under the power of precedent, and the Act of 1562, which had theretofore been an obstacle, became the very legal precedent the lawmakers of England must have before they could consent to protect human rights, and as that law had regulated the hours of labor of apprentices, Parliament crept through this narrow door, and allowed Sir Robert Peel's bill to restrict the hours of labor of parish apprentices at work in the factories; and so the first factory act known

In England

The Nineteenth Century

in legislation was passed. This act is known as 42 and 43 George III., cap. 73, and while it was of no great value to the operatives themselves, it has been of the greatest value to the world, for it made the assertion, which has never yet been retracted, that the nation did have the right to check not only open evils, but those which grow individually through the nature of employment. It dealt simply with the unregulated employment of apprentices. By the provisions of the law the employer was compelled to clothe his apprentices, whose work was limited then to twelve hours a day, night-work being prohibited. Every apprentice was to receive daily instruction during the first four years of his time, school attendance to be reckoned as working-time. There were many other regulations embodied in the act, stimulated by Sir Robert Peel. The law was substantially repealed in 1814, but in 1815 Sir Robert Peel came back to Parliament, told it that the act of 1802 "had become useless, that apprentices had been given up, but that the same exhausting condition, from which, Parliament had intended to relieve apprentices, was the lot of thousands and thousands of the children of the free poor,"

Progress

and in the following year (1816) Parliament instituted a great inquiry into the condition of the factory population, tho it did not enact a new law until 1819. Under this act the right of the nation to limit the age at which children might be admitted to the factories was established. From 1816 to the present time there has been no cessation in the attempts to regulate by law some of the conditions of labor; and in all countries where the factory system has taken any hold, as already stated, factory acts are to be found. Such legislation has had for its chief object the regulation of the labor of women and children, but its scope has been constantly enlarged by successive and progressive amendments until law has attempted to secure the physical and moral well-being of the workingman in all trades and to give him every condition of salubrity and of personal safety in the workshops.

The most elaborate code of factory laws is that of Great Britain, the present act being a consolidation of all the acts since Sir Robert Peel's law of 1802. In that country the law makes provision for sanitary conditions, for safety from accidents occurring from machinery, regulating employment and meal hours and the employment of young persons and women and children, providing for holidays, for the education of children, for certificates of fitness for employment, regulating overtime and night-work, and embodying a great many minor provisions, all looking to the well-being of the operative.

In France, the factory laws relate to the hours of labor and regulate some of the conditions. Female labor underground is forbidden, and boys below the age of sixteen are not allowed in such work.

Germany has a fair factory code, and is now in the experimental years of a great system of legal and compulsory insurance of work people, the results of which the empire and the governments of other continental countries are watching with great interest.

In this country nearly every state in which textile factories are found has factory laws of some kind, and many of them provide, as does Great Britain, a body of factory inspectors for the enforcement of legislation. Several states have regulated the age at which children can be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment, for the attendance upon schools, and such matters; and they are following rapidly in the footsteps of Great Britain in providing that proprietors of factories shall make specific provision against accidents from dangerous machinery, providing penalties for the cleaning of machinery while running, etc.; and also providing that factories shall be well ventilated and kept clean; that hoistways, hatchways, elevators, and well-holes shall be protected by good and sufficient trap-doors or other appliances; that establishments of certain height shall be provided with sufficient fire-escapes, practically constructed, and that they shall be kept in good repair and free from obstruction. Factory acts, varying in their provisions, have been placed upon the statute-books of nearly every state of the union. To summarize these into a digest would require a volume by itself, but the principles involved in the factory legislation are those indicated, and they relate to the personal well-being and safety of the operatives employed. The effect of the laws everywhere has been to elevate the standard of employment, to improve the health and increase the longevity of operatives, to reduce their hours of labor from thirteen or fourteen per day to nine or ten, and to surround them with good sanitary, healthful conditions. Very many factory and workshop people in different countries find themselves in better surroundings, as to air and general sanitary conditions, while at work than in their homes. The improvement in the moral tone has been sufficient to warrant the existence of factory legislation, but the constant elimination of children from factory labor is one of its most beneficent results. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

The United States

FACTORY LEGISLATION, DIGEST OF: (See also CHILD LABOR; INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE; RAILWAY LAWS; SUNDAY REST; SWEAT SHOPS). The subject is here limited for lack of space to the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. (For other countries, see those countries.) Free use has been made of the articles in the Bulletins of the U. S. Bureau of Labor on "Labor Legislation in the U. S.," by G. A. Weber, "Foreign Labor Laws," by W. F. Willoughby.

UNITED STATES

In factory legislation, the various states of the union have generally followed the precedent of the early English factory acts, and all this class of legislation has been restricted to the action of individual states. The right of a state of the union or of the federal government to enact such legislation rests upon the police power, that is, the right to pass any laws which, tho regulating or limiting property, contract or personal rights, are necessary to the safety, health, comfort, morals or well-being of society.

Factories and Workshops

What are usually known as factory acts relate to (1) the protection of the health of the employees, such as regulations requiring the proper ventilation, lighting, and heating of factories and workshops, the provision of exhaust fans to prevent dust or other deleterious products from being inhaled by the operatives, the lime-washing or painting of walls, the provision of seats and separate toilet facilities for females, and the prohibition of overcrowding; (2) the prevention of accidents, such as regulations prohibiting the employment of women and children to clean machinery in motion or operate dan-

gerous machinery, or of children to run elevators, requiring that machinery and vats containing molten metal or hot liquids be properly guarded, that mechanical belt and gearing shifters, means of communication between the engineer's room and rooms where machinery is used, and safety appliances on elevators be provided, that hoistway openings be properly railed off, that sides or railings be placed on stairways, that special precautions be taken in cases of dangerous or injurious occupations, or where explosive or highly inflammable compounds are handled, that fire escapes be provided, and that doors in factories and workshops be so hung as to open outward, and that they be kept unlocked; and (3) the conditions of employment of women and children, such as regulations restricting the hours of labor, prohibiting night work, and requiring intervals of rest during the working day. As nearly all the states have some form of factory regulation it would require too much space to discuss, at any length, the legislative enactments of each state on this subject. The present article will show therefore only the principal objects of factory legislation and the names of the states in which the legislation was enacted.

Provisions for protecting the health of employees apply in some cases to all factories and workshops, and in others to only those factories and workshops in which women and children are employed

Protection of Health

Ventilation.—A common provision of law concerning ventilation requires that every factory in which five or more persons are employed shall be so ventilated while work is carried on therein that the air shall not become so exhausted as to be injurious to the health of persons employed therein, and shall also be so ventilated as to render harmless, so far as is practicable, all gases, vapors, dust, or other impurities generated in the course of the manufacturing process or handicraft carried on therein that may be injurious to health. The states which have enacted laws requiring ventilation of factories and workshops are California, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Heating and Lighting.—The provisions relating to heating and lighting leave it to the factory inspector to determine whether they are sufficient for the health and safety of employees and to issue orders accordingly. The states having such provisions are Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island.

Exhaust Fans, etc.—These provisions usually prescribe that exhaust fans of sufficient power, or other sufficient devices, shall be provided for the purpose of carrying off poisonous fumes and gases, and dust from emery wheels, grindstones, and other machinery creating dust. The states making such provisions are California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Walls, etc.—Provisions of law requiring the lime-washing or painting of walls and ceilings at certain intervals, apply in some cases to all factories and workshops, and in others to bakeries only. The following states have such provisions: Indiana, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Overcrowding.—In some states the laws provide that the minimum air space per employee in a factory or workshop shall be 250 cubic feet in the daytime and 400 at night, while in others the amount of air space per person to be required is left to the judgment of the factory inspector. The states making such provisions are Indiana, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Toilet Facilities.—These provisions of law usually take the form of requiring separate water-closets, wash-rooms or dressing-rooms for the two sexes. A number of states have laws requiring the provision of wash-rooms in foundries. The following states have laws concerning toilet facilities in factories and workshops: California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Prevention of Accidents

Laws for the prevention of accidents usually apply to all factories and workshops in which machinery is used, altho some of the provisions relate only to places where women and children are employed.

Cleaning Machinery.—The laws concerning the cleaning of machinery while in motion usually relate only to young persons and women. They have been enacted in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and West Virginia.

Guards on Machinery.—Laws for the guarding of dangerous machinery, etc., usually provide that all vats, pans, saws, planers, cogs, gearing, belting, shafting, set-screws and machinery of every description shall be properly guarded. Such laws have been enacted in Connecticut, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New York.

Mechanical Belt-gearing Shifters.—Where these provisions of law have been enacted it has usually been left to the discretion of the factory inspector to determine in what measure belt-shifters or other mechanical contrivances for the purpose of throwing on or off belts on pulleys should be installed. The states which have enacted such regulations are Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

Guards on Elevators and Hoistways.—Laws concerning the guarding of elevators, hoisting shafts, well-holes, hatchways, etc., usually provide that these openings should be protected by sufficient trap-doors or self-closing hatches, and be enclosed. In some cases the installing of these safeguards is left to the discretion of the factory inspectors. The following states have provisions of this kind: Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Explosives.—Laws requiring certain precautions to be taken in establishments where explosives are made or handled, have been enacted in Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, and New Jersey.

Doors.—Important provisions of law concerning factories and workshops are those requiring doors to swing outward, and requiring them to be unlocked while persons are employed in the rooms. Such laws have been enacted in Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

Fire-escapes.—Laws concerning the installation of fire-escapes on factories have been enacted in Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Other provisions for the safety of employees enacted in some of the states are such as require the placing of hand-rails on stairways, and the marking of dangerous machinery, provide that a certain distance must be left between fixt structures and the traversing parts of machinery, prohibit the operation of dangerous machinery by children, etc., etc.

Hours of Labor

The limitation of hours of labor of adult males is confined to employees in certain specified industries, such as drug-stores, bakeries, mines, railways, and on public works. Thus, the hours of labor of drug clerks are limited to sixty per week in California, and to seventy per week in New York; the hours of labor of employees in bakeries to sixty per week in New Jersey, and to six days per week in Pennsylvania. A New York statute limiting the hours of labor of bakery employees to sixty per week was declared unconstitutional.

Mercantile Establishments

Laws concerning the regulation and inspection of mercantile establishments relate chiefly to the hours of labor and the conditions of employment of women and children, and include provisions prohibiting night work, requiring intervals of rest, fixing an age limit for the employment of children, requiring suitable and sufficient wash-rooms and water-closets, lunch-rooms, seats for females, etc. These laws are considered elsewhere. They are usually enforced by the factory inspectors.

Bakeries and confectioneries have likewise been made the objects of special regulation in a number of states.

Laws have been enacted, in twelve states, for the purpose of protecting the health of employees and of the public, by requiring cleanliness, proper plumbing and draining, and other sanitary arrangements, and regulating certain conditions of labor in establishments used for the manufacture of bread, cakes, biscuits, pies, pretzels, macaroni, confectionery, etc.

Tennessee has a law simply providing that whenever the

word "workshop" appears in the law relating to factories, etc., it should include bakeries, whether run by machinery or not. The laws of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Washington relate only to bakeries; those of Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, and Wisconsin relate also to confectioneries. In Pennsylvania the law relates to bakeries, pretzel, and macaroni establishments, and in Indiana to bakeries, confectioneries, canning, packing, pickling, preserving, and all other establishments for the manufacture of food products. In all these states the laws require that the buildings occupied should be properly drained and plumbed, seven states requiring also that they be ventilated by air-shafts, windows, or ventilating pipes. In four of the states the rooms used for the manufacture of flour or meal foods are required to have impermeable floors, constructed of hard wood saturated with linseed oil, or of cement or tiles laid in cement. In three other states this requirement is made optional with the factory inspectors. Ten states require the walls to be plastered and either painted or whitewashed, and in some cases the ceilings must be ceiled with either wood or metal. When whitewashed, the wash must usually be renewed every three months, this requirement being in some cases optional with the inspector. In ten states it is required that furniture and utensils be so arranged that they and the floor may always be easily kept clean and in a sanitary condition.

In all the states having bake-shop regulations, wash-rooms and water-closets must be provided with ventilation separate and apart from rooms where food products are manufactured, and no water-closet, earth-closet, privy, or ash pit may be within or communicate directly with such rooms. In New Jersey and New York this applies also to bake shops in hotels and restaurants. Sleeping places must in all cases be separate and distinct from rooms where food products are manufactured or stored, and in four states if the sleeping rooms are on the same floor they are subject to inspection by the factory inspectors. In Minnesota and Wisconsin workmen in bakeries and confectioneries must be furnished with caps and slippers, or shoes, and an external suit of coarse linen, to be used only while at work, and these garments must be kept in a clean condition. For this change of clothes separate dressing-rooms must be provided.

In five states the use of cellars or basements for bake shops is prohibited unless they are put in the sanitary condition required by law. In four of these states the cellars must be at least eight feet high. In Connecticut and Washington no cellar or basement may be used as a bakery, and those used at the time of the passage of the act cannot be reopened for use as bakeries when once closed. A similar restriction exists in Minnesota in the case of any room the floor of which is more than two feet below, and in Wisconsin five feet below, the street or adjacent ground.

Six states prohibit the employment in bake shops of persons who are affected with consumption of the lungs or with scrofulous or venereal diseases or with any communicable skin affection, and employers are required to maintain themselves and their employees in a clean condition while manufacturing or handling food. In Indiana cuspidors must be provided, and no person is permitted to spit upon the floor or walls of any place where food products are manufactured. Notices to this effect must be posted in all such places.

In four states provision is made restricting the hours of labor of children or of adults in bake shops.

In Connecticut, Indiana, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, and Ohio the bake-shop laws are enforced and the bakery inspections made by the factory inspectors, and in Washington by the Commissioner of Labor. In Pennsylvania the provisions regarding employees affected with diseases are enforced by the health board, but all other provisions are enforced by the factory inspectors. In Minnesota and Wisconsin the state bureau of labor and the state and local health boards are charged with the enforcement of these laws. In Massachusetts this duty devolves upon the local boards of health only. In Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Ohio the inspectors, and in Washington the Commissioner of Labor, are required to inspect all bake shops and to issue certificates of inspection to all bakeries which have complied with the requirements of the bake-shop acts. In Minnesota and Wisconsin the common councils in cities of 5,000 population and over may by ordinance provide for licensing bakeries.

In nearly all the states that have enacted bake-shop laws a time limit of thirty or sixty days is fixt within which owners, lessees, etc., of such shops must make such alterations or installations as the factory inspectors or health boards may require in accordance with the provisions of the bake-shop acts. Failure to comply with these orders, or other violations of the bake-shop acts, are punishable by fines, usually from $20 to $50 for the first offense, and by higher fines or imprisonment for subsequent offenses.

Laundries

Eight states have statutes regulating work in laundries. New York and Hawaii have special legislation concerning labor in laundries. In the other six states laundries are simply included in the number of industries covered by the factory regulations.

The New York law, besides providing that the factory regulations should apply to laundries, prohibits sleeping in rooms used for public laundries, and requires all such laundries to be kept in a clean condition and free from vermin and all impurities of an infectious or contagious nature. The law does not apply to females engaged in doing custom laundry work at home for regular family trade.

The Hawaiian law provides for the erection of laundries and wash-houses by the government, to be rented to private persons, and prohibits any one from carrying on the business of laundry keeping or washing for hire within the limits of the city of Honolulu except in such buildings. Special permits may be granted for the erection of steam laundries by private persons.

Building Construction

A number of states have laws relating to the protection of employees on buildings, which may well be considered in this connection.

The states having such laws are California, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. These laws are sometimes enforced by factory inspectors, but usually by building inspectors or other local authorities. The regulations relate to the safety of the scaffolding, ropes, blocks, or pulleys used, the provision of floors in unfinished buildings, etc.

Inspection of Factories

In twenty-seven states the laws provide for the appointment of inspectors of factories and workshops, whose duties consist of visiting and inspecting factories, workshops, mills, and, in some cases, mercantile establishments, sweat-shops, bakeries, laundries, and building construction work, and enforcing the laws concerning the same. In ten of these states the inspectors are required to prepare statistics of accidents, the owners of factories and workshops in these states being required to report all accidents occurring in their establishments.

Factory inspectors in some states have, in addition to the enforcement of factory laws, duties other than those indicated above. Thus, in some states they are entrusted with the duties of inspecting buildings, boilers, elevators, mines, etc., which functions are usually exercised by special officers appointed for those purposes.

In California, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New York, Oregon, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin the duties of factory inspection are combined with those of the bureaus of labor statistics.

Great Britain

The first factories act in England and in all Europe was passed in 1802 (42 Geo. III., c. 72). It was entitled "An act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others," but was generally known as the elder Sir Robert Peel's act. Its principal provisions were that apprentices should not work more than twelve hours a day exclusive of meal time, nor at night; that they should receive instruction, the first four years of their apprenticeship, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, or either of them, and in the principles of the Christian religion; that they should be supplied with sufficient and suitable clothing by their masters; that factories should have two washings with quicklime each year and be ventilated by a sufficient number of windows.

In 1819 another step was taken for the protection of factory labor by the enactment of a law relating exclusively to cotton mills, and which fixt a minimum age limit of nine years for children employed in factories, restricted the hours of labor to twelve a day in the case of children from nine to sixteen years of age, and fixt an hour and a half as the minimum time to be allowed them for meals.

Supplementary acts were passed in 1820, 1829, 1831, and 1833. The act of 1833 (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 103) replaced the previous acts, and for the first time made a distinction between "children" and "young persons," a distinction which is still maintained. It defined a child as a person under thirteen years of age, and a "young person" as one under eighteen years of age. It forbade night work for children and young persons. Daily attendance at school for children, and holidays and half-holidays were provided for. It also made provision for the appointment of four factory inspectors. While the preceding act related only to cotton and woolen mills, the present act applied to "any cotton, woolen, worsted, hemp, flax, tow, linen, or silk mill or factory wherein steam or water or any other mechanical power is, or shall be, used to propel or work the machinery."

Development

As a result of the report of a Royal Commission appointed in 1840 to inquire into the labor of children, a new factories act was passed in 1844 (7 and 8 Vict., c. 15), which likewise applied to the textile industries. This act lowered the minimum age limit from nine to eight years—a step backward. On the other hand, it reduced the hours of labor per day to six and a half, prescribed the period of employment of children between 5.30 A.M. and 8.30 P.M., and prohibited the employment after 1 P.M. of any child working during the morning. Where young persons were employed ten hours per day, children were allowed to work ten hours on alternate days. This act was the origin of what has since come to be known as the half-time system. For the first time adult women were placed under legal protection, the provisions concerning young persons being made to apply to all adult women. Another very important innovation was a provision requiring the fencing of dangerous machinery operated by children and young persons, and prohibiting their employment in the work of cleaning machinery while in motion. The system of factory inspection was made more efficient by the creation of a department of factory inspection, with a central office in London.

The next step of importance in factory regulation was the passage in 1847 of what was known as the Ten Hours Act (10 and 11 Vict., c. 29). This was the result of a twenty years' agitation of the advocates of the ten-hour movement. It limited the hours of all women and young persons in factories to ten per day and fifty-eight per week. Other acts of minor importance were passed in 1850, 1853, 1856, and 1860.

Up to the year 1864 the factory acts related only to the textile industries. In that year, however, an act (27 and 28 Vict., c. 48) extended the factory act to practically all kinds of industrial work, thus bringing under the factory regulations non-textile as well as textile industries and also certain other employments.

In 1867 two acts were passed which marked a decided advance in factory regulation. The one (30 and 31 Vict., c. 103) was known as the Factory Acts Extension Act, and the other (30 and 31 Vict., c. 106), the Workshops Regulation Act. The first act extended the principle of legal regulation by defining the word "factory," as regulated by the act, to any place where manufacturing was carried on and where fifty or more persons were employed. The second act extended the legal regulation of labor to smaller places of work where children, young persons, or women were employed, and to which or over which the employer of the persons working therein had the right of access and control. It limited the hours of labor in workshops, but allowed greater latitude as to periods of employment and overtime than was permitted in factories. As the enforcement of the provisions of the Workshops Act was left to the local authorities the act was largely disregarded.

In 1871 a Factory and Workshop Act (34 and 35 Vict., c. 104) was passed placing all factories and workshops under the control of the factory inspectors, and bringing government factories and workshops under the Factory and Workshops Act.

In 1874 an act (37 and 38 Vict., c. 44) was passed raising the minimum age limit of children in textile factories from eight to nine, and the next year to ten years, and further restricting the hours of their employment.

The multiplicity of the various factory and workshops acts induced the appointment of a royal commission, whose report resulted in the passage of the "Factory and Workshops Act, 1878" (41 Vict., c. 16). It not only consolidated the provisions of all previous factory acts, but brought together the two classes of factory and workshop regulations which had hitherto been kept separate. It classified the establishments as "factories" and "workshops" and the industries as "textile" and "non-textile." This act, with its subsequent amendments in 1883, 1889, 1891, 1895, and 1897, was in force when, in 1901, the present Factory and Workshops Act (1 Edw. VII., c. 22) was passed. The latter consolidated all these enactments and made many new and important provisions.

The Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 retained the classification of establishments into "factories" and "workshops." The factories are again divided into textile and non-textile factories, tenement factories, and domestic factories. Workshops are divided into men's workshops, women's workshops, and domestic workshops. To define these various terms would require more space than can be given in this article, but their names give a fair idea of their meaning.

Act of 1901

The main difference between a factory and workshop as defined in this act is that the former is a place where any article is made, altered, repaired, ornamented, finished, or adapted for sale, and where steam, water, or other mechanical power is used in aid of such process, except that for special reasons some non-textile work places are included, even tho mechanical power may not be used. Workshops include all other work places which come within the scope of the law.

The law first deals with the health and safety of employees in factories and workshops. The health provisions relate to cleanliness and sanitation, overcrowding, temperature, ventilation, drainage of floors, and sanitary conveniences. The health regulations, as far as they concern factories, are contained in the act itself; but as regards workshops, the act applies the provisions of the various public health acts. Hence the provisions as to health are enforced by factory inspectors in factories, and by local sanitary authorities in workshops.

Protection of Health of Employees

Sanitation.—The regulations regarding cleanliness provide that a factory must be kept in a cleanly state and free from effluvia arising from any drain, water-closet, earth-closet, privy, urinal, or other nuisance. For the purpose of securing cleanliness, all inside walls and the ceilings or tops of the rooms of a factory, and all passages and staircases of a factory, if they have not been painted with oil or varnish once at least within seven years, must be lime-washed once at least every fourteen months; and if they have been so painted or varnished, must be washed with hot water and soap once at least every fourteen months. In every factory or workshop in which a process is carried on which renders the floor liable to be wet, adequate means must be provided for draining off the wet.

Toilet Facilities.—Every factory and workshop must be provided with sufficient and suitable accommodations in the way of sanitary conveniences, regard being had to the number of persons employed, and proper separate accommodations must be provided for persons of each sex. The secretary of state determines by special order what should be considered as sufficient and suitable accommodation.

Temperature.—The provision regarding temperature requires that a reasonable temperature must be maintained in each room, in every factory and workshop in which any person is employed, without interfering with the purity of the air.

Ventilation.—Sufficient means of ventilation must be provided, and sufficient ventilation must be maintained in every factory and workshop. The standard of sufficient ventilation for any class of factories or workshops is prescribed by the secretary of state.

Overcrowding.—The act provides that the amount of air space in any room must be not less than 250 cubic feet for each person employed therein, or 400 cubic feet during a period of overtime. These requirements may be modified by special order of the secretary of state. The employer must affix in every factory and workshop a notice specifying the number of persons who may be employed in each room by virtue of this provision.

The provisions of the Factory and Workshops Act having for their purpose the safety of employees, are considered under six heads, namely, the fencing of machinery, steam boilers, the use of self-acting machines, the cleaning of machinery in motion, the provision of fire-escapes, and special regulations regarding dangerous machinery and unhealthy or dangerous buildings. These safety provisions apply not only to factories and workshops, but also to docks, wharves, quays, warehouses, to certain

Prevention of Accidents

buildings, and to any machinery used in the process of loading or unloading or coaling any ship in any dock, harbor, or canal.

Guards on Machinery.—The provisions for the fencing of machinery are as follows:

1. Every hoist or teagle, and every fly-wheel directly connected with steam, water, or other mechanical power, whether in the engine-house or not, and every part of any water-wheel or engine worked by such power shall be securely fenced.

2. Every wheel-race not otherwise secured shall be securely fenced close to the edge of the wheel-race.

3. All dangerous parts of the machinery and every part of the mill-gearing must be either securely fenced or be in such position or of such construction as to be equally safe to every person at work in the factory as if it were securely fenced.

4. All fencing must be constantly maintained in an efficient state while the parts required to be fenced are in motion or in use, except when they are under repair or examination or are necessarily exposed for the purpose of cleaning or lubricating, or for altering the gearing or arrangements of the parts of the machinery.

Steam-boilers.—The provisions of the act concerning steam-boilers are entirely new. They direct that:

1. Every steam-boiler used for generating steam in a factory or workshop or in any other place to which the act applies: (*a*) must have a proper safety-valve, steam-gage, and water-gage to show the pressure of steam and the height of water in the boiler; (*b*) must be examined thoroughly by a competent person at least once in every fourteen months.

2. Every such boiler, safety-valve, steam-gage, and water-gage must be maintained in proper condition.

3. A report of the result of every such examination in the prescribed form must within fourteen days be entered into or attached to the general register of the factory or workshop, signed by the person making the examination.

Self-acting Machines.—The provisions for the use of self-acting machines are as follows:

1. In a factory erected on or after the first day of January, 1896, the traversing carriage of any self-acting machine shall not be allowed to run out within a distance of eighteen inches from any fixt structure not being part of the machine, if the space over which it so runs out is a space over which any person is liable to pass, whether in the course of his employment or otherwise.

2. A person employed in a factory must not be allowed to be in the space between the fixt and the traversing parts of a self-acting machine unless the machine is stopt with the traversing parts on the outward run, but for the purpose of this provision the space in front of a self-acting machine shall not be included in the space aforesaid.

3. A woman, young person, or child shall not be allowed to work between the fixt and traversing part of any self-acting machine while the machine is in motion by the action of steam, water, or other mechanical power.

Cleaning Machinery.—The regulations with regard to the cleaning of machinery in motion are as follows:

1. A child must not be allowed to clean in any factory, (*a*) any part of any machinery; or (*b*) any place under any machinery other than overhead mill-gearing, while the machinery is in motion, by the aid of steam, water, or other mechanical power.

2. This provision also applies to young persons, so far as the dangerous parts of machinery are concerned. It is presumed, until the contrary is proved, that those parts of machinery are dangerous that are so notified by the inspector to the occupier.

3. A young person or woman must not be allowed to clean such part of the machinery of a factory as is mill-gearing (that is, the means by which power is transmitted as distinguished from the manufacturing operations) while the same is in motion for the purpose of propelling any part of the manufacturing machinery.

Fire-escapes.—In the provisions of the factory act requiring precautions to be taken against fire in factories and workshops, and the provision of means of escape, a distinction is made between old and new buildings. Following are the provisions:

1. Every factory of which the construction was not commenced on or before Jan. 1, 1892, and in which more than forty persons are employed, and every workshop of which the construction was not commenced before Jan. 1, 1896, and in which more than forty persons are employed, must be furnished with a certificate from the district council of the district in which the factory or workshop is situated, that the factory or workshop is provided with such means of escape in case of fire for the persons employed therein as can reasonably be required under the circumstances in each case; and it shall be the duty of the council to examine every such factory and workshop; and, on being satisfied that the factory or workshop is so provided, to give such certificate,

Fire-escapes

2. With respect to all factories and workshops to which the foregoing provisions do not apply and in which more than forty persons are employed, it shall be the duty of the district council of every district from time to time to ascertain whether all such factories and workshops within their district are provided with such means of escape as aforesaid, and, in the case of any factory or workshop which is not so provided, to serve on the owner of the factory or workshop a notice in writing specifying the measures necessary for providing such means of escape, and requiring him to carry them out before a specified date, and thereupon the owner shall, notwithstanding any agreement with the occupier, have power to take such steps as are necessary for complying with the requirements, and unless the requirements are complied with, the owner shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £1 ($4.87) for every day that the non-compliance continues. In case of a difference of opinion between the owner of the factory or workshop and the council this difference must, on the application of either party, within one month, be referred to arbitration, this arbitration to be had in conformity with a scheme provided in this act. The award on the arbitration is binding on the parties. If the owner alleges that the occupier of the factory or workshop ought to bear or contribute to the expenses of complying with the requirements, he may apply to the county court having jurisdiction; and this court, after hearing the occupier, may make such order as appears to the court just and equitable.

For the purpose of enforcing the provisions concerning means of escape in case of fire, an inspector may give the like notice and take like proceedings as in other provisions under this act with respect to matters punishable or remedial under the law relating to public health but not under this act, and those provisions shall apply accordingly.

The means of escape in case of fire provided in any factory or workshop must be maintained in good condition and free from obstruction.

3. While any person employed in a factory or workshop is within the factory or workshop for the purpose of employment or meals, the doors of the factory or workshop and of any room therein in which any such person is shall not be locked or bolted or fastened in such a manner that they cannot be easily and immediately opened from the inside.

4. In every factory or workshop, the construction of which was commenced after Jan. 1, 1896, the doors of each room in which more than ten persons are employed shall, except in the case of sliding doors, be constructed so as to open outward.

The regulations concerning the use of dangerous buildings or machinery provide that whenever an inspector believes that any place used as a factory or workshop is in such a condition that any manufacturing process or handicraft carried on therein cannot be so carried on without danger to health or to life or limb, or that any part of the ways, works, machinery, or plant used in a factory or workshop is in such a condition that it cannot be used without danger to life or limb, he can make complaint to a court of summary jurisdiction, and this court can, upon being satisfied of the justness of the complaint, prohibit the use of the place or machine until such works have been executed as, in the opinion of the court, are necessary to remove the danger. A fine of not exceeding 40s. ($9.73) a day may be imposed for failure to comply with this order.

When a complaint has been made as above, the court or a justice may, on application *ex parte* by the inspector, and on receiving evidence that the use of any machine involves imminent danger to life, make an interim order prohibiting, either absolutely or subject to conditions, the use of the machine until the earliest opportunity for hearing and determining the complaint.

Reporting and Investigation of Accidents

The British law makes careful provision for the investigation of all serious accidents and their recording, with a view of determining the responsibility and cause of their occurrence. Where there occurs in any factory or workshop any accident which either causes loss of life to a person employed in the factory or workshop, or causes to any person therein employed such bodily injury as to prevent him on any one of the three working days next after the occurrence of the accident from being employed for five hours on his ordinary work, written notice must be immediately sent to the inspector of the district.

If the accident causes loss of life, or is produced either by machinery moved by steam, water, or other mechanical power, or through a vat, pan, or other structure filled with hot liquid or molten metal or other substance, or by explosion or escape of gas, steam, or metal, then, unless notice thereof

is required by the Explosives Act of 1875 to be sent to a government inspector, notice must immediately be sent to the certifying surgeon of the district. The notice must state the residence of the person killed or injured, and the place to which he has been removed. If notice as above required is not sent, the occupier of the factory is liable to a fine not exceeding £5 ($24.33). If the accident occurs to a person employed in an iron mill or blast furnace, or other factory or workshop, where the occupier is not the actual employer of the person killed or injured, the actual employer must immediately report the same to the occupier, and in default shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £5 ($24.33).

When a certifying surgeon, as before mentioned, receives notice of an accident, he shall, with the least possible delay, proceed to the factory or workshop, and make a full examination as to the nature and cause of the death or injury caused by the accident, and make a report thereof to the inspector within the next twenty-four hours. In making this investigation he has the same powers as an inspector, and can enter any room in a building to which the person killed or injured has been removed.

Where a death has been caused by accident, the coroner must immediately advise the district inspector of the time and place of holding the inquest. Unless an inspector or some person on behalf of the secretary of state is present to watch the proceedings, the coroner must adjourn the inquest, and must in writing give the inspector at least four days' notice of the time and place of holding the adjourned inquest. At such inquest any relative of any person whose death may have been caused by the accident, and any inspector, and the occupier of the factory or workshop in which the accident occurred, and any person appointed by the order in writing of the majority of the work people employed in the factory or workshop shall be at liberty to attend and examine any witness, either in person or by counsel, solicitor, or agent, subject to the order of the coroner.

Employment

With regard to the conditions of employment in factories and workshops, adult male labor is subjected to no regulations except in the case of dangerous occupations, the theory being that this class is competent to look after its own welfare. In the case of women, young persons, and children, however, the conditions are different, their natural weakness being such that the intervention of the State in their behalf is held to be fully justified.

In the Factory Act, therefore, the numerous regulations concerning hours of labor, time of employment, Sunday and holiday labor, fitness for employment, education, etc., relate only to women, young persons, and children, and as they are considered elsewhere, they will not be treated in this place.

Dangerous Occupations

Altho the regulations for health and safety prescribed by the Factory Act are considered sufficient for factories and workshops generally, there are some industries that are unusually dangerous to life and health for which additional rules and regulations are provided.

Every medical practitioner attending on or called in to visit a patient whom he believes to be suffering from lead, phosphorus, arsenic, or mercurial poisoning, or anthrax, or any other disease designated in a special order by the secretary of state, contracted in any factory or workshop, must send to the Chief Inspector of Factories at the Home Office, London, a notice stating the name and full postal address of the patient and the disease from which he is suffering, for which he receives a fee of 2s. 6d. (61 cents) from the State. If he fails to send such a notice he is liable to a fine of 40s. ($9.73).

Written notice of every case of lead, phosphorus, or arsenic or mercurial poisoning, or anthrax, or other disease designated by special order by the secretary of state, occurring in a factory or workshop, must be sent to the inspector and to the certifying surgeon for the district, the same provisions applying in this case as in that of accidents.

If in any factory or workshop where grinding, glazing, or polishing on a wheel, or any process is carried on by which dust, gas, vapor, or other impurity is generated and inhaled to an injurious extent, the inspector may direct that a fan or other mechanical means of construction for preventing such inhalation be provided within a reasonable time.

In every factory where lead, arsenic, or any other poisonous substance is used, suitable washing conveniences must be provided; and in any such factory where dust or fumes are generated a person is not allowed to take a meal or remain during meal time. In such cases provision must be made for enabling persons to take their meals elsewhere.

Special provisions also exist concerning women, young persons, and children, restricting their employment in wet-spinning; prohibiting their employment in certain factories and workshops; and prohibiting their taking meals in certain parts of factories and workshops.

Where the secretary of state is satisfied that any manufacture, machinery, plant, process, or description of manual labor, used in factories or workshops, is dangerous or injurious to health, life, or limb, either generally or in the case of women, children, or any other class of persons, he may certify the same to be dangerous and make such regulations, under this act, as appear to him to be reasonably practicable and meet the necessities of the case. Before making such regulations he must publish a notice of the same and allow not less than twenty-one days for the receipt of objections from those affected. These regulations may, among other things:

1. Prohibit the employment of, or modify or limit the period of employment of all persons or any class of persons in any such manufacture, etc.
2. Prohibit, limit, or control the use of any material or process; and
3. Modify or extend any special regulations for any class of factories or workshops contained in the factory act.

A breach of the above-mentioned regulations incurs a fine not exceeding £10 ($48.66), and in case of a continuing offense, not exceeding £2 ($9.73) for every day during its continuance after conviction therefor. The act also prescribes the manner in which the regulations made by the secretary of state should be published.

In addition to the provisions of the Factory Act above described, there are many special modifications and extensions which apply to tenement factories, cotton-cloth and other humid factories, bakehouses, laundries, docks, buildings, and railways, and to home work, but which space will not permit us to consider here.

The administration of the factory laws and the enforcement of their provisions are entrusted to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Administration

The law, instead of creating an inspection service and specifying the number of officials, leaves to this officer the determination of the number of inspectors that may be required, their salaries, official designation, etc. The law reads that the secretary of state from time to time, with the approval of the treasury as to numbers and salaries, may appoint such inspectors under whatever title he may from time to time fix, and such clerks and servants as he may think necessary for the execution of this act, and may assign to them their duties and award them their salaries, and may constitute a principal inspector with an office in London, and may regulate the cases and manner in which the inspectors, or any of them, are to execute and perform the powers and duties of inspectors under this act, and may remove such inspectors, clerks, and servants.

Besides the enumerated general powers and duties, the inspectors have others of importance which are mentioned in connection with the statement of the special provisions of the acts. Such, for example, are those of taking action when the sanitary authorities are in default; of taking part in proceedings at inquests; of enforcing the truck acts, etc.

All offenses under the factory acts are prosecuted and all fines recorded before a court of summary jurisdiction in the manner provided by the summary jurisdiction acts. The attempt to reproduce the provisions of the acts regarding the methods of procedure, admissibility of evidence, etc., would necessitate the statement of details to a greater extent than is warranted by the scope of this article.

Prosecutions

Germany

The first important step in the direction of factory regulation in Germany was made by Prussia, through the act (*Regulativ*) of March 9, 1839, which prohibited the regular employment of children under nine years of age in mines, factories, stamping-mills, blast-furnaces, etc.; limited the maximum working day for young persons under sixteen years of age to ten hours, and prohibited their employment at night or on Sundays and holidays. There were also a number of provisions making it obligatory upon employers to take certain precautions for the maintenance of the health and morality of the employees. It thus contained many of the features of the modern factory act.

In 1845 a very decided advance was made in the enactment of a general labor law, bearing date of Jan. 17th of that year, which made further provisions for the benefit of employees. Feb. 9, 1849, other important changes were introduced by an order in council. This order declared that no person should be compelled to work on Sundays or holidays, provided for the establishment of industrial councils, and ordered that the hours of labor for journeymen, helpers, apprentices, and factory employees should be fixt by these councils. It also prohibited the truck system and required wages to be paid in cash.

A further advance was made by the law of May 16, 1853. The minimum age at which children could be employed in factories was raised to twelve years, and the hours of labor of children under fourteen years of age were limited to six per day. Other provisions of the law regulated the granting of periods of rest, the times of beginning and ending work, school attendance, etc. Finally, power was given to the authorities to appoint factory inspectors to enforce the law, if they deemed it advisable to do so.

In the following fifteen years but little or no change was made in the labor legislation of Prussia. After the founding of the North German Confederation, however, a general labor code, embodying, with some changes, the then existing Prussian legislation, was enacted June 21, 1869. Upon the creation of the German empire this law was gradually extended to the other states of the empire, and remains today, though with important amendments, the fundamental law regulating labor in Germany.

The first of these amendments introducing other than minor modifications was the law of July 17, 1878. This law made a number of radical changes, the most important of which were those in relation to the employment of women and the protection of the health and lives of factory employees. For the first time the labor of women was subjected to special conditions, through the provision that women could not be employed for the three weeks after their confinement, and through the large powers given to the Bundesrat to regulate or prohibit their employment in industries detrimental to their health, or at night in certain trades.

In 1884 a special law was passed to regulate match factories, and in the same year the duties of employers with regard to the provision of safety appliances and the prevention of accidents were further defined by the accident insurance law of that year.

In 1890 was held the famous International Congress in Relation to Labor Legislation, summoned at Berlin by the emperor for the purpose of considering the whole question of protective labor legislation. The work of this congress led to the enactment of the law of June 1, 1891. This law, which embodies most of the changes recommended by the German representatives at this congress, subjects the employment of women and children to a far more rigid regulation than ever before attempted; lays down in a definite manner the conditions under which Sunday labor is permissible; contains provisions concerning the framing of factory regulations, the making and breaking of the labor contract, and the payment of wages, and generally revises the whole labor code in the direction of subjecting labor to a more rigid legislative control.

Other important acts, apart from those relating to insurance, were those of July 29, 1890, and June 30, 1901, concerning the creation of tribunals for the arbitration of labor disputes; the Act of June 30, 1900, making certain changes in and additions to the industrial code; the Act of March 30, 1903, regulating the employment of children and the Act of May 10, 1903, prohibiting the use of yellow sulphur in the manufacture of matches or other inflammable materials.

The changes effected by the Act of June 30, 1900, affect the provisions of the industrial code governing establishments requiring special authorization; the fees charged by employment agencies; Sunday and holiday labor; workingmen's pass-books; labor contracts, and rest periods for young persons. An important addition to the industrial code consists of regulations governing employment in stores and shops for the sale of merchandise. They limit the hours when such establishments may be open for traffic; require employers to compel assistants and apprentices under eighteen years of age to attend continuation schools, and to establish working regulations to be approved by the authorities; regulate the infliction of fines upon employees, etc.

Before entering upon a statement of the provisions of the industrial code regarding particular subjects regulated, some explanation should be given of the general scope of that part of it now to be considered which constitutes factory legislation proper. The labor code, as a whole, relates to almost all kinds of industrial work with the exception of transportation, agriculture, the fisheries, and mining; and different parts of the code relate to different categories of work. The regulations concerning such subjects as the employment of women and children, the making of shop regulations, etc., are restricted to a definite class of factories (*Fabriken*). Whether a particular establishment will be deemed to be a factory must be determined in each case according to the particular circumstances, such as the number of persons employed, the importance of the work carried on, the use of machinery, etc. In case of dispute the matter is decided by the courts.

Factories and Workshops

The term factory, moreover, is used with a different signification in different parts of the code treating of factory regulations. Thus the provisions concerning the framing and posting of shop rules apply only to factories employing at least twenty persons. On the other hand, the provisions regarding the employment of women and children are made to apply to "employers and employees in all work places (*Werkstätten*) in which mechanical power (steam, wind, water, gas, electricity, etc.) is employed otherwise than temporarily," subject to the power of the Bundesrat to make exceptions in certain cases. It is also expressly provided that an imperial decree can extend these provisions to classes of work which are not carried on in places which can be called factories, as well as to building operations, with the exception that they cannot be made to relate to a person employing only members of his or her own family. In point of fact, this power has been exercised but once, when the industry of clothing and underwear making was subjected to these provisions of the code.

An exceedingly broad application has been ordered of those sections relating to the protection of the lives and health of employees. They are made to relate to practically all kinds of industrial work, whether carried on in factories or not, and

thus embrace places in which the handicraft trades are prosecuted. They do not refer, however, to such industries as mining and transportation, for which special regulations are provided by other laws.

Each factory law enacted has required the taking of more stringent precautions for the prevention of accidents and the protection of the health of employees than its predecessors. Prior to 1891 these requirements were for the most part exprest in general terms, that all needful precautions should be taken. The law of 1891 reproduces these provisions, but also mentions more specifically the measures that must be observed.

Employers must so install and maintain their machinery and appliances that the lives and health of employees are protected as far as possible. They must in particular see that there are provided sufficient light and air; that injurious dust and gases are removed; that dangerous machinery is properly guarded; that precautions are taken against fire, and that regulations to this effect are prepared and enforced.

Employers must also see that all needful precautions are taken, when both men and women are employed, to protect the morality and good conduct of employees. They must, as far as possible, separate the two sexes; provide separate lavatories and dressing-rooms for the two sexes when the nature of the work requires the employees to change their clothes after finishing their work, and provide a sufficient number of water-closets, so arranged that they can in no way lead to improper conduct on the part of the employees.

Prevention of Accidents and Protection of Health of Employees

Where persons under eighteen years of age are employed, special precautions must be taken for their protection. In the case of industries presenting unusual danger to life or health, or of such a nature as to make them nuisances to their neighbors, special permission for their operation must be obtained from the authorities, and these officers can make such regulations regarding their location and methods of work as they deem proper.

To insure compliance with these provisions, the police authorities have the power to order such changes in the methods of work in individual establishments as they deem proper. An appeal from these orders can be made, first, to the superior administrative authorities, and then to the central government. The police authorities can also require employers to provide, without expense to the employees, suitable places, properly heated during cold weather, and apart from the workrooms, where the latter can eat their meals.

Unless the orders issued refer to some imminent danger to life or health, time must be allowed to employers in which to comply with the orders. In the case of establishments existing at the time of the passage of this law, orders for considerable alterations cannot be issued, unless they are necessary for the removal of a serious menace to life, health, or morality, except in the case of rebuilding or the making of extensive additions to the establishment.

Finally, and most important of all, the Bundesrat is given the power to draw up detailed regulations, setting forth the manner in which particular industries must be carried on. In the case of those industries where the Bundesrat does not make use of this power, the central authorities of each state (*Landes-Centralbehörde*) can take action, and in case of non-action by them the police authorities can prepare such regulations. Before doing so, however, they must give the trade associations (*Berufsgenossenschaften*) interested an opportunity to express their opinion regarding the proposed action.

The Bundesrat has also the power of prescribing the duration and time of beginning and ending work in establishments where the working of long hours is believed to be injurious to the health of the employees.

At the present time orders have been issued by the Bundesrat in respect to the following industries: Match factories, July 8, 1893; lead-paint and sugar-of-lead works, July 8, 1893, May 26, 1903, August 24, 1903; cigar factories, July 8, 1893, August 24, 1903, April 9, 1905; alkali chrome works, Feb. 2, 1897; printing-offices and type-foundries, July 31, 1897; establishments for the manufacture of electrical accumulators by means of lead or lead compounds, May 11, 1898; the hair-goods industry, Jan. 28, 1899, and Oct. 22, 1902; slag-crushing establishments, April 25, 1899, and Nov. 15, 1903; zinc-smelting works, Feb. 13, 1900, and July 5, 1901; establishments for vulcanizing india-rubber, March 1, 1902; quarries and stone-cutting establishments, March 20, 1902; lead-smelting works, June 16, 1905; manufacture of paints, varnishes, etc., June 27, 1905.

The number of hours per day that an adult may work is not limited by law, but the Bundesrat has power to fix the time that work shall begin and end and the maximum duration of a day's labor in industries in which long hours are deemed especially injurious to the health of employees. Orders fixing hours of labor for adult labor by virtue of this power have been issued by the Bundesrat in respect to bakeries and confectioneries, lead paint and sugar-of-lead works, the manufacture of electrical accumulators, slag-crushing establishments, establishments for vulcanizing india-rubber, and lead-smelting works.

The hours of labor of women and children are considered elsewhere.

The question of shop rules or regulations received considerable attention by those having charge of the framing of the Law of 1891, and important provisions concerning it were incorporated in the law. Prior to the passage of this act great complaint was made by the employees that not only were the regulations governing the conduct of work in each establishment framed by the employer in an arbitrary manner, but that, owing to the fact that they were often not reduced to writing, the employees had no way of knowing exactly what the regulations were, nor when they would be changed.

Factory and Workshop Rules

To remedy this the Law of June 1, 1891, provided that in every industrial establishment in which twenty or more persons were employed a set of shop rules or regulations should be prepared, and that these regulations, as far as they were not contrary to law, should constitute an integral part of the labor contract. These regulations must be dated, signed, and posted where they can easily be seen by the employees, and a copy must be given to each employee upon his entering the service of the establishment. Special regulations can be prepared for particular branches of the work. The regulations do not enter into force until two weeks after they are posted.

Tho the main purpose of this law is to make the conditions of labor certain and generally known, the law also specifies the essential points that must be covered by the regulations. They must contain provisions concerning the hours of

beginning and stopping work and the intervals allowed adult employees for rest; the manner of fixing wages and the times of their payment; the notice required in terminating the labor contract and the grounds upon which it can be dispensed with; the kinds and amount of fines, the manner in which they are levied, and when they are money fines, the method of their collection and the purpose for which they are employed; and the disposition that will be made of money retained on account of the improper breaking of the labor contract.

The law limits the amount of fines that can be levied to not more than one half the average daily earnings of the employee, except that, in cases relating to the punishment of acts of violence toward fellow-workers, serious transgressions against good morals, or against the orders of the establishment for insuring the safety of the establishment or for the enforcement of the regulations enacted for the carrying out of the provisions of the industrial code, the fines may equal the full amount of the average daily earnings. No fines or penalties can be imposed which are hurtful to the sense of honor or good morals of the employees. In all cases the proceeds from fines must be expended for the benefit of the employees of the establishment in which they are levied. This provision of course does not refer to compensation obtained by employers on account of damages sustained.

The fines levied must be entered in a register kept for that purpose. The entry must show the name of the person fined, the date, cause, and amount of the fine, and the register must be open at all times to the inspection of the proper authorities. The penalties must be fixt without delay and must be made known to the employee.

Causes for dismissal or giving up of work other than those specified in the factory regulations or in the law cannot be agreed upon in the labor contract, nor can penalties other than those provided for in those regulations be imposed.

It will be observed from the foregoing that, with the exception of the matter of fines, the law merely fixes the points to be covered, but leaves the parties quite free in determining their exact nature. The Law of 1891, however, contains a very important provision in its requirement that the working men shall be given an opportunity to be heard in the framing of the regulations or of supplements thereto. The law thus provides that before the regulations are promulgated the adult working men of the establishment shall be given an opportunity to make known their wishes regarding them.

In a considerable number of the more important industrial establishments permanent working men's committees (*ständige Arbeiterausschüsse*) had been voluntarily created by the employers for the purpose of having a body which could represent the collective interests of employees. The law recognized the utility of these institutions, and provided that where they were in existence their advice should be taken in the formulation of the regulations. In their absence certain other working men's organizations, such as the committees for the management of the sick funds, when the majority of their members were elected from among the working men, could act in this capacity as the representatives of the employees.

Working men's Committees

If there is a permanent working-men's committee, and its consent is obtained, provisions can be introduced in the regulations concerning the operation of factory institutions created for the benefit of the employees and the conduct of minors outside of the establishment.

Though the employers must thus afford their employees an opportunity to be heard in regard to the framing of the factory rules, they are not bound to conform to their wishes in any respect. Experience, however, has demonstrated that the opportunity to be heard is nevertheless a valuable one for both parties. Conditions that would lead to trouble are often foreseen and modified, and points of little moment to the employers, and yet objectionable to the employees, are frequently eliminated.

Inspection of Factories

The duty of creating a service for the inspection of factories and the enforcement of the law in relation to them is left to the individual states. Formerly each state was left free to determine whether the execution of the factory laws should be left to the ordinary police or local administrative authorities, or special officials should be appointed for that purpose. The Law of 1891 changed this and made it obligatory upon the states to appoint special industrial councilors and inspectors (*Gewerbeaufsichtsbeamten*). Each state thus possesses its own particular service, and fixes the powers and duties of its inspectors and their relation to the local police authorities. The general law of the empire, however, provides that these officials shall have the right to enter and inspect all industrial establishments at any time, and the employers are bound to furnish them such statistical information as the Bundesrat or provincial authorities may require.

The inspectors must furnish annually to their governments reports setting forth the manner in which they have performed their duties. These reports must be transmitted in their entirety or in abstract to the Bundesrat and Reichstag. From the information contained in them the central government prepares and publishes an annual report under the title of "Amtliche Mittheilungen aus den Jahresberichten der Gewerbeaufsichtsbeamten." A number of the individual states also publish the reports of their inspectors independently.

In addition to this regular service for the inspection of factories the accident insurance institutions can appoint special officers to oversee the observance of those provisions having for their object the prevention of accidents.

France

If exception be made to certain decrees and ordinances concerning dangerous and unhealthy establishments, made in the interest of the public health, the first act passed by France in relation to the conditions of labor in factories was that of March 22, 1841. This law, entitled "An act in relation to the employment of children in factories, mills, and workshops," was an advanced measure for that period. In it were embraced, at least in principle, most of the features contained in modern factory legislation. It, however, was never enforced except in the feeblest manner. With the exception of one or two departments, its provisions were almost wholly disregarded.

The Republic of 1848 was marked by renewed activity in the enactment of social legislation. Its most important action in the direction of the regulation of industrial work was the decree of March 2, 1848, by which the radical step was taken of limiting the hours of labor of adult males. By it the maximum duration of a day's labor was fixt at ten hours for Paris and eleven hours elsewhere in France. This decree was succeeded by the Law of Sept. 9, 1848, which is still in force. By it, tho the principle of the regulation of adult labor was left untouched, its application was limited to factories and workshops, as regulated by the Factory Act of 1841. The maximum hours of labor that could be worked by employees in these establishments was changed to twelve for all France. This law, like that of 1841, remained practically a dead letter for want of offi-

cials to supervise its execution until 1883, when a law, passed Feb. 16th of that year, made its enforcement a part of the duties of the factory inspectors.

In the meantime the Factory Act of 1841 remained unchanged, and was seldom enforced during a period of over thirty years. The Third Republic, however, as one of its first measures of labor legislation, enacted the Law of May 19, 1874, by which the system of factory legislation was thoroughly reorganized, and means, tho inadequate, provided for its enforcement.

Altho this law constituted a great advance over the one it replaced, it presented defects and omissions that became more prominent as production upon a large scale developed. The constantly growing demand for the further restriction of the employment of women and children, the maintenance of better hygienic conditions in factories, and the provision of more effective means for preventing accidents, led finally to its repeal and the enactment in its place of the Law of Nov. 2, 1892, which, as amended by the Law of July 11, 1903, is now in force. The Law of Nov. 2, 1892, was supplemented in the following year by the Act of June 12, 1893, which relates to the hygiene and security of workers in industrial establishments.

This act was also amended by the Act of July 11, 1903, which added a number of other classes of establishments, which now come within the scope of the law.

The Act of Nov. 2, 1892, with its amendment, relates to the employment of women and children and to the inspection of factories. As the employment of women and children is treated elsewhere, it will not be considered here. The paragraphs which follow will deal, therefore, with the Law of 1848 as amended by the Act of March 30, 1900, concerning the hours of labor of adult males; the Act of Nov. 2, 1892, as amended by the Act of July 11, 1903, as far as it relates to the inspection of factories, etc.; and the Act of June 12, 1893, as amended by the Act of July 11, 1903, relating to hygiene and security.

Factories and Workshops

The Act of Sept. 9, 1848, as amended by the Act of March 30, 1900, provides that the hours of labor of male adults must not exceed twelve per day in establishments employing male adults only. In factories and workshops employing also women and children the hours of labor at present must not exceed ten per day. The administration has power to designate by order these industries which by reason of the nature of the industry, or causes beyond control, should be exempt from the provisions of this act. The penalty for violating the act is a fine of from 5 to 100 francs ($0.97 to $19.30). By virtue of the power given to it as above indicated, the government has issued various decrees from time to time enumerating industries and kinds of work which are exempt from the provisions of this law. These orders have all been replaced by a decree issued March 28, 1902, which is now in force, which indicates the industries in which exceptions may be made and the extent to which the daily hours of labor may be increased.

Hours of Labor

The Act of June 12, 1893, as amended by the Act of July 11, 1903, for the protection of the health and the safety of employees applies to mills, factories, and workshops of all kinds, laboratories, kitchens, wine-cellars, warehouses, mercantile establishments, offices, and enterprises for the loading and unloading of merchandise, and their dependencies, both public and private, religious or secular, including educational and benevolent institutions. The single exception is that of establishments where only members of the same family work under the direction of the father, mother, or guardian. If, however, any such domestic workshop makes use of a steam-engine or mechanical motor, or the work there carried on is classed among the list of dangerous and unhealthy industries, the inspectors of factories can prescribe the measures of health and security that must be observed in conformity with the provisions of this act. A statement of the main provisions of the act follows:

Prevention of Accidents and Protection of Health

All establishments comprehended under the act must be maintained in a constant state of cleanliness, be properly lighted and ventilated, and present all the conditions of safety and salubrity necessary for the health of the employees.

In all establishments containing mechanical apparatus the wheels, belts, gearing, or other machinery that may be a source of danger must be guarded in such a manner that access to them by the employees shall be impossible except for the needs of the service. Shafts, trap-doors, and openings must be railed in. Machines, engines, tools, and means for transmitting power must be installed and maintained in such a way as to afford every possible protection against accidents. All of these foregoing provisions are applicable to theaters and other similar establishments where use is made of mechanical apparatus.

The government shall, upon the advice of the consulting committee of arts and manufactures, determine by special orders (1) the general measures of hygiene and protection that must be taken by all establishments, and notably in regard to lighting, ventilation, drinking water, privies, removal of dust and vapors, precautions against fire, etc.; (2) special provisions that may be necessary regarding certain industries or certain methods of work.

The consulting committee of public hygiene must be called upon for its advice in regard to all orders respecting establishments generally.

The inspectors of factories are given the same power for enforcing this act as they have in regard to the Act of 1892. In all cases, however, where they find that the provisions of the law or government orders are not complied with, they must first notify the proprietor of this non-observance of law by entering the fact upon the register of the establishment, make such order as is required, and fix the time, not less than one month, within which it must be complied with. The proprietor can appeal against this order to the minister of commerce during the next fifteen days after the receipt of the notice. If the change necessitates important modifications, the latter can, after having taken the advice of the committee of arts and manufactures, permit a delay in making the change, which, however, can in no case exceed eighteen months. When this is done the inspector must be duly notified.

The method of enforcing this law is much the same as that of the Law of 1892. Infractions of the law are prosecuted before the police court and are punished by fines of from 5 to 15 francs ($0.97 to $2.90). The judgment must also indicate the time within which its order must be complied with. In case the judgment is not obeyed, the correctional tribunal can order the closing of the establishments. For a second offense fines of from 50 to 500 francs ($9.65 to $96.50) can be imposed for each infraction of the law, or a total of 2,000 francs ($386).

The above provisions for the inspection of establishments do not apply to establishments conducted by the State, for which special regulations are made by the Government.

The inspectors are required to make detailed annual reports concerning the application of the law in their districts. The reports must make mention of all accidents to working men and their causes, and contain recommendations for such new regulations as they deem to be desirable. The minister of commerce and industry is directed to make an annual general report, giving a summary of their contents.

Every accident occurring in an establishment subject to the Law of 1893 which results in an injury to one or more working men must be reported by the employer within the next forty-eight hours to the mayor of the commune. This notice must contain the names and addresses of the witnesses to the accident, and have attached to it a certificate of a physician, to be procured

by the employer, showing the nature and probable effects of the injury and the time when it will be possible to know the definite results.

Reporting and Investigation of Accidents

Upon the receipt of this notice the mayor must make an investigation of the accident in a manner to be determined by an order of the government. The mayor must also acknowledge the receipt of the notice, and likewise inform the divisional or departmental inspector of the occurrence of the accident.

Undoubtedly one of the most important features of the Act of 1893 was that whereby provision was made for the first time for an effective system of factory and workshop inspection. Under the Law of 1874 the division inspectors were appointed by the central government, the selection of the departmental inspectors being left to the departments, which might or might not make such provision as they deemed desirable. This defective system was radically changed by the Law of 1893. Provision is there made for a corps of factory inspectors, wholly dependent upon the central government, consisting of division and departmental inspectors appointed by the minister of commerce and industry. Their number, salaries, and districts are determined by decrees issued upon the recommendation of the committee of arts and manufactures and the superior council of labor—a body created by this act.

The departmental inspectors are under the authority of the division inspectors and can be either male or female. All inspectors must make oath that they will not reveal any secrets of manufacture or, in general, any operations that may come to their notice in the exercise of their functions.

No person can be appointed an inspector until he has successfully passed the competitive examination held for that purpose by the superior council of labor. Definite appointment is not made until after a probationary period of one year has been served.

Inspection of Factories

The inspectors are specifically given the duty of enforcing not only the Act of 1892, providing for their appointment, but also the Act of Sept. 9, 1848, in relation to the hours of labor of adults, and the Act of Dec. 7, 1874, in relation to the employment of children in traveling shows. When the Act of June 12, 1893, was passed in relation to the hygiene and security of working men, its enforcement was likewise entrusted to these officials. In all matters, however, that concern mines and quarries the execution of the laws is entrusted exclusively to the corps of mining engineers, who for this service are placed under the authority of the minister of commerce and industry.

In the performance of their duties inspectors have the right to enter all establishments coming under the provisions of the Law of 1892, and to inspect the different registers, shop regulations, and employees' pass-books and certificates of physical fitness. All contraventions of the law reported by the inspectors shall be considered as proved until the contrary is shown. These reports of infractions of the law must be made in duplicate, one copy being sent to the prefect of the department and the other filed in the office of the public prosecutor. The above provisions do not modify in any way the common law regarding accusations and prosecutions for violations of the law.

The inspectors are also given the duty of preparing statistics showing the condition of industrial labor in their districts. A general report giving a summary of the reports of inspectors must be published annually under the direction of the minister of commerce and industry.

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FACTORY SYSTEM, THE: Altho what is called "the factory system" is a product mainly of the close of the eighteenth century, and of the application of machinery and steam-power to industry, factories existed in Greece and Rome and in the older civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, India, and China. In the later Middle Ages they developed in all the industrial cities in connection with the Gilds. In the Elizabethan Age they are said to have multiplied in England. But these establishments were not factories in the modern sense. In ancient civilizations they were slave shops, where the slaves worked under a taskmaster; in medieval days they were shops where the master workman labored with his apprentices and his journeymen.

The first factory in the modern sense seems to have been a silk factory, built by Sir Thomas Lombe, in Derbyshire, in 1719. Through all the eighteenth century factories multiplied in England as industries became localized in certain localities or sections. The main cause, however, of the development of the present factory system was the invention of machines and the application of steam-power in production, necessitating the carrying on of industry in buildings especially adapted to the purpose and in connection with an ever-increasing plant. A realization of what a change this meant in production can be seen by the following picture of the woolen trade before the development of the factory system:

> The work was entirely domestic, and its different branches widely scattered over the country. First, the manufacturer had to travel on horseback to purchase his raw material among the farmers, or at the great fairs held in those old towns that had formerly been the exclusive markets, or, as they were called, "staples" of wool. The wool, safely received, was handed over to the sorters, who rigorously applied their gage of required length of staple and mercilessly chopped off by shears or hatchet what did not reach the standard as wool fit for the clothing trade. The long wool thus passed into the hands of the combers, and, having been brought back to them into the combed state, was again carefully packed and strapped on the back of the sturdy horse, to be taken into the country to be spun. . . . Here, in each village, he had his agents, who received the wool, distributed it among the peasantry, and received it back as yarn. The machine employed was still the old one-thread wheel, and in summer weather on many a village green might be seen the housewives plying their busy trade, and furnishing to the poet the vision of contentment spinning at the cottage-door. Returning in safety with his yarn, the manufacturer had now to seek out his

weavers, who ultimately delivered to him his cambiets or russels, or serges, or tammies, or calimancoes (such were the leading names of the fibers) ready for sale to the merchant or delivery to the dyer (James, "History of the Worsted Manufacture," p. 323; quoted by R. Whately Cooke Taylor, "The Modern Factory System," pp. 61, 62).

With the use of machinery this was all changed. All the processes were gradually brought together in factories, and men, women, and very soon children were gathered together to tend the machines. The first factories were of the rudest description, and the employees were worked the longest hours and without the least regard to health or morality. It was the day of absolute *laissez faire*. There were no factory laws and experience had not taught that it pays the employer to consider the needs and health of his employees. Men and women were worked like cattle and housed worse than the cattle. Women, since they would work cheaper, displaced men, and children soon displaced women. The horrors of the early factory system to-day can scarcely be credited. Yet the facts are proved by the unquestioned evidence of parliamentary commissions and English Blue-Books. See FACTORY LEGISLATION.

In the United States the factory system was not developed till the nineteenth century. It was the policy of England to prevent her American colonies from having machinery, in order to keep them dependent upon the trade of the mother country. The first spinning-jenny seen in America was exhibited in Philadelphia in 1775. Efforts at a factory were made at Worcester, Mass., in 1780. Parliament, however, enacted strict laws, forbidding, under severe penalties, the export of machinery from England. After the War of Independence machinery was rapidly developed. The first textile factory was erected at Beverly, Mass., in 1787. Samuel Slater, whom President Jackson called "the father of American manufactures," erected the first factory with power machinery at all adequate in Pawtucket, R. I., in 1790. In 1794 Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, invented in Georgia the cotton-gin. Only gradually, however, did the factory system replace home industries. Women preferred to work in their homes, and reluctantly entered the factories. The early factory employees were drawn from the American families in the neighborhood, and from the most intelligent homes. The spirit and intelligence of the factory girls of Lowell and other New England towns are well known. But gradually conditions changed. Factories grew larger and larger. The duties of the employees grew more and more merely technical. Immigration set in. Factory populations developed. The moral tone of the factory was lowered. Uneducated girls and families, being able to do the merely manual work of tending the machines, were employed. Gradually the factory system, as we know it to-day, was developed.

United States

Whether the factory system has been a step forward or backward is hotly argued. To many earnest reformers the factory is "the factory hell." Says Robert Blatchford, the socialistic author of "Merrye Englande":

> What are the invariable accompaniments of the factory system?
>
> Foul air, foul water, adulterated foods, dirt, long hours of sedentary labor, and continual anxiety as to wages and employment in the present, added to a terrible uncertainty as to existence in the future.
>
> Look through any great industrial town in the colliery, the iron, the silk, the cotton, or the woolen industries, and you will find hard work, unhealthy work, vile air, overcrowding, disease, ugliness, drunkenness, and a high death-rate.

Even Mr. Hobson ("Evolution of Modern Capitalism") argues that the factory system breaks up family life. He says (pp. 319, 320):

> Before the industrial revolution women were quite as busily and numerously engaged in industry as now, and the children employed in textile and other work were often worked in their own homes with more cruel disregard to health and happiness than is now the case. Even now the longest hours, the worst sanitary conditions, the lowest pay, are in the domestic industries of towns which still survive under modern industry. But tho the regular factory women and the half-timers are generally better off in all the terms of their industry than the uninspected women and children who still slave in such domestic industries as the trimmings and match-box trades, the growing tendency of modern industry to engage women and children away from their homes is fraught with certain indirect important consequences. Home work is consciously slighted as secondary in importance and inferior because it brings no wages, and if not neglected, is performed in a perfunctory manner, which robs it of its grace and value. This narrowing of the home into a place of hurried meals and sleep is, on the whole, the worst injury modern industry has inflicted on our lives, and it is difficult to see how it can be compensated by any increase of material products.

Evils of the System

There is, however, another view, the contrary of this. Mr. Carroll D. Wright argues in the American supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (article "Factory") that the system, tho by no means perfect, is far in advance of previous methods of production. He says:

> As to the assumption that the factory tends to destroy domestic ties and habits, it may be said that this charge against the factory grows out of another assumption: that the cottage of the domestic worker was the ideal home. It is poetry which calls such home a cottage; history rather calls it a hut. The home of the worker of old was the workshop also, and the wheels or looms disputed with the inmates for the room. Small, close, crowded, with bad air and bad surroundings, the hut was occupied day and night by a class which cannot find its kin under the factory system, for the operative of to-day, as a rule, occupies a home, even in the factory, tenement, or boarding-house, superior in every sense to the home of the domestic worker. The morals in all respects under the individual system were greatly below those of the factory operatives of to-day. The evils which became apparent during the early days of the factory system were simply the results of bringing together the labor which had become pauperized under the domestic system, and in agricultural districts. The employment of young children is now forbidden by law wherever the factory has gained a strong foothold. The factory has not so much destroyed the home as it has enabled members of broken families to earn a livelihood. If it has at times taken the mother from the care of her young children—the worst feature of the employment of married women—it has enabled more who had no home to become self-supporting. . . . If it could be shown that the factory leads to intemperate habits, it would follow conclusively that it is productive of unthrift and poverty—the sure conditions resulting from intemperance. It is true that a great deal of drunkenness exists in factory towns and among factory operatives; it is not true that the factory is the creator of this.
>
> The charge that the factory feeds prostitution and swells the criminal lists is absolutely unfounded. This impression first grew from the condition of Manchester, England, where a large cellarage population, which has entirely disappeared, was attributed to the factory. It has been shown by the returns from the penitentiary of Manchester that the ranks of prostitution were not fed from the factory, eight only out of fifty coming from the factory, and twenty-nine out of fifty from domestic service.
>
> The impression that the factory tends to intellectual degeneracy is a greater fallacy than the preceding. Through the simplification of mechanical processes ignorant labor is congregated in factory centers, but, as we have said, it is not created nor induced by the factory. The fact that ignorant masses are enabled by the factory to engage in what it once took skilled labor to perform has given the wide-spread impression that the factory has degraded the skilled, when the truth is, it has lifted the unskilled; and this is the inevitable result of the factory everywhere. Certainly it is better for the persons engaged than the filthy little shop, occupied by a few foul-talking people, which characterized the domestic system. Instead of dwarfing the minds and the skill of the skilful, as is often alleged, the factory enlarges the minds and increases the power of the unskilful. That some factory employments are injurious to health is true, but it is not true

The Favorable View

that factory employment as such, in comparison with any other mechanical employment, is unhealthy. The first requisites of a watch-factory are neatness and abundance of light. It is now recognized that no man can do his best work unless he is physically comfortable.

Modern Tendencies

In truth, a very widely extended movement has set in, wholly apart from legislation, for the improvement of the factory system (see INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT). A few wise, far-seeing successful employers have seen that the dictates both of humanity and of practical business enterprise call for healthful, convenient, and agreeable conditions for the workers if they are to do their best work; and they have therefore undertaken to create such conditions. Such a factory as Mr. Cadbury's at Bourneville, near Birmingham, England, may be said to be a home in a park. The factory of the Natural Food Company at Niagara, N. Y., is almost an industrial palace. The work in this line of the National Cash Register Company at Dayton, Ohio, is well known. Improvements are being introduced by leading manufacturers in all countries, and a large number, tho by no means all, of the lesser manufacturers are being compelled more or less to follow their example. Many manufacturers are moving their works into the country or into model villages more or less surrounded by a park and model workmen's homes and gardens. (See GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT.) The factories themselves are being made safe, hygienic, convenient, and attractive. Bare workrooms are being decorated and made homelike. Rooms for rest and recreation are frequently provided. All sorts of cooperative, educational, and recreative clubs are organized for the benefit of the employees. Cheap, warm, and wholesome lunches are frequently provided in attractive eating-rooms. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that these improvements are yet the exception and confined to a few trades. The sweated trades, driven out from sweating dens, are still for the most part in sweated factories. The result is that the factory, like all else, in all countries is in a state of evolution, while examples can still be found of almost every stage. Generally speaking, the smaller the factory the worse the conditions, tho the worst of all are the large factories which are bad. (See also CHILD LABOR; EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY; FACTORY LEGISLATION; HOURS OF LABOR; LABOR LAWS; MANUFACTURES; WAGES; WOMAN'S WORK, etc.)

REFERENCES: *The Modern Factory System*, by R. Whately Cooke Taylor, 1891; *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, by J. A. Hobson, 1894; *Report on the Factory System of the United States*, by Carroll D. Wright, in the *Tenth Census*, vol. ii.; *Model Factories and Villages*, by Budgett Meakin, 1905; *Industrial Evolution of the U. S.*, Carrol D. Wright, 1897; *The Effect of the Factory System*, Allen Clarke, 1907; *Industrial Efficiency* (a comparative study of industrial life in England, Germany, and America), A. Shadwell, M.D., 1906.

FAILURES AND BANKRUPTCIES: The following tables present the statistics of failures and bankruptcies in the U. S., Great Britain, and Germany:

UNITED STATES

(From *Dun's Review*, New York.)

CALENDAR YEAR	TOTAL FOR THE YEAR				
	Number of failures	Number of business concerns	Per cent of failures	Amount of liabilities	Average liabilities
1882...	6,738	822,256	0.82	$101,547,564	$15,070
1883...	9,184	863,993	1.06	172,874,172	18,823
1884...	10,968	904,759	1.21	226,343,427	20,632
1885...	10,637	919,990	1.16	124,220,321	11,678
1886...	9,834	969,841	1.01	114,644,119	11,651
1887...	9,634	994,281	.90	167,560,944	17,392
1888...	10,679	1,046,662	1.02	123,829,973	11,595
1889...	10,882	1,051,140	1.04	148,784,337	13,672
1890...	10,907	1,110,590	.98	189,856,964	17,406
1891...	12,273	1,142,951	1.07	189,868,638	15,471
1892...	10,344	1,172,705	.88	114,044,167	11,025
1893...	15,242	1,193,113	1.28	346,779,889	22,751
1894...	13,885	1,114,174	1.25	172,992,856	12,458
1895...	13,197	1,209,282	1.09	173,196,060	13,124
1896...	15,088	1,151,579	1.31	226,096,834	14,992
1897...	13,351	1,058,521	1.26	154,332,071	11,559
1898...	12,186	1,105,830	1.10	130,662,899	10,722
1899...	9,337	1,147,595	.81	90,879,889	9,733
1900...	10,774	1,174,300	.92	138,495,673	12,854
1901...	11,002	1,219,242	.90	113,092,376	10,279
1902...	11,615	1,253,172	.93	117,476,769	10,114
1903...	12,069	1,281,481	.94	155,444,185	12,879
1904...	12,199	1,320,172	.92	144,202,311	11,820
1905...	11,520	1,356,217	.85	102,676,172	8,913

GERMANY

(From *Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches*, 1905, IV.)

YEAR	New failures reported	Failures adjudicated	AMOUNTS DUE TO		Assets
			Privileged creditors	Non-privileged creditors	
			Marks	*Marks*	*Marks*
1900.....	8,558	6,292	3,354,000	184,719,200	52,695,300
1901.....	10,569	7,490	3,850,400	220,649,500	59,452,500
1902.....	9,826	8,572	4,960,000	387,387,300	118,546,200
1903.....	9,627	8,363	5,088,800	313,825,400	81,503,100
1904.....	9,511	7,993	5,517,200	392,239,000	139,219,100

GREAT BRITAIN

(From *Statistical Abstract.*)

	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
ENGLAND AND WALES	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Number of debtors adjudicated bankrupts	4,247	4,045	4,343	4,176	4,145	4,243	4,481	4,700
Amount of liabilities as estimated by debtors	6,685,748	5,784,043	6,325,243	6,512,917	5,434,594	5,255,040	6,800,683	5,784,643
SCOTLAND								
Amount of assets as estimated by debtors	2,450,853	1,894,980	2,554,503	3,110,881	2,729,388	2,505,769	2,756,778	2,286,510
Number of bankruptcies awarded during the year	282	297	341	312	294	302	317	278
Amount of debts in bankruptcies concluded as ascertained by trustees	873,026	1,572,034	662,244	1,008,020	1,917,573	1,472,535	692,772	821,092
Gross value of estates per inventory and valuation by trustees	787,651	391,117	322,230	325,603	470,129	610,910	310,387	407,031

FAIRHOPE COLONY: A colony founded in 1895 on the eastern shore of Mobile Bay, in Baldwin County, Ala., by believers in the theories of Henry George, and therefore known as "The Single Tax Colony"—the only colony of the kind in the world.

It is founded on the belief that land (which as here used means all natural resources) is of right common property; and that all men have an equal right to its use. Hence, the land and the ground rent, that which one pays for the privilege to use land, are treated as common property and used for the common good. All the public utilities are also owned and operated by the public, because they are, in the last analysis, founded upon land grants.

The colony had its inception at Des Moines, Ia., in 1894. Prominent in perfecting its constitution were E. B. Gaston, then on the staff of the *Farmers' Tribune*, and James Bellangee, a leader in reform politics.

The location was selected after much investigation, the deciding considerations being its healthfulness, mild climate, pleasantness of situation, opportunities for water transportation, and cheapness of land.

Funds for meeting initial expenses and the purchase of land were raised by a membership fee of $200 (reduced after the colony was located to $100), and mostly paid in installments of $5 monthly.

The handful of first settlers included only ten adults who actually took up their residence upon the land. The first purchase of land was 140 acres, costing about $800 and exhausting the treasury. For several years practically all of the small salary of the secretary was paid in corporation certificates, redeemable in rent and membership fees, and colonists working on roads or other public work were paid in the same way.

Starting in this humble way and overcoming many difficulties, the colony has grown steadily, attracting many sympathizers as residents and others as contributors to its progress. There are to-day about 160 residences and business buildings on the ground, with a population of about 500.

There are four general merchandise stores, drug store, millinery and ladies' furnishing store, butcher shop, two restaurants and bakeries, café and amusement pavilion, two resident practising physicians, sawmill, blacksmith shop, merchant tailor, four hotels, free public library of about 3,000 volumes, etc. An excellent free school is maintained for eight months, with an enrollment last year of over 100.

The Corporation now owns absolutely unencumbered nearly 4,000 acres of land. It has a frontage on Mobile Bay of about three fourths of a mile, and extends back about four miles. It owns an excellent school building, telephone system with twenty-two subscribers, waterworks with steam pumping plant, and a mile and a half of mains. It did own a wharf 1,800 feet long, with commodious warehouses at either end, and a large public hall; but the hall was blown down and the wharf demolished in a great storm in Sept., 1906. Most of the money to build a much better hall and library building combined has been subscribed, and the wharf has been rebuilt in much better shape than ever by a company of citizens, who will return it to the colony when paid for out of its earnings, which is expected to take from three to four years.

The city of Mobile is about fifteen miles distant across the bay. Communication with the city is by water. A fine iron-hulled steamer, the *Fairhope*, owned by the Fairhope Improvement Co., organized separate from the colony company, but whose stockholders are all members or friends, makes the trip daily in an hour and a quarter, and two other steamers at present give daily service between Fairhope and other nearby points and Mobile. The fare on the *Fairhope* is only 25 cents, and rates on freight are very low.

The land back from the bay lays exceedingly well, with a bluff about 40 feet high, and a half mile back reaches a height of 120 feet. It is said to be the highest land immediately on salt water between New Jersey and the Rio Grande. It is particularly adapted to trucking, as well as general farming and stock-raising. The agricultural development has been somewhat backward, but encouraging results are now being achieved, and agriculture is expected to become the main resource of the people.

The affairs of the colony are managed ordinarily by an executive council of five members, elected by majority vote, women having an equal vote with the men. Under the provisions of the constitution, however, on petition of 10 per cent of the members on the ground, any act of the council or any measure proposed by the petitioners must be submitted to vote of the members, and a majority governs. The rents are determined annually by the executive council subject to the provision just cited.

The colony has had dissensions—at times acute and threatening. Friction has been largely due to the fact that non-members are allowed to lease land on exactly the same terms as to rents and enjoyment of colony benefits as members, but without a vote on the election of officers, fixing of rents, or expending of revenues. A very considerable portion of the lessees are non-members. Many of these have a more or less imperfect understanding of the single-tax philosophy. Strenuous objection has been made to increase of rents, with increasing population and land values, and the corporation has been forced to sue some of its tenants—winning its cases in the courts. Some friends have severely criticized the withholding of the voting privilege from any as "undemocratic," and have charged the colony with imposing "taxation without representation" upon non-member lessees who were not given a voice in determining the rents.

The answer is that the colony is not a civil government at all, but a purely voluntary association —The Fairhope Single-Tax Corporation; that it has a perfect moral as well as legal right to fix the terms upon which others will be permitted to share in its benefits; that in contracting with non-members that they shall pay exactly the same rents as members for land of equal value, and share exactly the same in the benefits secured by the expenditure of the rent funds, it makes a proposition of unexampled liberality; and finally, that it is absolutely necessary to the existence of Fairhope as a "single-tax colony," that its final authority shall be kept in the hands of single-taxers and single-taxers who are interested enough to comply with the easy conditions of membership. Despite its differences of opinion the community is an unusually homogeneous one, displaying an ability to work together and hang together upon occasions, which is the admiration of all neighboring communities. The av-

erage of intelligence is unusual, and the reputation of the community for culture and enterprise is very high. The revenue from rents for 1906 amounted to $2,142.16, of which $937.72 was paid out for taxes, leaving the balance for local expenses. Rent of land for the current year ranges from thirty-five cents an acre per annum for much of the farm land to a little over $50 for business lots in the center of town. Fairhope is distancing all neighboring towns in rate of growth, and is generally recognized as one of the brightest, cleanest, and most prosperous towns in the South. It is thought to be the only village in the world that provides a public water supply and a public telephone system free of charge, the telephone service reaching throughout the county, which is nearly as large as the State of Delaware.

Many and varied are the effects that this policy is having upon the people and especially upon so-called well-established ideas and institutions. To illustrate: No law or rule has been adopted prohibiting the manufacture or sale of liquor, or any other objectionable business except a clause in the lease contracts which provides "that no business shall be conducted upon the premises herein leased that is objectionable to a majority of the residents on colony lands." But no one has ever even proposed to establish a saloon. No rule or law has been promulgated to the effect that men shall not buy and sell lands, but the fact that all colony lands are offered free of charge to any one who wishes to settle upon them, and the agreement in the lease which provides that all the rent shall be used for public purposes, make it next to impossible for any one to sell lands alongside colony lands at any price. This village levies no taxes and has no public debts, and yet has more public improvements and public utilities than can be found in any similar village in the whole country.

FAIR TRADE: During the period of industrial and commercial depression that prevailed in England as well as the United States from 1873–79, the idea became somewhat popular in England that the cause in the case of that country was the *unfair* condition which characterized British international exchanges; Great Britain admitting into her own ports without duty nearly all the products of foreign nations, while these same nations at the same time not only imposed heavy and often prohibitory duties on the importation into their territory of British products, but also in some instances, as in the case of the beet-root sugar of France, subsidized competition to make it possible to undersell British products in England's own market by the granting of bounties on exports.

It was therefore proposed to institute a system of *fair* trade by having England affix to each country a tariff as nearly as possible corresponding to the tariff which such country enforced against English products. The proposition gained some passing favor, but made no serious impression on England's settled policy and conviction that free trade is best. (See, however, TARIFF REFORM OF GREAT BRITAIN.) The same idea has to some extent been agitated in this country under the name of RECIPROCITY.

FALKNER, ROLAND POST: American educator; born in 1860 at Bridgeport, Conn; graduated at the Philadelphia Central High School (A.B., 1879). Entering the Wharton School of Finance and Economy of the University of Pennsylvania, he received the degree of Ph.B. in 1885. Later he studied at Paris, Berlin, Leipzig, and Halle, receiving, in 1888, the degree of Ph.D. at Halle. Becoming an instructor in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, he was elected to the associate professorship of statistics in the same institution in 1891. The same year he was chosen statistician of the Senate subcommittee on the tariff. He was the first corresponding secretary, and is now vice-president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and from 1890 to 1900 he was editor of the *Annals* of the academy. He is a member of various learned societies, among them the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association. From 1900 to 1904 he was chief of the division of documents in the congressional library; and in the latter year was appointed Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, which position he still holds (1907). His writings are, besides numerous monographs: "Prison Statistics of the United States" (1889); "Statistics of Prisoners" (1890, 1892); a translation of Meitzen's "Geschichte, Theorie und Technique der Statistik" (1891); "The Theory and Practice of Price Statistics" (1892), etc.

FAMILISTÈRE: See GUISE; also, FOURIER.

FAMILY: By the word *family*, in sociology, is usually meant the small community formed by the permanent union of one man and one woman, or of one or more men with one or more women, together with the children born to such unions, either living in one house or forming one domestic group. This word is sometimes, however, used to include the servants or slaves belonging to the family proper, and living immediately with the family proper. Again, going to the opposite extreme, and putting the emphasis, not upon the living together, but upon the legal or the blood relation, the word is used to denote the unity of those related by legal blood relation, primarily parents and their children alone, no matter where they reside, but sometimes made to include parents, children, uncles, aunts, cousins, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and even still more remote connections.

Etymologically, the word, by most authorities, is derived through the Latin *familia*, from the Oscan *famel* (servus), originally signifying the servile property, the thrall of a master, and later used for all domestic property, things as well as persons, bearing only too plain impress of what we shall find to be the Roman conception of the family relation.

I.—The Origin of the Family

All sociologists find the origin of the family in general in the sexual relation, but as to the more exact form of its origin there is diversity of opinion, and we trace a development of view. Before the discussion of the question in the scientific spirit, it was generally held by orthodox tradition that the family arose by the ordering of God in the union of the first man and the first woman. When science began to study the question, and the hypothesis of evolution became prevalent, the earlier writers—McLennan, L. H. Morgan, Bachofen, Lubbock—generally taught that the sexual relation of men and women was at first one of promiscuous union, from whence the family

was a comparatively late evolution in the process of civilization, through the survival of the fittest—that is, in this case the institution or custom best fitted to preserve life. Later and more careful study by such men as Sir Henry Maine, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Peschel, Starcke, Letourneau, and Westermarck, finds that the theory of promiscuity is, to say the least, not proved, tho these writers disagree as to what to put in its place. Sir Henry Maine holds that the original communities of men may have taken "all sorts of forms" ("Dissertations on Early Law and Custom," p. 281). Darwin says:

If we look far enough back on the stream of time, it is exceedingly improbable that primeval men and women lived promiscuously together. Judging from the social habits of man as he now exists, and from most savages being polygamists, the most probable view is that primeval man aboriginally lived in communities, each with as many wives as he could support and obtain, whom he would have jealously guarded against all other men ("Descent of Man," ii., p. 346).

Spencer holds that the family relation evolved itself through being the relation best fitted to produce and rear children ("Principles of Sociology," vol. i., part 3, chap. 9). Starcke finds the evolution of the family the best means of enjoying property. De Coulanges finds the family, at least in Aryan races, forming around the religious worship of ancestors. The theories of Westermarck and Letourneau we shall consider later. Yet, however the authorities differ, in much they are agreed. They all hold that out of very various beginnings, more or less loose, the monogamic family has been evolved as, for one reason or another, the best (altho that this is a finality they are not agreed). They all hold that monogamy was not, as a rule, the first form. Among animals different forms of the family exist, yet the family has certainly been evolved on the plane of evolution that they have reached; why not, then, among the earliest and lowest men? Among only a few wild animals does promiscuity prevail. Strict pairing is the rule among some monkeys, ruminants, ungulates, and predatory animals; other monkeys are polygamous, but still in families. Moreover, the male animals are jealous over the possession of females. It is also well known that promiscuity tends to infecundity. Yet a study of all the facts will warn one from dogmatism as to the origin of the family, and show the variety of forms which the family relation has taken among men.

Various Theories

Of the arguments for the origin of the family in promiscuous union, Mr. Andrew Lang has made, perhaps, the best summary in his article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." He says in brief:

At whatever epoch civilized travelers have visited peoples of less cultivation, they have noted, with unconcealed surprize, not the family, but promiscuity and polyandry. They have found men and women living together in what seemed unregulated community, or they have found that the woman had several husbands, and often that these husbands were brothers. . . . If we can trust the traditions of Indo-European and other polite peoples, they, too, once lived in a stage which can hardly be discerned from promiscuity. . . . If the practises which make kindred through males difficult or impossible to recognize were ever universally prevalent, they will have left vestiges of their existence in the custom of tracing descent through females. (Mr. Lang goes on to show such vestiges.) . . . It has been shown that the actual practises of many barbarous races make the existence of the patriarchal, and still more of the monogamous family impossible, and that the traditions of the races called Aryan, with many fragments of their customs, testify to a similar state of things in the past experiences of nations now organized on the basis of the family. . . . The Australian black fellows and the red men of North America are grouped in *local tribes*. . . . Within these local tribes there are smaller associations, variously called "clans," "families," "septs," "tribes," by travelers. They are, as a rule, governed on this principle in Australia—"All the children take after the clan of their mother, and no man can marry a woman of the same clan, altho the parties be born of parents in no way related, according to our ideas." These smaller associations which may not intermarry are named after some animal, vegetable, or other natural object. . . . The animal or plant from which each association takes its name is sacred; in America it is called the totem. . . . The question now rises, Do we meet similar associations among civilized peoples who now possess the family? (and Mr. Lang answers that we do).

Evidences of Promiscuity

For the argument for the origin of the family in other than promiscuous union we may turn to many authors, but best to Westermarck, who, in his "History of Human Marriage," has treated this portion of the subject the most fully.

He argues that the family has probably existed from the beginning of the human race, because (1), accepting the evolutionary hypothesis of the ascent of man from the lower animals, the family is found among many of the higher animals. It is here evidently an evolution; among the lower animals it has not been found. Marriage is thus rooted in family, and not the family in marriage (p. 22). Coming now to man, he finds the family existing from the start, as among the higher animals, tho more developed. He says that the asserted promiscuity of certain tribes is a mistake, and does not exist, while among the lowest tribes we find abundant proof of rude family life. If the father does nothing else, he builds the hut. The development of separate families among man and the higher animals is said to be due in part to the difficulty in getting food. They must separate to range and get food, just as later they come together in tribes for defense. Westermarck believes that the theory of promiscuity has arisen from mistakes of travelers not understanding family customs, and says that sometimes unchastity has been increased by contact with civilization. Westermarck says: "We may perhaps say that irregular connections between the sexes have, on the whole, exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization" (p. 69). Among many savage tribes intercourse is very free among the young, but after pregnancy there is great strictness. Even in Scotland, before the Reformation, the practise of "hand-fastening" was common, whereby at the public fairs men selected female companions with whom to cohabit for a year, at the end of which period they could either leave or marry. The very extended if not almost universal custom of lending wives and sometimes children and servants among savages, Westermarck refers not to primitive promiscuous customs, but to conceptions of hospitality, the father looking upon his wife and children as property at his disposal. So too with the *jus primæ noctes*, which has so generally existed in fact if not in law; it was held as a property right belonging to the strong. The weaker families felt honored if their kings, priests, or rulers made use of their wives. This custom is very common, and has existed very recently in Russia.

Arguments against Promiscuity

Separate Families

As for the fact that relationship is usually traced through the females, Westermarck gives a long list of tribes where it is traced through the males, and says that even where it is traced through the females, there are a good many reasons that may be given for it other than that of uncertainty of the paternity. He says, for one reason, that in polygamous families, tho paternity be certain, the relation is naturally traced through the mother, to distinguish the one wife's offspring from another's. Woman has usually been considered man's property by capture or purchase. The price is often one of service, as with Jacob. Sometimes a kinswoman is given in exchange. The most common compensation is property. Among the Californian Karoks a wife was bought, unless unusually pretty and aristocratic, for half a string of dentalium shell. In British Columbia and Vancouver Island the prices range from £20 to £40; among the Kafirs, from five to thirty cows. The Damaras will give a girl for one cow. In Uganda a wife can be bought for three bullocks, or six sewing needles, or a pair of shoes. Among the Fijians the usual price is a whale's tooth or a musket. In Japan and China the bridegroom gives presents to the bride, and this is sometimes stipulated for. Among early Aryan races the bride was usually bought. In the Homeric age a maid was called ἀλφεσίβοια, one "who yields her parents many oxen." Aristotle says that the ancient Greeks bought their wives. In Germany, the expression "to buy a wife" was in use till the end of the Middle Ages. The giving of the ring in the English wedding service is said to be a relic of the same custom. In Servia, in the beginning of the present century, Black George limited the price of a girl to one ducat. Presents to the bride during courtship are said to come from the same custom. In many tribes the adulterer simply pays the husband a fine for stolen

property. Women are bought for what they can do. The Fuegians buy as many wives as possible to row their canoes.

Wives by Purchase

The purchase, by marriage, however, among all peoples has more or less disappeared. In many the price paid for the bride came to be given by the father, after he had received it, to the bride, and hence rose the custom of the dower, or settling of a "portion" by the father upon the bride. With this conception of marriage as a purchase of the wife, it is easy to see how those who could afford it should buy many wives, and polygamy became common tho not universal among savage tribes. Many North American tribes are strictly monogamic. Many Asiatic and African tribes are the same, including some of the lowest, as the Veddahs of Ceylon. But in almost all tribes it seems to be mainly a matter of money and power, since most princes have many wives. In China and most Mohammedan countries, while there may be only one wife, the law allows concubines. Polyandry is much rarer, but exists among the Aleuts, sometimes among the Eskimos. Polyandry is not unknown to the *Rig Vedas*. It seems to have existed among the Picts, and to have developed mainly in mountainous or rude climates, where women were few, and men would combine to own a wife, the one staying with her, while others would be away on excursions of chase or war. Divorce seems almost tho not quite universal. A wife that is bought can be sold, exchanged, or discarded. Such, then, according to one of the best modern authorities, is the origin of the family: *First*, the union of male and female, animal or man, to care for and defend the young—a union easily broken, where the woman, however, has considerable freedom; *second*, a union where the man rules the wife, and she is considered his property, with her children, he having obtained her, at first by capture, and later by service, exchange, or purchase, and where she is his servant, he going on to buy as many wives as he can afford to maintain; and, *thirdly*, a union rising from this into monogany, and with more liberty for woman.

M. Letourneau, in his "Evolution of Marriage," takes substantially the same ground as Westermarck in his view of the origin of the family. In the system of *totems* found in Australia, and essentially, tho under other forms, in most uncivilized communities, he sees no remnant of a time of promiscuous intercourse, or trace of descent through the mother, but rather a property institution, which in general he believes marriage to be, marrying together in general, a large number of men and women connected by one *totem*. M. Letourneau believes that evolution has proved the enduring monogamic marriage to have been thus far the most fitted to survive, but holds all evidence to-day to indicate that the marital relation is now evolving still further into one of monogamic marriage; not of enduring monogamy, but rather of easy divorce and "free-love."

II.—The Prehistoric Family

Passing, then, from the question of the origin of the family, we come next upon the question of its form in civilized society as it exists when fully developed, tho not yet in the clear light of certain history. Here we are met with two clear types, the Semitic and the Aryan.

Semitic and Aryan

The Semitic family is patriarchal and polygamous. Semitic races know little of individual liberty. They have given the world its religion; above all, its conception of a one supreme and all-powerful ruler. The family has partaken of this conception. It is founded upon obedience to one head. The wives and children are slaves; their duty is to serve and obey. Love has not been wanting, yet obedience is the fundamental relation. Yet the family is strongly developed. It is the social unit. Family relationship and descent is carefully maintained. When a man dies childless it is his brother's duty to raise children for him. (See the Levirate in Bible customs.) Land is held by families.

The Aryan family is monogamic. It is also the social unit. The family lives separately. It possesses rights and never dies. The principle and purpose for which the family is founded is the performance of the *sacra* or worship of ancestry. Personal immortality is the common faith. Ancestor worship they put first. In India Agni, in Italy Vesta meant the sacred fire burned to ancestors. Prayers to Agni and to Vesta came always *first*. There was in every home the sacred fire, never allowed to go out, always kept pure, and burning only certain woods. Near the home of the living was the home of the ancestral dead. It was one home; in one part lived the living, and in one part "lived" the dead. Around this center grew the family. Only relatives could be buried in the ancestral home. When a woman married, she left her home and her gods and joined the home and gods of her husband. Generation was not the center of the family, but the fire. The daughter was not equal to the son. The object of marriage was to bear a son who could keep up the family fire. If sterile, a man could divorce his wife and marry again; or, in Sparta and other places, introduce some one else to give conception to the wife. No woman could perform the *sacra*.

Such is the Aryan conception of the family, perhaps best given in Fustel de Coulanges's "Ancient City." This ancestral worship seems to have existed with more or less distinctness among the Hindus, Iranians, Slavonians, Greeks, and Romans.

III.—The Family in Classic Times

In classic times the family is still a religious institution, but this is not made so prominent. In the Homeric type there is great delicacy, dignity, tenderness, simplicity, love. No trace of polygamy appears. Concubinage is practised only by a few. Of domestic concubinage there is no trace. The essence of marriage lies in cohabitation, with a solemn public acknowledgment. Death alone dissolves the conjugal relation. The love of Penelope for Ulysses, the tenderness of Hector and Andromache, the heroic love of Alcester, the filial piety of Antigone, the majestic grandeur of Polyxena, the resignation of Iphigenia, the joyous, modest, and loving Nausicaa—these, says Lecky, are "pictures of perennial beauty, which Rome and Christendom, chivalry and modern civilization have neither eclipsed nor surpassed" ("History of European Morals," Am. ed., ii., p. 296). Women, however, are servants. They perform indoor work, fetch water, and grind flour. Telemachus bids his mother mind her spindle and loom and not interfere in the debates of men.

The family of the classical period proper of Greece is more religious in form and less pure in fact. Concubinage and intercourse with *hetæræ* are not only allowed by the State, but publicly favored. The wife is kept well at home. She is married by her parents. Sophocles makes a woman describe the lot of her sex by saying: "When we are grown up we are driven away from our parents and paternal gods" (*Frag. Terms*). Athenians marry Athenians. The wife cares for the house and does not share the intellectual life of her husband. For this the husband goes to *hetæræ*. Demosthenes says frankly: "We have *hetæræ* for our pleasure, wives to bear us children and to care for our households" (*κατα Νεαιρας*). Socrates asks: "Is there a human being with whom you talk less than with your wife?" (Xenophon, "Economics," iii., 12). Fidelity is required of the wife. Still the wife has some rights. She can bring action against her husband.

Greece

The Roman family was at first like the Homeric. Marriage was of three kinds: *Confarreatio*, the religious; *coemptio*, the civil; *usus*, effected by a man and woman living together for one year. The husband is the priest of the domestic altar. He is responsible for the perpetuity of the family. If his wife is sterile he can divorce her. He has the right to reject or accept the child at birth. He has the right to join his daughter in wedlock and to compel the wedlock of his son. He has the right to exclude the son from the family hearth and to introduce a stranger. He is the

Rome

judicial authority in the household, the judge of his wife. If she commit adultery he can put her to death. Over his children his power is the same. In the laws of Manu we read:

> Woman during her infancy depends upon her father; during her youth upon her husband; when her husband is dead, upon her sons; if she has no son, on the nearest relative of her husband, for a woman ought never to govern herself according to her own will (v., 147, 148).

This was true in Rome as well as India. A mother need not be asked to consent to the marriage of her only daughter. This position was true only of marriage by *confarreatio*. In *usus* and *coemptio* she had more rights; it was more of a bargain. The Roman matron, however, had dignity if not power. She was addressed as *materfamilias*, as her husband *paterfamilias*. She pronounced to her husband on entering his household "*Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia*," implying equality in dignity. She was the object of veneration. She had her place near the sacred fire. It was said to be 500 years after the foundation of the city before the first divorce occurred. The disintegration and immorality that set in under the empire are well known. Seneca says that marriage was contracted to give piquancy to adultery (*De Benef.*, iii., 16, 2, 3).

IV.—The Family in Early Christianity

The conception of marriage as a lifelong union of one man with one woman, and that outside of this any sexual relation is sinful, came in with Christianity. Christianity knows but one wife for one husband, and that while life lasts, save for the one cause of fornication. Purity is to be of the heart. He "who looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart" (Mt. v. 28). Christianity does not give detailed enactment. It elevates the whole conception of woman and of marriage to a spiritual plane. Christ gives the same authority and power to the mother as the father. The two are equal and the two are one. St. Paul seems to have had a lower idea of woman. He says more than once, "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church" (Eph. v. 23). He commands wives to be subject "to their own husbands in everything" (Eph. v. 24). Celibacy is held to be better than marriage, tho marriage may be allowed to prevent fornication (1 Cor. vii. 2). Yet he and all the writers of the Epistles and Revelation elevate marriage by making it the symbol of the relation of Christ to the Church. Celibacy is held very high through all the early Christian centuries. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Bishops, presbyters, and deacons are forbidden marriage. They need not repudiate wives, but they must not marry. Deaconesses are to be virgins or widows. The reason for this is plain—licentiousness was the prevailing sin of the times.

The New Testament

In one respect only was woman's liberty narrowed by early Christianity. Under Rome woman had gained some freedom by relinquishing religious marriage and bargaining for freedom in the civil marriage. Christianity, by making marriage again religious and not civil, brought her legal position back to being under her husband again. The old law proclaimed liberty of divorce; the Christian declared marriage indissoluble. The Christian idea of the family pervaded later legislation. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) It restrained the power of the parent, putting love in place of law. The freedom of the Roman matron was bought by her disgrace. If Christianity took away some of this freedom, it was by taking away her disgrace.

V.—The Medieval Family

The barbarians who invaded the empire honored woman. The family was pure. Domestic virtues prevailed. Salvian wrote in the fifth century (*De Gubernatione Dei*) of the Romans and the Christians, at this time largely infected by Roman impurity:

> You, Romans and Christians and Catholics, are defrauding your brethren, are grinding the faces of the poor, are frittering away your lives over the impure and heathenish spectacles of the amphitheater; you are wallowing in licentiousness and inebriety. The barbarians, meanwhile, heathens and heretics tho they may be, and however fierce toward us, are just and fair in their dealings with one another. The men of the same clan and following the same king love one another with true affection. The impurities of the theater are unknown among them. Many of their tribes are free from the taint of drunkenness, and among all, except the Slavs and the Huns, chastity is the rule.

Monogamy was universal save among the princes. Divorce was uncommon. Adultery was punished with great severity. Women accompanied their husbands on campaigns. The great invasions were migrations of families. The German family was a republic. Legally the position of woman, in the Germanic states, as they began to crystallize, was a mass of contradictions. One code grants her the right of inheritance; another denies it. One causes the wife practically to be sold to the husband; another causes her to come to him bringing a dowry. But however it was legally, morally woman was ever regarded as man's equal or superior. She was not confined to household cares. In battle she stood in the rear to inspire the warriors. In worship she stood near the priest, examined the entrails, and pronounced the verdict. In Iceland, which was never touched by Roman influence, a kiss forced upon woman was, in the twelfth century, punished with exile. Yet in other Germanic races woman was virtually a slave. In some she was immolated on the pyre of her husband.

As royal power arose and civilization became a war between robber barons, woman needed a protector. She was more and more placed under tutelage. Yet as feudalism became settled it tended to develop the family. The lord, marked off from his dependents, was more forced to seek equal comradeship with the few who were his feudal equals—his family. It tended to develop the individual family. The children, and especially the eldest son, were more honored. This developed pride of family, but lowered the condition of the dependent family. The lord often lorded it over the family of his serf. The legal recognition of the *jus primæ noctis* has been denied; but in practise the lord undoubtedly, by might, if not by right, claimed the body of the female serf. His serfs could not marry without his will.

Feudalism

When feudalism gradually disappeared the tutelage of woman was continued by habit and legal custom. Chivalry, however, honored the woman as a jewel to be guarded, and a queen to be served. Knights swore "to fear, revere, and serve God religiously; to forward the faith with all their strength, and to die a thousand deaths rather than renounce Christianity; to maintain the just cause of the weak, such as of widows,

orphans, and maidens, in a good quarrel; to expose themselves for them according as necessity required, provided it was not against their own honor, or against their king, or natural prince; that avarice, recompense, gain, or profit should never oblige them to do any action, but only glory and virtue; that they would hold themselves bound to conduct a lady or maiden; that they would serve her, protect her, and save her from all danger and all insult, or die in the attempt; that they would never do violence to ladies or maidens, altho they had gained them by arms, without their will or consent; that, above all things, they would be faithful, humble, and would never fail in their word, for any ill or loss that might thence happen to them" (Guizot's "History of Civilization," iv., 22–24). In Southern Europe the vices of the Roman Empire had more endurance. The home was degraded; woman an inferior. This was encouraged and woman corrupted by the growing licentiousness of the priests with their enforced celibacy. The Church praised first purity, then virginity, then celibacy. Marriage was a concession to the flesh. The Manichean doctrine spread that the body was evil. Eustathius, before the close of the fourth century, asserted that the married cannot be saved, and that prayers must not be offered in their houses (Lea's "Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy," p. 61). About the year 385 the first definite rule was issued commanding perpetual celibacy for the clergy. Down to the Protestant Reformation the monk and the nun were held up as "the religious." Every kind of concubinage was practised, tho the councils thundered against it. Occasionally the Church in despair seemed to surrender and allow concubinage. Convents became brothels. The love of Abelard and Heloise is indicative:

Asceticism

> In a worldly point of view, it was better for him, as a churchman, to have the reputation of shameless immorality than that of a loving and pious husband; and this was so evidently a matter of course, that she willingly sacrificed everything, and practised every deceit, that he might be considered a reckless libertine, who had refused her the only reparation in his power (Lea, p. 283).

The Church, with exceptions, yet too few, became grossly corrupt. Cardinal Hugo said to the people of Lyons, on the occasion of the departure of Innocent IV. (1251), after a residence of eight years:

> Friends, since our arrival here we have done much for your city. When we came, we found here three or four brothels. We leave behind us but one. We must own, however, that it extends without interruption from the eastern to the western gate (Lea, p. 356).

Marriage was regarded as a sacrament, but the degradation of marriage as a carnal indulgence was more potent. The degradation of marriage led to a degraded sense of woman. This was voiced in the canon law. Woman was regarded as the means of man's fall. Man is above her, between her and God. In all respects relative to the condition of woman, the canon law copied Roman law.

VI.—The Family in Modern Times

It has been a favorite charge of Roman Catholics that the Protestant Church was founded upon lust: in England, upon the unholy passion of the king; on the Continent, upon the broken vows of a monk and nun. The truth is that one of the first blows struck by the Reformers was against the enforced celibacy of the clergy; a rule which Luther characterized as angelic in appearance, but devilish in reality. The importance of this step was enormous. The enthusiasm with which the common people greeted it was a proof of the evil of an unmarried clergy. The Romish Church, while not allowing divorce, reserved for itself the right of pronouncing marriages between relatives, within a marvelously ingenious and complicated system of prohibited decrees, as null and void from the beginning. Dispensations, too, were allowed princes and nobles. The mass of the people were left to endure the burden of evils growing out of the sacramental theory of marriage. In demanding impossible virtues, the Church opened wide the doors for all possible vices. Luther allowed divorce on the ground of adultery only; Zwingli and the Zurich ordinances for other grave reasons. Calvin took substantially the same position as Luther. Luther even allowed Philip the Magnanimous, of Hesse, for political reasons, to marry two women. The English Church, which had never been wholly under the control of Rome, was less changed, there being less to change. Enforced celibacy, however, was voted down in convocation by a vote of 53 to 22 in 1547, and marriage as a sacrament was rejected. The Puritans, revolting against the Established Church, denounced the right of the priest to marry, and declared marriage a civil contract. This was confirmed by the New England Puritans. John Robinson says: "We cannot assent to the received opinion and practise answerable in the reformed churches by which the pastors thereof do celebrate marriage publicly and by virtue of their office" ("Apology," 45). A law of Plymouth Colony (1633) required magistrates to legalize marriages. It was doubtful, however, how far the people approved of this. In 1692 the Massachusetts laws provided that marriage ceremonies might be performed by ministers, and this has become the rule in New England; but the minister performs the marriage as far as the State is concerned, not in his capacity as a minister, but as a civil officer. The Church of England, as well as that of Rome, is averse to this theory—that marriage is a civil contract—and has thus far successfully resisted the tendency to the complete secularization of marriage in England; but on the Continent it has grown rapidly with the waning power of Rome. All Protestant sects tend to look upon adultery as the only cause for divorce, while Rome allows separation, but holds that the bond, once formed, is dissoluble only by death.

Protestantism

Other influences have been at work in modern times upon the family. The Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis upon individualism, has tended to exalt the individual above the family. Says Sir Henry Maine ("Ancient Law," pp. 163, 165):

> The movement of the progressive societies has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place. The individual is steadily substituted for the family, as the unit of which civil laws take account. . . . We may say that the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from status to contract.

Says President Thwing of the Western Reserve University, himself a Protestant: "The cause underlying, and in a sense all other causes [of the decay of the modern family] is that growth of in-

dividualism which is itself the direct product of the Reformation."

Such has been the legal effect of the Reformation upon the family. The family is less the social unit, and less and less so as liberalism prevails. In England the Conservative Party is said to be made up of those who have strong "family" affiliations. In regard to property, the old common law gave all property to the husband, and tho this has been steadily modified, great injustices are yet done to woman in the name of law. (See Woman's Rights.) Protestantism, however, while it has tended to exalt the individual over the family, and to give the woman a standing at least more equal with the man, cannot as yet be accused of having hurt the family life. Nowhere in the world has there been purer family life than in Protestant Germany, England, Scotland, and America. The Protestant home has been its proudest gem. Yet equally undoubtedly a change has come. The increase of Divorce is one of the best recognized,

Divorce

because most apparent of modern facts. And this is perhaps quite as much a symptom as the cause of the decay of the family. A publication of the National Divorce Reform League for 1893 says:

> We might spend much of our time on the evils that beset the family, for they are many and serious. But brief mention of a few is enough. Some destroy the very constitution of the family; others impair its environment. We name the enormous number and increase of divorces; the apparent decrease of marriages and the haste and ignorance that mark many unions; the prevalence of sexual vice, with the low ideals of sex that lead to it; and insensibility to the sacred obligations of paternity. Then there are the open or more subtle influences that make our civilization almost the direct foe of the home. We point to the methods of business involving absence from home, the system of commercial travelers and the operation of the industrial system as a whole, which tends to separate the household in both business and labor into its constituent individuals. These have greatly disturbed the relation of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the home and society. Then, again, the solidarity of domestic interest is weakened by other competitions. There are the fascinations of "shopping," the waste of time over mere social "fads," and the increasing resort on the part of women to clubs and social frivolities among themselves, for which the neglect and absence of men are in great degree responsible; and even the noble desire for honest intellectual improvement and for charitable work have made inroads upon the home.

More open evidences of social corruption exist. (See Prostitution.) Evidence is not wanting of the increase of impurity in the sexual relation among factory populations. The development of the tenement population is itself an indication of the decay of the family. In New York City 80 per cent of the population are said to live in tenements. (See Tenements.)

The evidences exist on every hand that the preservation of the family is a most pressing, if not the most pressing, problem in modern practical sociology.

VII.—The Sociologic Function of the Family

Save for a few extreme radicals, who would abolish the family, and whose position we shall consider later, all sociologists find in the family the social unit, the keystone of society. Says Dr. S. W. Dike:

> I do not fear contradiction from any competent scholar in political science when I say that the study of the single family on its homestead would yield richer scientific knowledge and more practical results in the great social sciences than almost any other single object in the social world. Pursued historically the student would find himself at the roots of property, separate ownership of land, inheritance, rent, taxation, free trade, and tariff, and discover the germs of international law and the State. The great questions of the day, as we call them, are little more than incidents to the working of the great social institutions; and these, we have already seen, are the expansions and modified forms of the family, amid its unceasing support and activity. "Sociology," the late Dr. Mulford used to say, "is the coming science, and the family holds the key to it." "The family," he also wrote, "is the most important question that has come before the American people since the war."

Mr. Gladstone wrote in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1889:

> The greatest and deepest of all human controversies is the marriage controversy. It appears to be surging up on all sides around us. . . . It is in America that, from whatever cause, this controversy has reached a stage of development more advanced than elsewhere.

What, then, is definitely the sociologic function of the family which gives it such extreme importance?

1. It furnishes the two elements which undoubtedly contribute more than any other to the development of all human life—viz., heredity and environment during the formative period of life. The family controls or may control both. "The best way to become good," it has been well said, "is to be born good." Out of 5,511 convicts at Elmira Reformatory 38 per cent had parents known to be intemperate, and 13 per cent more of doubtful habits; 81 per cent had parents not possessing property; 44 per cent had parents of little or no education. The power of home in childhood is equally evident. Of these same 5,511 convicts, 54 per cent came from bad homes, 38 per cent more from homes only "fair"; not more than 6 per cent came from homes that were good; 42 per cent were homeless when committed;

The Home

97 per cent came from bad associations. "As the twig is bent the tree inclines." "A child's first teacher is the one who first loves it"; and usually this is the mother. It is, then, the first duty of the family to see that the child is well born, and, secondly, well nurtured. These conditions are largely personal and individual, moral and physiological, rather than sociological, and so do not fall within our province in this article. Who does not know that pure parents, pure generation, pure conception, pure pregnancy are of infinite importance to pure birth? So with mental, moral, and physical health in every form. To see that the child that is born has this is, then, the first sociological function of the family. This, however, implies and necessitates pure marriage: so that the marriage of those mentally, morally, or physically incapacitated to beget healthy children is a sociologic sin. Says Professor Jowett, in his introduction to Plato's "Republic" (1st ed., vol. ii., 130–132):

> The late Dr. Combe is said by his biographer to have resisted the temptation to marriage, because he knew that he was subject to hereditary consumption. This little fact suggests the reflection that one person in a thousand did from a sense of duty what the other nine hundred and ninety-nine ought to have done.

2. But purely and healthfully born, it is, second, the function of the family to see that the child is rightly reared. Its first duty in this line is undoubtedly to see that it is reared in an atmosphere of love. The first duty of parents is to love each other and their offspring. Here most literally love is life. Who can deny or doubt the infinite and irreparable loss of a childhood reared in an atmosphere without love? It is this loss which, as we shall say, is sociologically the unanswerable argument for all social schemes, that

would take away the child from the mother or father. Of the nurture of the child in health and in education, ethical and moral, as well as intellectual and physical, we cannot here speak, but it suggests itself. The truest education a child receives is in its home, whether that home be a palace or a city alley. Therefore, as for other reasons, the frightful significance of the disappearance of the real home in large sections of our cities and growing portions of our population.

3. But this is by no means the only function of the family. It is, thirdly, the function of the family to furnish all through life the necessary atmosphere of love and peace to the individual. It is not necessary that every one should be married. It is necessary to the highest life that every one should have at some portion at least of adult life, as well as in childhood, the joy and peace of life in the family. "It is not good that the man should be alone" is the voice of sociology as well as of God. Man is born sexed. Man is created male and female. This is the fact, whoever and whatever is the creator. And the law of sex runs through all the universe, mental and moral, as well as physical. For the development of this, see MARRIAGE; we simply state it here. It is the function of the family to furnish men and women with the opportunity for the carrying out of this sex life, mental and moral, even more than physical. Man without woman, or woman without man, is a biological and sociological abnormity. It indicates an abnormal condition in society when it is found that 20 per cent of the women of England and 44 per cent of the population of Belgium, with about 33 per cent in Europe, in 1875, are unwedded; and when we read the startling statistics of the decrease of marriages in modern civilization. (See MARRIAGE.) It is to the shame of modern science that thus far this subject has been left almost completely untreated from the standpoint of science, and that the careful literature of the subject is so meager.

Law of Sex

VIII.—Various Theories of the Family

The form of the family where marriage is between one man and one woman, and indissoluble until death, save for cause of adultery or similar aggravated causes, is by many considered the only form of the family really worthy of the name. It is declared to be the best form, for the following, among other reasons:

1. That history proves it to be that form of the family best productive of the highest character, individual and national. The supporters of this argument point to the Aryan civilization; to Greece in her pure days; to Rome when she had the monogamic family and rare divorce; to the early Christian centuries, before false theories of celibacy and virginity broke up the married life; to Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, and to the individuals produced by such civilizations as compared with the polygamic civilizations of Asia and Africa.

Permanent Monogamy

2. It is argued that monogamic marriage without easy divorce is far better for child nurture. Easy divorce, they say, leads to broken homes and changing, shifting relations that break up the peace and quiet and love necessary to child nurture.

3. It is argued that the possibility of easy divorce suggests its adoption; that the men or women who know they can easily obtain divorce and marry again are led to think of it, and then seek it on any occasion when fancy prompts, or when passing displeasure with their married partner causes a desire to change. In nine cases out of ten it is claimed that the trouble lies at least in part with both parties, and that to make a change in the marital relation would not afford relief, since one cannot obtain divorce from oneself, and that often at least one would thus seek change without finding relief; thus, to say the least, needlessly causing the breaking up of homes and perhaps the breaking of many hearts.

4. It is claimed that easy divorce makes marriage a light affair, hence lowering the sense of both its solemn responsibilities and its possibilities of unchanging and unequaled mutual confidence and joy and love. This, it is said, would make men and women enter the state of matrimony more carelessly than they do now, instead of "reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God."

5. It is claimed that, since sensual desire is more liable to change its object than is love, a system allowing of easy divorce and change would tend to elevate the lower elements in marriage and the family, making them matters of bodily sexual relations rather than of moral and spiritual relations.

6. It is claimed that easy divorce and change are repugnant and contrary to the highest ethical and moral sentiment, which demands love that does not end nor change, and that recognizes one supreme object of its love, a love which can brook no rival.

7. Lastly, but for Christians first, it is argued that any relation other than that of the union of one man with one woman, indissoluble until death save for cause of fornication, is directly contrary to the revealed will and law of God in Christ, who declares positively of the sexual relation that "for this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh"; and again, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery, and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery."

Orthodox View

Such are some, tho by no means all, of the main arguments for enduring monogamic marriage. It is summed up for Christians in the appeal to the Christian ideal and the stern testimony of fact; and to non-Christians in the testimony of fact alone, that easy divorce has always resulted in a corrupt, sensualized society; while enduring monogamy has given the world the highest civilization, the happiest home, the purest family the world has known.

The argument for easy divorce claims that it meets the above contention at every point. It says, admitting that thus far enduring monogamy has been best for the race, and has thus far produced the highest civilization on account of the lower elements in man's nature, which marriage laws and difficult divorce have done something to restrain, does it follow that it must always be so? Is love never to be trusted except under lock and key? Have we such reason to be satisfied with our present system? Defenders of easy divorce are never weary of calling attention to the heart-burnings, and quarrels, and dissensions of those who find themselves tied together for life, altho love may have turned to

hate. They say that what they argue against is not enduring monogamic love, but against an enduring monogamic *law* compelling men and women to live together after love has fled. They argue that in the very name of love this is an outrage upon love. They say that all marriage, except marriage for love, is an acted farce, and that when love ends, the pretense of love should end. Enforced pretense of love, they say, when love is really gone, is the fruitful parent of innumerable ills, quarrels, hatred, cruelty, refinements of mental and moral torture, desertion, unfaithfulness, adultery, prostitution, murder. They say that, instead of being good for childhood, *enforced* monogamy, compelling children to live where only the pretense of love exists, with a reality of hatred—a condition of affairs discovered by children only too easily—is really the worst atmosphere in which childhood can be reared. They argue that, in fact, if love be left free it would be much more likely to endure than when attempted to be enforced by law, so that easy divorce would really give us more enduring true love, and only break up those sham relations which do more harm than good. They argue that it is absurd that the most solemn relations of life should be irretrievably fixt, too often and perhaps usually, by the uneducated and inexperienced fancy of a young man for a young woman, sometimes of an irresponsible boy for an inexperienced girl. As for reference to facts, they argue that if corruption in Greece and Rome did accompany the development of divorce, it is not proved that divorce was the cause. They say that it is far more likely that the breaking up of faith in false gods, with no higher faith taking its place, at least till Christianity came, did, in a society resting on a material and slave basis, cause the outbreak of corruption, which to an extent made use of divorce, but which marriage was equally powerless to restrain. The evidence they claim is that corrupt marriage is worse than corrupt divorce. They say that in our own times the cause of growing profligacy is not growing divorce, but growing materialism and omnipresent commercialism. They point to such women as George Eliot and such men as Goethe to show that to break away from legalized relations to freer love does not weaken or debase character. Such is the main argument for easy divorce.

Theory of Easy Divorce

Free love, it must be stated at the outset, is by no means of necessity material and animal in its motives or its character. Free love has been defended by some of the most spiritual and noble of mankind. Plato and Campanella, St. Simon and Fourier, Shelley and William Morris cannot be set aside as in their ideals "material," "animal," or "low." Professor Jowett, of Oxford, says of Plato, in his introduction to Plato's "Republic" (1st ed., vol. ii., pp. 145–147):

Free Love

> First, we may observe that the relations of the sexes supposed by him are the reverse of licentious; they seem rather to aim at an impossible strictness. . . . We may allow that his conception of the relation of the sexes takes rank among the great original thoughts of mankind.

The ethical standing of free love depends on what you mean by free love. When the anarchist Spies, lecturing before the Chicago ministers, was asked if he believed in free love, he answered, "As opposed to bought love, I do." We must understand what is meant by free love before we can discuss it, and, as a matter of fact, very different and even opposing theories of the family relation have been classed indiscriminately under this phrase. Some of these are indeed ignoble and base; others may be mistaken, but are not intentionally ignoble. The first duty, then, is to distinguish between theories. Plato, Campanella, and some extreme State Socialists (tho by no means the majority of Socialists) have argued that the whole matter of the begetting and rearing of children should be left in the hands of the State. The large majority of Socialists do not, as we say, accept this form of free love, but it is proposed by a few extreme worshipers of the State; and by Plato first and foremost. In a sense it is not free love, but, as Dr. Jowett has pointed out, is its opposite. Its advocates, following Plato, would have the State or community allow or control the sexual intercourse of men and women, only within certain limits of age and certain mental, physical, and moral qualifications. They would have children thus generated, and reared by the State, no father or mother being allowed to know their own children, that thus children may be educated equally and wisely to live for the State and not for the disrupting ties of family. Horrible as this may seem to many, it is well at least to notice that grave thinkers have found some good in it. Professor Jowett says:

Plato's View

> No one can have observed the first rising flood of the passions of youth, the difficulty of regulating them, and the effects of the whole mind and nature which follow them, the stimulus which the mere imagination gives to them, without feeling that there is something unsatisfactory in our method of treating them. That the most important influences on human life should be wholly left to chance or shrouded in mystery, and instead of being disciplined or understood, should be required to conform only to an external standard of propriety, cannot be regarded by the philosopher as a safe or satisfactory condition of human things. Nor is Plato wrong in asserting that family attachments may interfere with higher aims. If there have been those who "to party gave up what was meant for mankind," there have been those who to family gave up what was meant for mankind, or for their country. The cares of children, the necessity of procuring money for their support, the flatteries of the rich by the poor, the exclusiveness of caste, the pride of birth or wealth, the tendency of family life to divert men from the pursuit of the ideal or the heroic, are as lowering in our own age as in that of Plato. And if we prefer to look at the gentle influences of home, the devotion of one member of a family for the good of others, which form one side of the picture, we must not quarrel with him, or perhaps ought rather to be grateful to him, for having presented to us the reverse.
>
> We start back horrified from this Platonic ideal in the belief, first, that the instincts of human nature are far too strong to be crushed out in this way; secondly, that if the plan could be carried out, we should be poorly recompensed by improvements in the breed for the loss of the best things in life. . . . There is no sentiment or imagination in the connections which they [Plato's men and women] are supposed to form; human nature is reduced as nearly as possible to the level of the animals, neither exalting to heaven nor yet abusing and overindulging the natural instincts. All that world of poetry and fancy which the passion of love has called forth in modern literature and romance would have been banished by Plato.

Another form of free love, adopted not by Socialists, but by some sects of so-called Christian communism, in place of the monogamic family, would have a family more or less polygamic, and with the sexual relations not left to promiscuous and thoughtless desire, but restrained, guided, and sanctified by religious precepts, instincts, and life. Such have been the proposals and attempts of some of the older Anabaptists in Germany, the Perfectionists of Noyes's Oneida Community, and the Mormons, with other kindred religious and semicommunistic sects. (See ANABAPTISTS; MORMONISM; ONEIDA COMMUNITY.) However opposed these may be in the moral sense, and however we may dissent from

"Perfectionists"

them, it is to be said that they are not at least outwardly moved by licentious notions. The Anabaptists of Germany certainly commenced with most religious feelings. The Oneida Community claimed to be one of spiritual perfectionists. They declared again and again that neither their notions nor their practises were licentious. Noyes, their leader, said:

> Free love with us does *not* mean freedom to love to-day and leave to-morrow. Our communities are families as distinctly founded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households. The tie that binds us together is as permanent and sacred, to say the least, as that of marriage, for it is our religion. . . . Every man's care and every man's dollar of the common property is pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women and the education of the children of the community. . . . Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be in advance of marriage and common civilization. . . . We are not free-lovers in any sense that makes love less binding or responsible than it is in marriage ("History of American Socialism," pp. 639, 640).

Their practise was to religiously marry all the men in their "families" or communities to all the women, and then to allow sexual intercourse between any, *but not without due consideration and consultation as to the wisdom and ethical character of the relation.* Ordinary marriage and the family led, they argued, to family selfishness, family quarrels, and hypocrisy. Love for one wife no more interferes, according to their argument, with love of another wife than love for one sister interferes with love of another.

To these religious forms of free love, perhaps, should be added the forms proposed by St. Simon and Fourier and other doctrinaires, which, altho, especially with Fourier, opposed to religion in the ordinary sense, and designed to be simply humanitarian, were advocated with a spirit virtually religious. Their theories will be found under the respective articles St. Simon and Fourier; but they must be at least mentioned here.

Elective Affinities

They would have society in some form regulate marriage, and within these restrictions have wives in common, and children reared together in the most approved way. The modern religious sense, when once it begins to wander into new ways, seems to be easily led, as among many spirtualists, to conceiving new marital relations of "elective affinities," "spiritual wives," "heavenly marriages," etc. How far their theories are put into practise cannot be said, but undoubtedly they are penetrating society very fast. Mormonism is not the only *ism* in America that has given up belief in strict monogamic marriage. Yet many claim that the result is good. A daughter of Brigham Young has recently, in a leading magazine, described the happy homes and happy childhood of polygamous Mormons. But this is exactly where the strongest argument arises against all forms of polygamous marriage. Admitting possible exceptions, the notorious fact remains that no polygamous country or polygamous sect has begun to develop the character produced in monogamic homes. It is to England and not to Turkey, to America and not to Asia, to Kansas and not to Utah, to Brook Farm and not to Oneida, to Christianity and not to Mormonism, that one looks for the leaders of the world.

We then come to the *third* form of free love, the free-love theory par excellence, which is held to-day by many Socialists, by more individualists, and by all anarchists, and an increasing number of radical men and women of various schools of thought. According to these, neither the State nor organized religion should have aught to do with control of the family or of the sexual relation. They would make love supreme. They would have it unfettered by any tie whatsoever. They argue that compulsory love is not love; that all marriage save from love is sin; that when love ends marriage ends. They would have (Socialists by collectivism, and anarchists by free competition or cooperation) each man and each woman free to support himself or herself without any dependence upon any other individual. Then, they say, when a woman gave herself in love, it would not be for reason of family, or position, or custom, or support, or help in any way, but simply because she loved. They hold that this would produce the purest, and highest, and the most enduring love. Some of these free-lovers would have the State guarantee to every woman during pregnancy an income to keep her independent, so that she should never have to sell herself in any form or be unable to care in the most hygienic way for her child. In this way they claim that every child would have at least the opportunity of careful nurture without the loss of parental love. Most parents, it is thought, when economic difficulties were out of the way, would *prefer* to rear their own children; only they would not be compelled to. Thus, without losing pure parental love, we should be rid of that monstrosity, compulsory love. Marriage, they claim, thus freed from control of either priest or town clerk, would be pure, and noble, and abiding. Prostitution would disappear.

Modern Free Love

That this system would work for the majority of the population under the present industrial system, the more thoughtful supporters of this view do not claim. They would have it only in connection with economic reforms that would give financial independence to every man and woman. They would also urge along with it such physical, mental, moral, and ethical education as would prevent humanity from sinking into material and animal misuse of its liberties. But they believe that humanity, once free from dependence upon priest and policeman, would rapidly prove itself capable of pure free love. At least this is the ideal toward which they believe that law and practise should tend; and for themselves and those sufficiently "advanced" they think it perfectly safe to try free love now. Whatever be their theory, the practise is certainly on the increase. The last law that they would take from love would be the law forbidding marriage below a proper age. Only when society can be trusted to prevent this without law would they remove this law. Such is the theory of free love that is to-day most rapidly spreading. A *fourth* form of free love should be possibly also mentioned which has nothing ethical or pure about it, which is simple libertinism and worse than animalism, since no brutes would fall so low. But this, tho too much in practise, has no defenders to whom any honest mind need listen, and therefore needs no discussion here. The only thing is the question whether other forms of free love, however differently they may mean and may aim, would not lead to this form of free love, a fear which is answered on the part of defenders of pure free love by the question whether

Animalism

our present monogamic system has not already led to it, by requiring an impossible and mistaken system, the parent of vice and secret corruption. (See PROSTITUTION.)

IX.—Recent Advance Steps

The last report of the National League for the Protection of the Family (1907) says in brief:

Within the last twenty-five years there has come to be recognized a problem of the family. Twenty-five years ago there was no study of the family in any of our educational institutions. Indeed, there was not then a single course of lectures given on the subject anywhere in the entire country. Now such courses of lectures or of study are frequent. Perhaps it may already be said that the higher educational institution that does nothing with the family has become the exception rather than the rule. The colleges for women have opened this important line of study to their students. And the study is taking on more practical form in what is now known as domestic science, but which, as pursued, is confined pretty closely to the study of housekeeping in its practical aspects, but along scientific lines. Domestic science has also become a department in some of our best secondary schools and is rapidly growing in public favor. There has been, too, a marked increase of attention to the home in the periodical press. Departments or pages for the home have taken the place of the old single column and are of a much more scientific character and more valuable as a whole.

Domestic Science

I am speaking of the United States. Perhaps more has been done in parts of Europe. Within the last twenty-five years attention has been given in new ways to the practical value of the home in a number of directions, that is full of promise for the future.

Interest has been awakened in the home as a factor in public school education. Under the lead of our national superintendent of education our people are beginning to see that there is more than one social institution at work in education; that, as he puts it, the great educational factors are the school, the church, the home, and the vocation; and the problem is to get each of these to do its share in the common task, and that in intelligent cooperation with each other. While the public school has as yet nothing like the home department of the Sunday-school, unless it be its required home study, it is having more aid than formerly in progressive communities from parental associations.

In philanthropy we may note a steadily growing recognition of the place of the home in social reform. In Massachusetts and perhaps elsewhere, the charitable institution where large numbers of children have been gathered for care has given place to the single home. Indeed, it is almost a first principle of all expert charitable work now to make respect for the home and all possible use of its resources a cardinal principle of all philanthropic effort. The vigorous attack on the tenement-house problem proceeds on the assumption that the single home is the goal of its efforts and is already doing much to demonstrate the social and moral value of the home. Those who are dealing with the criminal are more and more impressed with the need of a better home life as the greatest single aid to the relief of society from the burdens of crime, and the surest protection against the beginnings of a criminal career. And the students of the evils of intemperance and licentiousness have of late come to see that the home, in its moral training, its cooking, and social activities, is, after all, one of the most important objects of their concern. Some go as far as to say that it is the most important of all.

The Home in Social Reform

REFERENCES: *The History of Human Marriage*, by Westermarck; *The Primitive Family*, by C. N. Starcke; *The Evolution of Marriage*, by Letourneau; *The Ancient City*, by Foustel de Coulange; *The Family*, by C. F. Thwing; *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, by G. E. Howard, 1904; *Love's Coming of Age*, by Ed. Carpenter; *Reports on Marriages and Divorce*, by the U. S. Bureau of Labor, 1887; *Census Report*, 1907; *Publications of the National League for the Protection of the Family*.

FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND KINDRED ORDERS, THE: Various orders of somewhat similar names and almost absolutely similar character have sprung up at various times among the farmers of the United States. The largest, best known, and politically the most active of these, tho often called The Farmers' Alliance, had as its exact title The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. In a sense, the parent of all these orders was the Grange, or Order of Patrons of Husbandry, founded in 1867; but as this is a much older organization, and has pursued a wholly different policy, we consider it separately. (See GRANGE.)

The first organization bearing the name Farmers' Alliance seems to have been organized by W. T. Baggett in Lampasas County, Texas, in 1876, for the purpose of opposing the spoliation of the public lands and the bringing to justice of land and cattle thieves. It did not endure, but the idea spread, and in 1879 a State Farmers' Alliance was effected. In 1887 a meeting was held at Waco for the purpose of effecting a union with the Farmers' Union, an association of Louisiana farmers. The union was accomplished, and the new organization bore the name of the Farmers' Alliance and Cooperative Union of America, with C. W. McCune at its head. This new order spread rapidly in the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

At that time another famous organization was operating in the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, known as the Agricultural Wheel, which began under the leadership of W. W. Tedford, at Des Arc, Prairie County, Ark., 1882. At a meeting held at Shreveport, La., 1887, a union of the Wheel and Alliance was effected which was completed at Meridian, Miss., 1888, the organization being called the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America.

Up to this time the Farmers' Alliance was almost exclusively a Southern institution, a secret order with grips and passwords, but it had taken no action whatever in politics except to impress its tenets in the minds of public men. In the spring of 1877 there had been organized by Milton George, at Chicago, an organization called the National Farmers' Alliance, which in a little while had extended into the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Dakota. The objects of the National Farmers' Alliance were to unite farmers for the promotion of their interests, socially, politically, and financially; to secure a just representation of the agricultural interests of the country in Congress and state legislatures; to demand the prohibition of alien cattle and land syndicates; to oppose all forms of monopoly; to demand of representatives in Congress their votes and active influence in favor of the prompt passage of such laws as will protect live-stock interests from contagious diseases; and to demand that agricultural interests shall be represented by a cabinet officer.

This organization is sometimes called the Northern Alliance. Meanwhile, still another organization, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, had been organized in southern Illinois in 1887, and had extended over Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, and Kansas. Its chief object was to resist the encroachments of monopoly.

The problem now was to unite these movements The first meeting of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America was appointed for December, 1889, at St. Louis. The National Farmers' Alliance appointed the same time and place for its general session, and negotiations were undertaken for the still further strengthening of the movement by the blending of the two great orders now remaining. The net outcome of the conference was a failure to unite, and for this failure the question of secrecy was the sole cause. Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota, however, deserted the "Northern" alliance and went over to the Southern and secret order.

A union platform was, however, adopted, and in this the order of the KNIGHTS OF LABOR also united.

Organization, however, still went on. The Southern Farmers' Alliance was mainly made up of the middle class, composed of small farmers and mechanics. It claimed, in 1890, 3,000,000 members, men and women. The colored farmers were organized under the name of The Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union. The first colored alliance was founded in Houston County, Texas, in 1886. In January, 1891, the estimated membership was 1,250,000, of which number 700,000 were adult males, and 150,000 more were males between eighteen and twenty-one years of age. A national organization was effected in 1888, and as the organization owed its existence largely to one man —R. M. Humphrey, a white man, formerly a Baptist preacher —he was put at the head of the alliance.

All these various alliances met at Ocala, Fla., December, 1890, and adopted the so-called Ocala Platform, not materially different from the St. Louis platform. At this convention a strong effort was made to form a new political party. The alliance voted not to do so as an alliance, but

to allow its members who wished to do so as individuals. As the result a convention was called at Cincinnati, May 20, 1891, the People's Party formed, and a platform drawn and nominations made at St. Louis, July 4, 1892.

After the Ocala convention the Farmers' alliances became virtually identified with the People's Party, but kept up separate organizations, and different organizations among them voted to favor various cooperative educational and industrial schemes, such as cooperative railroads, etc. Little, however, was accomplished in this line; but an enormous amount of political agitation was carried on. Since the practical ending of the People's Party, the movement has nearly disappeared. It has passed into an as yet very vaguely organized cooperative and educational movement. (See COOPERATION.)

REFERENCES: *The Farmers' Movement*, by C. S. Walker, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (vol. iv., p. 790); *The Embattled Farmers*, by Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D. (*The Forum*, vol. x., p. 315); *Bondholders and Bread-Winners*, by S. S. King; and *Jason Edwards*, by Hamlin Garland. See also SILVER.

FARMERS' NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE: Organized in 1880. The congress is composed of delegates from the different states, appointed by governors or departments of agriculture. It confines itself to discussions and resolutions on broad national problems. Local issues are avoided, and speakers are expected to treat the subjects they discuss in a national manner. The congress is non-partizan, but is free to take up any politico-economic or other question of importance to agriculture.

The president is J. M. Stahl, of Chicago, editor of *The Farmers' Call*. Secretary, G. M. Whitaker, 1404 Harvard Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

FARMS AND FARMERS: See AGRICULTURE; LAND; HOMES, OWNERSHIP OF; WAGES.

FAUCHET, CLAUDE: French Christian Socialist; born at Dornes, Nièvre, France, 1744. For a while court preacher for the Louis, he lost his position owing to his radical views. At the storming of the Bastille he took an active part, was requested to prepare a eulogy over those who fell in the attack, and produced his "Discourse upon French Liberty," in which the central idea was the union of the gospel of love with the program of the Revolution. In 1790 he was instrumental in establishing a society or circle of the Friends of Truth and, as an organ of the club, the *Bouche de Fer* (the Iron Mouth), a paper in which he developed his religious ideas in union with the theories of Rousseau's social contract. "Unite the Gospel of Christ with the spirit of freedom," was Fauchet's pregnant utterance, "and our joy shall be complete." In 1791 Fauchet was elected constitutional Bishop of Calvados, and sent as a representative to the Legislative Assembly of 1792. He voted against the guillotining of the king, and on account of taking this position, and because of his landed property, he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal and guillotined with the Girondists, Oct. 31, 1793. An account of his life and views can be found in Stegmann and Hugo's "Handbuch des Socialismus."

FAWCETT, HENRY: English political economist; born in 1833; educated at a school near Salisbury, at Queenwood College, at King's College School, London, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge; was graduated at Cambridge in 1856, and chosen a fellow. He practised law in London, but soon left this for political activity. In 1858 an accident, while shooting, left him totally blind for life. He nevertheless lectured on finance at Oxford and Glasgow, and elicited general attention. In 1863 he published his chief work, "A Manual of Political Economy," which has been much used as a text-book of economics of the orthodox school. He was immediately elected to the chair of political economy at Cambridge. In 1865 he was elected M.P. for Brighton, which he continued to represent till 1874. He was a radical of the old school, but made his mark standing for woman suffrage, refusing on principle to pay any but the merest official expenses of his election, advocating the abolition of university tests, investigating the miseries of the agricultural laborer, etc. In 1874 he was defeated for Brighton, but returned for Hackney, and again in 1880. The same year he became postmaster-general in Mr. Gladstone's second administration, and would have been a member of the Cabinet but for a conscientious scruple. He introduced many reforms into the postal system. In 1883 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and received the titles of D.C.L. and LL.D. A strong individualist with little originality or genius, he influenced men by the force of his personality. In addition to his "Manual" he wrote "The Economic Position of the London Laborer" (1865); "Free Trade and Protection" (1878); "Essays and Lectures" (1879). His life was written by Leslie Stephen (1885). Fawcett died in 1884.

FAWCETT, MILLICENT (née GARRETT): English political economist and author; born at Aldeburgh, Suffolk, 1847; married to Henry Fawcett in 1867. She assisted her husband in all his studies, and became a leader in the woman suffrage movement. She has written "Political Economy for Beginners" (1870); "Tales in Political Economy" (1875); "Life of Queen Victoria" (1895); etc. *Address*: 2 Gower Street, W. C., London, England.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: "Stated broadly," says John Fiske ("American Political Ideas," p. 133), "the principle of federalism is just this: That the people of a State shall have full and entire control of their own domestic affairs, which directly concern them only, and which they will naturally manage with more intelligence and with more zeal than any distinct governing body could possibly exercise; but that, as regards matters of common concern between a group of States, a decision shall in every case be reached, not by brutal warfare or by weary diplomacy, but by the systematic legislation of a central government which represents both States and people, and whose decisions can always be enforced, if necessary, by the combined physical forces of all the States."

Federalism has been practised from the earliest times among certain savage races, as among some of the North American Indians, in more developed form among the ancient German tribes, and for certain purposes among the Greek States, the English heptarchy, and other peoples. It reached a still fuller development in the old German Empire, but has been principally developed in modern republics.

Says Mr. E. V. Robinson ("Annals of the American Academy," vol. iii., p. 786):

There can be no security against despotism but limitations upon the government; and no effective limitations upon the government but such as are imposed by a higher power, the State, and enforced by separate and coordinate organs of government created by the State and participating in the action of the general government. But this is the Federal State, a form long considered a transition stage between the league of States and the simple State, but now recognized—in other countries at least—as the most interesting and significant product of institutional development.

History of Federalism

Its importance is proved by its success. In a century the new form has overspread the earth: 1787 in the United States; 1848 and 1874 in Switzerland; 1866 to 1870 in Germany; 1867 in Canada and Mexico; 1889 in Brazil; 1891 in Australasia—these dates record a progress unchecked by reverse, unparalleled in rapidity and extent. Federalism has succeeded in conditions the most diverse; here knitting scattered colonies of a kindred race into a nation equally strong and free; there forming hostile races, tongues, and creeds into compact and vigorous States. It is strong and flexible. No shock has severed its well-knit meshes, and nations the most unlike move with equal freedom in its enveloping folds. The whole drift of the political world is toward federalism to-day, as it was toward feudalism in the tenth century, and centralism in the fifteenth. The time may not be far distant when a centralized simple State will be as great an anachronism as a mail-clad knight in a modern army.

Of the nature and development of the chief modern federal governments; Mr. Robinson says (idem, pp. 787–790):

The Canadian Union was the work of one external sovereignty. A congress of delegates appointed by the provincial legislatures framed the desired constitution, which was then (1867) enacted *en bloc*, as an ordinary statute, by the British Parliament.

In Switzerland and the United States the ordaining sovereignty was one and internal. Previous to 1848 the cantons are said to have been separately sovereign. The only central authority was the Diet, consisting of one instructed vote from each canton. But unanimity was not required for decision, consequently a canton could be bound against its will, and coerced by arms if it resisted—as occurred in the Sonderbund war in 1847. Thus Laband's conception of the German Empire exactly fits the Switzerland of that date; sovereignty rested in the cantons not individually, but collectively. There were not as many sovereignties as cantons, but one sovereignty, of which the cantons were cobearers (*Mitträger*). To the cantons collectively the cantons individually were subject; just as each Roman senator was subject as an individual to the Senate as a whole. Following the Sonderbund war a committee of the Diet drafted the new constitution; the Diet itself then revised and passed it. When submitted to the cantons for approval, 15½ cantons accepted 6½ rejected it. The constitution thereupon went into effect for all alike. The sovereignty in the old confederation, therefore, decreed the new Federal organization. No absolutely new State was created, but a rudimentary exchanged for a well-developed form.

Modern Federalism

The same was true in America, but is not so easily seen. The traditional view regards the individual States as separately sovereign under the confederation. Article 2 declares: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence." . . . But words cannot obliterate facts. The States could not "retain" what they had never possest. They had always been subject to a political superior. First to England; secondly to the Continental Congress, a revolutionary body; hence *de facto* sovereign; and thirdly, under the Confederation each State individually was subject to the States collectively. In the American, as in the Swiss Confederation, sovereignty was one and the States were its cobearers; each as an individual was subject to the States collectively.

This, however, is a disputed point. See CONSTITUTION; STATE RIGHTS, etc. Mr. Robinson continues:

In Germany, the situation was different in that the contracting States had been and still were separately sovereign. Aug. 18, 1866, the North German States provided by treaty for the founding of a Federal State within one year, the constitution to be drafted by a conference of Envoys at Berlin, and passed upon by a Reichstag elected on the basis of the Frankfort election law. These provisions of the treaty were then enacted by the State legislatures as State law. State law they would have been without special enactment, since the August treaties rested upon State authority. State law they had to be, if law at all, since law requires a lawgiver, and only the States then legally existed. Both Reichstag and Conference therefore rested equally on State authority. The Conference sat Dec. 15, 1866, to Feb. 7, 1867. Its draft was submitted to the Reichstag February 24th by the King of Prussia, in the name of the associated governments. The Reichstag proposed amendments; these were accepted by the Conference. Both then dissolved and disappeared. The bodies created by State authorities had done their work, but the States were not legally bound by it, any more than the British Parliament was legally bound by the recommendations of the Canadian Constitutional Congress. The States did ratify the report of their agents, and fixt July 1, 1867, as the day for it to go into operation. But legally they could as well have rejected it. The lapse of the specified year would then have restored the *status quo ante* Aug. 18, 1866. If, therefore, the criterion of the existence of a new State be the existence of a new political authority, setting a limit to older authorities, then no new State existed prior to the ratification of the constitution by all the States.

It is indeed unquestionable that the German nation already existed, i. e., that the German people were conscious of common interests, feelings, and aspirations. It is equally unquestionable that such feelings could not but result in new political relations, and that in an historical and dynamical sense, the nation did, as a matter of fact, employ the States as instruments in the creation of a new State. But it is generally agreed that a nation is not a State politically organized, and a State cannot be said to give it political organization, because such organization is prerequisite to its being a State.

Mr. James Bryce ("The American Commonwealth," chaps. xxix., xxx.) sums up the faults generally charged against federal forms of government as:

(1) Weakness in the conduct of foreign affairs.
(2) Weakness in home government—that is to say, deficient authority over the component States and the individual citizens.
(3) Liability to dissolution by the secession or rebellion of States.
(4) Liability to division into groups and factions by the formation of separate combinations of the component States.
(5) Want of uniformity among the States in legislation and administration.
(6) Trouble, expense, and delay due to the complexity of a double system of legislation and administration.

Few of these dangers he thinks, however, have developed in the United States. He says:

All that can fairly be concluded from the history of the American Union is that federalism is obliged by the law of its nature to leave in the hands of States powers whose exercise may give to political controversy a peculiarly dangerous form, may impede the assertion of national authority, may even, when long-continued exasperation has suspended or destroyed the feeling of a common patriotism, threaten national unity itself. Against this danger is to be set the fact that the looser structure of a federal government and the scope it gives for diversities of legislation in different parts of a country may avert sources of discord, or prevent local discord from growing into a contest of national magnitude.

The merits of the federal form of government he considers to be: (1) That federalism can unite States into one government without extinguishing local governments, legislatures, and patriotism; (2) that it supplies the best means of developing a vast country; (3) it prevents the development of overcentralization; (4) it interests people in local self-government; (5) it secures the good administration of local affairs; (6) it allows of experiments in legislation; (7) it diminishes the risk which comes from size and diversity in the structure of a nation; (8) it relieves the national legislature of burdens which might prove too heavy. All these advantages Mr. Bryce holds true of the U. S. (But see DEMOCRACY.) For other countries, see under the different headings.

REFERENCES: Besides the books quoted, see *The State*, by Woodrow Wilson. See also POLITICAL SCIENCE.

FEDERAL PARTY, THE: The name given, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, to those who favored the Constitution as framed by the convention at Philadelphia in 1787. The name was later adopted by the party developed under the lead of Alexander HAMILTON,

which favored a strong central national government, friendly relations with Great Britain rather than with France, the fostering of commercial interests, the assumption of the State debts, and the chartering of a national bank, etc. It controlled the general government till 1801. Says Schouler ("History of the United States," vol. i., p. 54): "To speak logically, it was the anti-federal party that sustained a federal plan, while the Federalist contended for one more nearly national." (For a discussion of the views of the party, see CENTRALIZATION; CONSTITUTION; HAMILTON; STATE RIGHTS.)

FEDERATION OF CHURCHES, THE: A movement toward practical church unity and cooperation in the carrying on of church evangelical and social work, begun in New York City in 1905, largely through the efforts of the Rev. J. W. Hegeman, Ph.D., and having as its essential principle the federating of the various religious bodies, for practical work, while allowing each body perfect liberty to fashion its own life independently in its own way. The New York City Federation, of which the Rev. Walter Laidlaw, Ph.D., is secretary, has been by far the most active federation resulting from the movement, especially in social investigation and work (see below), but various state and city federations have been organized in New York state, Massachusetts, and elsewhere, and have led to considerable thought and to some united and social work, particularly in Providence, Toledo, Syracuse, and Utica. In 1900 a National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers was formed, with E. B. Sanford, D.D., as general secretary (90 Bible House, New York City). This has created some general thought and held an important interchurch conference in New York in 1905. Concerning the very active New York City Federation, its secretary contributes the following:

FEDERATION OF CHURCHES AND CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY, THE: Organized 1895, incorporated 1901. Purpose: To organize and assist the churches and Christian organizations of New York City for cooperative work in behalf of the spiritual, physical, educational, economic, and social interests of its family life, and to represent the Christian sentiment of the city in regard to moral issues. It began its work by a sociological investigation, including nationality, housing, wages, and public-school attendance with religious conditions in an upper West side district of New York. It found a district denser than the densest ward of London, England. It secured DeWitt Clinton Park by united petition of Catholic and Protestant churches; succeeded in having Episcopalian and Lutheran communions erect needed churches; located two settlement houses and several kindergartens, and brought churches of district into permanent cooperation. All succeeding investigations have been conducted on the same principles. It has instituted a model tenement for negroes to atone for racial injustice of charging blacks extra rent, has located a Moravian negro church to care for the West Indian immigration, and several churches for whites. It has discovered most populous blocks in New York City, and led the way to the formation of the Tenement House Department of the city. Its work of eleven years has resulted in over twenty-five institutions with aggregate value of over $3,000,000, and shaped the policies of sixty-five other institutions with value of over $10,000,000. Sub-federations have started cooperative work for neighborhood welfare. The first summer playground in New York, leading to the vacation playgrounds of the city, was conducted by a sub-federation. The organization of summer vacation Bible schools that include the first aid to the injured in their curriculum have led the city to include the same in the curriculum of their schools. The organization has also assisted the city in locating public baths. Federal and state statistics concerning population, overcrowding, etc., in New York City are interpreted, reedited, and reissued in *Federation*, the quarterly of the organization ($1 per annum). Here and here only the distribution of nationalities, the congestion of the city, and much kindred information can be obtained. The publications are used as text-books in sociological departments of many colleges and seminaries. The society has taken religious censuses of over one million people. It has lists of all institutions in each of the seventy-seven subdivisions of Greater New York; has in operation a cooperative church parish system covering 450,000 of the population; and has reduced, by the district plan, the churchless Protestants, in one neighborhood, from 48 to 28 per cent. It has the support of twenty-five religious communions, and was the cause of the formation of the National Federation of Churches. Studio 119 E. 119th St.

WALTER LAIDLAW.

FEDERATION OF LABOR. See AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

FEEDING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN, THE: Owing to the fact that proof has been given by experts to the underfeeding of children among the poorer classes, and to the consequent retarding of their mental development, a number of communities have undertaken the feeding of school children. The practise is a development of a Swiss custom that newly married couples give a present of money to the school as a thanksgiving for their education. The mayor of Paris introduced this custom in 1849; in 1867 the Chamber of Deputies passed a law *permitting* any municipality to create a school fund, *caisse des Écoles*, by voluntary contributions and subventions of the city or the state. This was employed in buying shoes and clothes for poor children. In 1882 a law was passed *compelling* the creation of school funds in all parts of France. The district of Montmartre, Paris, was first in using its fund for the feeding of children. The idea soon spread over Paris, and other large cities of France, under the name *cantines scolaires*.

France

The plan as now practised in France usually involves: (1) Free meals, or meals provided at cost; (2) provision of shoes and clothing when necessary; (3) free medical attendance; and (4) in some localities the sending of weak and sick children to the seaside or the mountains, under the name of "school colonies." For the treatment of topics under (4) see article FRESH AIR WORK.

I. At first only poor children were fed, free of cost, later any child who was willing to pay. In 1882 there were fifteen *cantines scolaires* in Paris, which served in all 1,110,827 *portions*, as the lunches were called. One third of these "orders" were for meat, one third for bowls of soup; the remainder for vegetables; 374,301 orders were

given free; 736,526 paid for. The total cost of the lunches was 59,264 francs, of which the children paid 36,776 fr. Later experience proved the "orders" could be made larger, and the price reduced nearly 50 per cent. Nowadays the cost of a meal—consisting of a bowl of good soup, a plate of meat, two kinds of vegetables, and bread *ad libitum*—is fifteen centimes, or about three cents. The managers say that this small sum more than covers the cost. If all children paid, there might be some profit. Poorer children pay part, very poor ones nothing. In the district of Eppinette, a poor quarter, the children pay about 20 per cent of the total cost; in ordinary districts, e. g., Batignolles, from 45 to 50; in wealthy ones, 75 to 85. In order to make up the deficit the Municipal Council of Paris grants a subsidy. The total amount of this for the three years 1901–3 was 1,000,000 fr. The city is, however, largely compensated for this subsidy by the consequent reduction of the poor relief funds. Another item to be noticed is the falling off of private subscriptions to the *cantines scolaires* since the city has made the feeding of school children a municipal duty. Two features deserve special mention: (1) The prevention of fraud. When a child claims to be unable to pay even part of the 15 centimes, he or she is given a ticket at once; but within twenty-four hours an investigation is made at the home to find out the facts. If the statement is true, the child receives free meals as long as necessary; if not, the parents must pay the arrears. (2) The discretion maintained about poor children. Tickets of the same color are issued to all children, whether they pay or not; so that no child need exhibit its poverty by a special ticket. In order to prevent the overhearing of applications for free tickets, each child is compelled to go through a little box-office singly and receives his ticket for or without pay there. Thus the taint of pauperism is removed, and the self-respect of the children preserved. The teachers, too, generally take their meals at the *cantines*, pay the same price, and receive the same ticket. About 90 per cent of them take their lunches with the children, altho there is no compulsion about it. The meals are tasty, served neatly, and paper napkins are provided.

Elsewhere in Europe

In several German cities, particularly in Berlin, the plan for feeding school children is very similar to that of Paris, the *Schul-Kuche* is connected, as a rule, only with schools in poor districts. Brussels, Belgium, likewise follows the model of Paris; so do several cities in Switzerland. Italy has adopted the same system widely, but that of Vercelli, in the province of Piedmont, is unique in that it provides free meals to all children, and makes attendance at the meals as compulsory as that at school. Trondhjem, Norway, offers free meals to all school children who desire to avail themselves of the opportunity. Birmingham, England, feeds very poor or starving children with very scanty food as a matter of charity free of cost. About 2.5 per cent of all the city's children take these meals. The cost to the city is less than a half-penny a meal, including the managers and helpers' salaries of £100 in all a year.

In the U. S. the Oliver Goldsmith school in Chicago has for several years furnished free meals to a large number of children.

II. In nearly all European cities poor children are provided with shoes and clothing. District visitors look up the poorly dressed children's homes, and provide these articles at the expense of the municipality. Details differ, but the plan is, in the main, the same.

III. Free medical attendance is a feature of the scheme of many schools in Europe. Brussels has a compulsory system of free medical examination for all school children at least every ten days. The eyes, ears, teeth, general physical condition are overhauled. Tonics are given to weak or puny children; eye-glasses to those of defective sight; if need be, children are sent to the country or seaside. France, Switzerland, and Norway have less systematic medical examination.

Several cities in the U. S., e. g., New York, Chicago, have introduced medical inspection. But it is perfunctory. Yet even these examinations have revealed the alarming fact that in New York 17 per cent out of 10,000 children examined, suffered from serious defects of eyesight; and fully one third with less serious ones. An examination in Minnesota proved 70,000 children to have very defective eyesight, less than 10 per cent of whom were provided with glasses.

The result of the experiments in feeding and inspecting children have proved that poor scholarship is often due to underfeeding, or some defect of eye, ear, etc. Better physical, mental, and moral development has attended the efforts of looking after the needs of poor children systematically.

References: John Spargo, *Underfed School Children*, and *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906); R. Hunter, *Poverty*.

FELS, JOSEPH: Of the Fels Naphtha Soap Company of Philadelphia, Pa., mainly resident in England (Elmwood Bickley, Kent). Interested in the Vacant Lot Gardening in Pennsylvania, and in Labor colonies in England. (See Labor Colonies; Unemployment; Vacant Lot Gardening.)

FENWICK, C.: Member British Parliament, of Labor Party for Wansbeck, Northumberland. Born 1850, began work at age of nine in a mine. He has been prominent in all endeavors for improving the condition of miners, altho he is opposed to the Eight Hours Bill for miners. Is a member of the Royal Commissions on Mine Explosions and on Secondary Education; was Parliamentary Secretary of the Trades Union Congress from 1890–94. Has been a member of Parliament since 1885, elected chiefly by the votes of the Miners' Association, altho the Liberals assisted him. *Address*: 14, Tankerville Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

FERRARA, FRANCESCO: Italian economist; born in Palermo, Sicily, 1810. In 1834 he became chief of the statistical bureau of Sicily, and founded the *Giornale di Statistica*. In 1847 he was active in a movement aiming at the political independence of Sicily, and was imprisoned. Released in the following year, he was sent to Turin on a special mission, and during his sojourn there was offered the chair of national economy at the University of Turin, which he accepted. Later he held a similar chair at Pisa. In 1867 he was appointed minister of finance, and in 1868 became director of a mercantile school in Venice, where he remained until his death in 1900. He has written: "Importanza dell' Economia Politica" (1849); "Memorie di Statistica" (1890), etc.

FERRARIS, CARLO FRANCESCO: Italian scientist; born at Moncalvo, 1850; educated at the University of Turin (LL.D., 1870). He was a member of the Italian bureau of statistics from 1874 to 1876, and in 1878 became extraordinary professor at the University of Pavia, and in 1883 a director in the Italian ministry of agriculture, industry, and commerce. In 1885 he was called to the chair of administrative science and law and statistics in the University of Padua, which he still holds. He was a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies during 1886–87, and since 1904. He is a member of many academies and institutes of art and science and statistics. He is also an honorary member of the Swiss statistical society and of the English royal statistical society. Among his works may be mentioned: "La Statistica e la Scienza dell' Amministrazione nelle Facultà Giuridiche" (1878); "Moneta e Corso Forzoso" (1879); "Principii di Scienza Bancaria"; "Socialismo e Reforma Sociale" (1900), etc. *Address*: University of Padua, Italy.

FERRI, ENRICO: Italian sociologist and politician; born at San Benedetto-Po, Mantua, 1856; studied at Mantua, Bologna, and Pisa. In 1880 he was appointed professor of criminal law at the University of Bologna; from 1882–85 he officiated in a similar capacity at Siena; and in 1892 he was called to Pisa. Since 1895 he has been an attorney at Rome. In 1886 Ferri became a member of the Chamber of Deputies as a Socialist, and he has become a leading member of the party. He is the founder and editor of the Socialist organ *Avanti*, and has written various works on sociological questions.

FEUDALISM: A social system prevalent in one form or another in northern and western Europe, through all the Middle Ages, according to which land was held by its owners as *feuds* or *feifs* on condition of paying service to a superior lord.

Origin

The origin of the system is uncertain. It seems, however, to have been first developed in Germany. Some find its origin in the Roman custom of making grants of land to tribes on condition of paying certain tribute or military service. It is certainly not very different from certain Roman forms of land ownership. (See LAND.) Most authorities, however, trace it to older and more fully Germanic and perhaps Asiatic origin—a development, it may be, of the early forms of land tenure. (See PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) German chiefs had their *comitatus* or retinue of "freemen" surrounding and serving them in peace, and especially in war. Beneath these were the serfs or tillers of the soil, dependent on the freemen. It was a system of society partly separate from and eventually largely replacing the relation of the individual to the State. Under feudalism the individual placed himself or was placed as a vassal (a word probably of Celtic origin, at first meaning servant) under a superior. He was said to be under *commendation* to him, and for the protection given by the lord he owed him *obsequium*, or willingness to serve. Feudalism was connected with the older Roman system of *beneficia*, or the giving of property for use, but with responsibility to the donor or heirs. From this system grew up the ecclesiastical benefices. Feudalism changed the *beneficia* into *feuda*—property held under personal allegiance, *allodia* being property held in fee simple. The service paid by the vassal was service in war (*service d'hoste*), the obligation to appear at his lord's courts (*justitia*), money payments (*auxilia*), and homage. The "Treatise of Tenures" says: "Homage is the most honorable service and most humble service of reverence that a frank tenant may do to his lord, for when the tenant shall make homage to his lord, he shall be ungirt and his head uncovered, and his lord shall sit and the tenant shall kneel before him on both his knees and hold his hands jointly together between the hands of his lord, and shall say this: 'I become your man from this day forward, of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and unto you shall be true and faithful, and bear you faith for the tenements that I claim to hold of you, saving the faith that I owe to our sovereign lord, the king'; and then the lord, so sitting, shall kiss him." The tie of feudalism was thus essentially a personal tie for the use of land.

Feudalism grew up from the fifth to the ninth century, when it is found somewhat fully developed in Germany, and developing in the adjacent countries. In Germany, however, the different chiefs were so independent that a centralized feudalism never appeared. It is among the Normans, in Gaul, in Aragon, through large portions of Italy, and, after the Conquest, in England, that we find its fully developed and centralized form.

Here all land is held as belonging to the king, representing the whole people. He divides the realm among his barons, to rule over and defend.

The Feudal Principle

For this they pay tribute to the king and receive tribute from their retainers or vassals—the tribute in time of war being military service. They in turn divide their baronies among the lesser nobility, and they among the freemen, each paying tribute to his superior. The serfs, finally, live on the domain of the lord of the manor (the freeman), cultivate it, and have certain rights of domicile and pasturage, for receipt of which they pay service to the lord. The serf pays no tribute to the king, only to his liege lord; the liege lord pays to his superior, and so on up to the king. This is the feudal *idea* modified in history in a thousand ways and by a thousand special grants and privileges. The basis of the whole system is the land tenure, which is "the sacramental tie of all public relations."

Once developed, however, the system immediately began to change. When the English kings began to fight in France it became more convenient for the northern barons to give payments of money instead of military service; and the king preferred this, since it enabled him to hire troops who would serve him more unquestioningly. Gradually the system of paying money instead of service developed into the rule. Out of this came PARLIAMENTS, first called together to vote supplies for the king. But out of this came also other institutions. Under feudalism proper the serf paid nothing to the king directly, but only to his superior lord. When the king wanted money it occurred to his councilors that he might get money by taxing the serf as well as the lords. The early poll taxes were resisted (see PEASANTS' REVOLT), but they were collected. It was forgotten or ignored that the serf already paid the king *through the lord*; that the serf only paid the lord because the lord paid the king.

Developments

The lords were quite willing to have the serfs pay the king because then they could claim that the king was paid, and keep what they received *as their own*. This developed the landlord system of England. Hitherto the lords had ruled their lands, not as owners, but as representatives of the king, and what they received from their vassals they paid over to the king, at least in part. They now claimed to own the land, and kept the tribute as *rent*. The king, they said, was paid through *taxes*. Out of this has developed modern England.

It is not claimed that the development took this simple and conscious form; but it explains a large portion of what actually occurred. Under feudalism the vassal did not pay both tax and rent. His rent or service was his tax. Says Rogers ("Six Centuries of Work and Wages," p. 56): "There was in the thirteenth century no rent paid in the ordinary sense of that word." Such conditions have led to two extreme views

of feudalism: the one too favorable, the other too severe. According to one view, to which conservatives and some Socialists are inclined, the laborer under feudalism was better off than to-day. Every man was entitled to the use of a little land, with perhaps a cottage and the right of pasturage and of getting fuel in the manorial woods, all on the one condition of paying a little service or work to his lord. Each man had a place, a lowly place indeed—a cottage, rough and dark, with few comforts. But then the lord did not have modern comforts, and at least the serf was sure of his living and related by ties often of personal regard to the lord on whose estate he lived, and whom he could occasionally see and know. There was no landless class, and there was not the modern impersonal "cash nexus" and freedom, which is often a freedom to starve.

The other view to which liberals and individualists are inclined, goes to the other extreme. It dwells upon the rough home and food of the medieval serf, above all upon his oppression by his lord. He had a place, it is true, but a dog's place and a dog's life. How vastly better off, it is said, is the workingman of to-day. Feudalism has gone. Serfdom disappears in England after the PEASANTS' REVOLT. Feudal tenures were abolished by act of Parliament in England in 1660; in Scotland in 1747. In France they disappeared in the Revolution of 1789; in Germany and Austria, in the Revolution of 1848–50. In each country, however, the system had long been modified by political and social changes. A feudal system is said to have early developed in China and Japan, but to have disappeared in the former country as early as 220 B.C., on the conquest of the country by Siang Wang, of Tsin, or Tsin-shi-Hwang-ti. In Japan, it endured till 1871, when the *daimios* or barons surrendered their lands to the Mikado.

FICHTE, JOHANN GOTTLIEB: German philosopher; born at Rammenau, Lusatia, 1762; studied theology and philosophy at the University of Jena. On leaving college he earned a precarious support as an itinerant tutor. In 1791 he became a zealous follower of Kant, and in the following year wrote his "Critique of All Revelation," which Kant highly commended. For a time he lived under pecuniary difficulties, but in 1794 was appointed to the chair of philosophy at Jena. He soon broke loose from Kant, whose philosophy was not sufficiently idealistic. He said to a friend, "Kant has only *indicated* the truth, but neither unfolded nor proved it." In 1799 a groundless charge of atheism removed him from the college; and he took up his residence in Berlin. Six years later he was called to the chair of philosophy at Erlangen. It was here that his famous lectures on "The Nature of the Scholar" were delivered. Later he was elected rector of the University of Berlin, where he remained until his death in 1814.

Fichte united the qualities of the philosopher, the prophet, the patriot, and the saint. The fundamental notion of his philosophy is the reality of the ego, which posits both itself and the non-ego. As to his social views, the following quotations speak for themselves:

In his "Materials for the Justification of the French Revolution," he writes: "Property can have no other origin than labor. Whosoever does not work has no right to obtain the means of existence from society." In 1796 he proclaimed "the right to property." He says in his "Principles of Natural Right": "Whoso has not the means of living is not bound to recognize or respect the property of others, seeing that, as regards him, the principles of the social contract have been violated. Every one should have some property; society owes to all the means of work, and all should work in order to live." In his book on "The State in Accordance with Right" ("Rechtstaat") he foreshadows a collective organization which would realize what he understands by right: "Labor and distribution should be collectively organized; every one should receive for a fixt amount of labor a fixt amount of capital which would constitute his property, according to right. Property will thus be made universal. No person should enjoy superfluities as long as anybody lacks necessaries; for the right of property in objects of luxury can have no foundation until each citizen has his share in the necessaries of life. Farmers and laborers should form partnerships, so as to produce the most with the least possible exertion." The essential ideas of the socialism of to-day, as regards both the notion of right and its realization, are contained in embryo in the foregoing lines, which were manifestly occasioned by Rousseau and the eighteenth-century philosophers, tho modified by his deep and pietistic Christianity. Among Fichte's works may be mentioned: "The Destination of Man"; "The Vocation of the Scholar"; "The Nature of the Scholar"; "The Way to the Blessed Life"; and "The Characteristics of the Present Age." His "Rechtstaat" was translated by A. E. Kroeger.

FINANCE, THE SCIENCE OF: (from medieval Latin, *finis*, an end, or payment in settlement), is correctly used in economics for the science of the raising, administration, and expenditure of the revenues of a nation, state, or city. The word finance is popularly but incorrectly used for the discussion of the subject of money; perhaps because, in the United States, especially, questions of revenue have been so intimately connected with those of money.

In classic times, while there was often wise management of the public finances, there was little development of theory or principles of finance. The work of Xenophon on the revenues of Athens was simply a discussion as to how the city might derive sufficient revenue from its own territory. He recommends a state monopoly of silver mining. The Romans developed still less theory.

Development

The first modern development of the science was by the German cameralists (q. v.). These often gave good, practical advice, but still with little system or theory. From the seventeenth century the school of the mercantilists (q. v.) began to have weight, and in the eighteenth century the school of the physiocrats (q. v.). The German cameralists discust finance largely as a matter of the management of domains and monopolies. The mercantilists were more for duties, customs, and bounties. Under the influence of the physiocrats we have the development of the idea of the *impôt unique*, the single tax on land. Under Adam Smith and his followers we have the development of the ideas of free trade and the substitution of other taxes for customs duties. In the development of the modern science of finance the Germans lead. They divide the science into

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three parts: 1. The organization of the financial economy; 2. public expenditure and the purposes for which it may be made; 3. public revenue and the sources from which it may be derived. The ordinary sources of revenues are divided into three kinds. (1) From agricultural, industrial, or commercial enterprises (see NATIONALISM; MUNICIPALISM; RAILROADS; POSTAL SYSTEM; TELEGRAPH); (2) from fees; (3) from taxation (q. v.).

In the conduct of a State's financial system, Prof. E. J. James (article "Finance," "Lalor's Cyclopedia of Political Science") finds four main systems: 1. The German, where all public offices are filled from the ranks of persons who have shown their fitness by prescribed tests, and after a period of probation are appointed with a right to the office and a salary as long as its duties are properly performed. 2. The French system, where the salaried officer, tho professionally educated, may be removed at pleasure. 3. The American system, in which the salaried officer may be removed for political reasons without any question of fitness. 4. The voluntary system, where offices are filled by those able and willing to act without salary. Professor James considers the German system, tho nominally the most expensive, in reality the cheapest and the best. (See TAXATION.)

REFERENCES: Adolph Wagner's *Finanzwissenschaft* (1877–1882); C. F. Bastable's *Public Finance* (1892); T. G. Bowles's *National Finance* (London, 1904); H. C. Adams's *Finance* (1899); D. R. Dewey's *Financial History of the U. S.* (1903); A. D. Noyes's *Thirty Years of American Finance* (1903). (See also TAXATION.)

FINANCES OF THE WORLD

(From the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1905*)

COUNTRY	Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Year	Debt			Rates of interest
					Funded		Total in United States currency	*Per cent*
Argentina	[a]1901	$62,723,000	$60,757,000	1902	$	[j]477,888,035	$479,765,265	4½ – 6
Australasia:								
Commonwealth	[a]1902–3	140,755,000	142,148,000	1903	£	212,028,414	1,084,605,444	3 – 5
New Zealand	[a]1902–3	31,376,000	30,241,000	1903	£	55,899,019	275,439,126	3 – 5
Austria-Hungary	[b]1902–3	75,896,000	75,896,000	1903	Crowns	5,359,326,917	1,107,464,025	3 – 4
Austria	[b]1903	350,509,000	350,424,000	1903	Crowns	3,626,180,223	739,020,208	3 – 5½
Hungary	[b]1902	220,672,000	221,649,000	1902	Crowns	4,449,360,000	1,038,585,000	3 – 4
Belgium	[a]1901	122,657,000	116,500,000	1902	Francs	2,778,051,351	544,052,979	2½ – 3
Bolivia	[b]1902	3,614,000	3,663,000	1901	Bolivianos	[k]6,551,831	6,180,602	4 – 5
Brazil	[a]1901	137,295,000	99,366,000	1902	£	42,423,817	540,693,936	4 – 6
British colonies, not elsewhere specified	[a]1902–3	121,885,000	117,381,000	1902–3	£	73,906,192	368,763,125	3 – 6
Bulgaria	[b]1903	18,917,000	18,853,000	1902	Francs	[l]323,462,000	62,428,200	5 – 6
Canada	[a]1902	[c]58,051,000	[c]50,759,000	1902	$	[m]271,829,090	271,829,090	2½ – 5
Central America:								
Costa Rica	[b]1902–3	2,820,000	2,812,000	1903	£	2,185,250	14,603,556	2½ – 3
Guatemala	[a]1902	2,046,000	2,169,000	1903	£	1,749,704	12,142,334	4 – 8
Honduras	[a]1902	1,373,000	1,264,000	1903	£	[n]19,688,353	96,249,771	5 –10
Nicaragua	[a]1901	2,403,000	2,393,000	1902–3	£	264,665	5,590,636	4 – 6
San Salvador	[a]1902	3,281,000	3,274,000	1903		(o)	3,696,472	4 – 5
Chile	[a]1901	38,684,000	44,001,000	1902	£	[k]17,012,580	107,304,151	4½ – 5
China	[a]1901	62,710,000	71,896,000	1902	£	125,991,960	613,140,000	4 – 8
Cuba	[a]1902	18,791,000	19,515,000	....				
Denmark	[a]1902–3	20,306,000	20,792,000	1903	Kroner	[k]176,327,250	[p]66,033,849	3 – 4
Ecuador	[a]1901	5,208,000	4,540,000	1903	Sucres	8,534,560	5,746,628	3½ – 5
Egypt	[a]1902	60,051,000	56,511,000	1903	£	102,896,100	[q]500,743,871	3 – 4½
Finland	[a]1901	25,555,000	24,993,000	1903	Francs	134,182,784	25,897,277	3 – 3½
France	[a]1902	695,276,000	695,250,000	1903	Francs	29,225,099,629	5,856,706,403	3 – 3½
Algeria	[a]1902	[d]10,899,000	[d]10,496,000	1902	Francs	157,688,000	30,433,784	3
Tunis	[a]1901	6,158,000	6,481,000	....				
French colonies, not elsewhere specified	[b]1901–2	[ed]17,100,000	[ed]17,100,000	....				
French East Indies	[b]1902	[d]12,037,000	[d]12,031,000	....				
German Empire	[a]1901	495,853,000	553,222,000	1902	Marks	2,811,517,700	698,849,400	3 – 3½
German States	[a]1901–2	[r]904,287,000	[s]902,990,000	1902	Marks	11,246,400,100	2,687,621,000	3 – 4
German colonies	[b]1902–3	[h]2,227,000	[h]2,227,000	....				
Greece	[b]1903	14,664,000	14,327,000	1903	Francs	715,000,000	159,787,136	2½ – 5
Haiti	[b]1901–2	[i]7,327,000	[i]7,341,000	1902	$	12,567,964	27,961,249	5 – 6
India, British	[a]1902	371,531,000	346,440,000	1902	£	[r]207,768,012	1,102,905,139	3 – 4½
Italy	[a]1902–3	375,000,000	356,492,000	1902	Lire	[t]12,615,394,000	[y]2,560,605,000	3 – 5
Japan	[a]1901–2	133,039,000	132,895,000	1902	Yen	502,226,140	261,857,143	4 – 5
Formosa	[a]1901–2	9,844,000	9,643,000	....				
Korea	[b]1903	5,362,000	5,361,000	....				
Mexico	[a]1901–2	29,171,000	27,819,000	1902	$	175,353,345	175,945,345	3 – 5
Netherlands	[a]1901	61,526,000	61,468,000	1903	Florins	1,137,116,676	463,150,904	2½ – 3
Dutch East Indies	[b]1903	61,934,000	66,750,000	....				
Norway	[a]1901–2	27,000,000	27,259,000	1902	Kroner	262,598,341	70,376,355	3 – 3½
Paraguay	[b]1902	11,007,000	11,007,000	1903	£	[u]2,034,936	[v]11,223,805	3 – 4½
Persia	1898–99	[e]7,300,000	[e]7,300,000	1903	Rubles	32,500,000	16,737,500	5
Peru	[a]1901	7,533,000	7,016,000	1902	£	(w)	23,159,700	
Portugal	[a]1901–2	57,336,000	62,170,000	1903	£	[x]153,708,445	819,886,580	3 – 4½
Rumania	[a]1901–2	42,114,000	38,906,000	1902	Francs	1,238,339,384	272,774,501	4 – 5
Russia	[e]1902	1,101,107,000	1,116,095,000	1903	Rubles	[y]6,629,246,086	3,414,061,734	3 – 5

FINANCES OF THE WORLD—*Continued*

COUNTRY	Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Year	Debt			Rates of interest
					Funded		Total in United States currency	*Per cent*
Santo Domingo	[b]1902–3	1,910,000	1,722,000	1903	£	[z]3,885,350	26,219,449	2½ – 4
Servia	[b]1902	13,619,000	14,086,000	1902	Francs	418,685,093	80,806,223	4 – 5
Siam	[b]1902–3	13,823,000	13,640,000	....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spain	[a]1902	197,077,000	187,846,000	1903	Pesetas	[aa]10,680,777,056	2,061,389,972	4 – 5
Sweden	[a]1901	49,712,000	49,593,000	1903	Kroner	[bb]346,693,044	92,833,336	3 – 4
Switzerland	[a]1902	20,691,000	20,563,000	1903	Francs	[cc]90,158,376	17,400,567	3½
Turkey	[b]1897–8	81,450,000	81,089,000	1903	£ Turkish	139,510,187	723,125,400	3½ – 5
United Kingdom	[a]1902–3	737,526,000	897,790,000	1903	£	[dd]695,645,762	3,885,166,333	2½ – 2¾
United States	[a]1905	697,101,000	720,105,000	1905	$	895,158,340	[ee]989,866,772	2 – 4
Philippine Islands	[a]1903	15,326,000	14,263,000	1903	$	.....	6,000,000	4
Uruguay	[a]1902	16,703,000	15,032,000	1903	Pesos	101,945,979	127,362,827	3½ – 5
Venezuela	[a]1902	4,818,000	5,026,000	1903	Bolivars	[ff]143,383,716	49,335,647	3 – 5
Total	.....	7,903,966,000	8,060,638,000	....	.....	.....	43,698,029,541	.....

* For latest figures, see under the principal countries.
[a] Actual receipts and expenditures.
[b] Budget estimate.
[c] From and on account of the consolidated fund.
[d] Local budget only, exclusive of subsidies and other expenditures of home government in interests of colony.
[e] Estimated.
[f] Exclusive of transfers from the imperial treasury, appearing in the budget of the empire.
[g] Exclusive of contributions to imperial treasury, appearing in budget of Empire.
[h] Exclusive of subventions paid by the imperial government to the extent of $6,443,000.
[i] Largely in depreciated paper.
[j] Of which $54,347,834 constituted the internal debt.
[k] External debt.
[l] Exclusive of the East Rumelian tribute of 2,951,000 francs per year, for which no capital value has yet been fixt.
[m] Net gross debt June 30, 1902, $366,358,477, of which $129,392,026 was not funded. Against gross debt there were $94,529,387 of assets, $50,874,000 constituting sinking-fund.
[n] Including arrears of interest amounting to £14,289,783.
[o] Converted into securities of the Salvador Railway Company in consideration of an annual subsidy of £24,000.
[p] Total gross debt, against which assets amounting to $27,962,901 were held by the treasury.
[q] Against which reserve funds amounting to $40,221,000 were held in beginning of 1903.
[r] Of this total, 1,161,913,883 rupees represent the permanent debt in India, and £130,307,090 the permanent debt in England.
[s] Against this total the treasury held bonds and securities valued at 166,039,000 lire, making the net debt = $2,528,559,000.
[u] Of which £1,116,686 were arrears guaranty payments due Paraguayan Central Railway.
[v] There are besides outstanding the debts due to Brazil, 9,876,500 pesos, and to Argentina, 12,393,600 pesos.
[w] The foreign debt, amounting to £31,579,080, exclusive of arrears of interest of £22,998,651, was assumed in 1890 by the Grace-Donohue Company on concession of the railways, and certain rights over guano deposits, mines, and lands in Peru for sixty-six years.
[x] Of which £41,568,645 are reported to be in the hands of the government.
[y] Of which 3,049,522,636 was in gold rubles or in terms of foreign currency, and 3,579,723,450 rubles in terms of Russian currency. This total does not include about 550,000,000 rubles of credit notes in circulation, more than fully covered by the metallic reserve of the Bank of Russia.
[z] Secured by customs duties and specially assigned revenues, the collection of which is controlled by the Santo Domingo Improvement Company, of New York.
[aa] Of which 9,664,484,956 pesetas were classed as "internal" debt.
[bb] Practically all contracted for the purpose of construction of railways.
[cc] Total liabilities of the Federation, exclusive of the railway debt.
[dd] Represents the funded debt proper and the estimated capital liability in respect to terminable annuities.
[ee] The item in the column "Funded debt" is total interest-bearing debt of United States.
[ff] External debt, including arrears.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS: The earliest fire companies were composed of volunteers, tho sometimes inducements to join were held out by exempting them from jury duty. They were sometimes like social and sometimes political clubs.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS OF TEN LARGEST CITIES, U. S. (1903)

CITY	Paid Firemen	Engines	Property Loss from Fires	Expenditure 1904
New York, N. Y.	3,359	170	$7,082,439	$6,438,426
Chicago, Ill.	1,297	123	3,062,931	1,878,308
Philadelphia, Pa.	854	66	2,326,528	1,377,247
St. Louis, Mo.	510	52	1,203,929	882,508
Boston, Mass.	891	65	1,674,333	1,333,087
Baltimore, Md.	444	34	670,615	548,550
Cleveland, Ohio	424	33	824,062	606,071
Buffalo, N. Y.	570	38	932,240	751,200
San Francisco, Cal.	647	60	1,211,816	743,603
Pittsburg, Pa.	451	36	553,324	599,802

In New York, the firemen became a power in ward politics. The paid fire department of New York City was organized May 4, 1865. Since then the system has spread to all the large cities and attained remarkable efficiency, organized usually under fire commissioners. Fires are much more frequent in America than in Europe, because of poorly constructed houses and lack of construction laws in America. This, however, is being changed. Partly as a result, the American fire departments are generally thought to be much more efficiently developed.

In London, the force of the fire-brigade is 1,313 men and officers; land-engines, 82; fire-floats, tugs, etc., 15; expenditure (1904–5), £247,974. The fire-brigade of Berlin had a total strength of 847 men and officers in 1900; 10 steam-engines, 18 hand-engines, etc.; expenditure, 1,661,611 marks. That of Hamburg, 551 men and officers, 32 steam-engines, 8 gas-engines, 11 hand-engines; expenditure, 1,264,830 mks. The force of Vienna amounted

to 461 men and officers, 7 steam-engines, 30 gas-engines. Besides the professionals Vienna has a voluntary force of 1,028 men, with engines and apparatus of their own; expenditure for both, 1,226,323 kronen. Germany has 50 professional fire-brigades. The fire-fighting forces of Germany have formed a union which consisted in 1898 of over 26,061 brigades with 1,451,123 men. Austria has a similar union numbering in 1901 9,849 brigades, mostly voluntary, with 441,925 men. The fire-brigade of Paris consisted in 1900 of 1,753 men and officers; it had 25 steam-engines, etc.; expenditure, 2,620,727 francs.

FIRE-DRILLS: It is usually assumed that where fire-extinguishing apparatus has been installed in a building and fire-escapes provided, everything necessary for a fire emergency has been arranged for.

Experience does not bear out this assumption. People not being accustomed to them, are afraid to use them at the critical time, or if many try to use them at the same time, get jammed on them and injured.

The only way that these results can be obtained in the case of fire appurtenances is through an occasional fire-drill. The effectiveness of this institution has long been proven in the public schools. Boys drilled in it are now men, and, appreciating the soundness of its principles, are putting it into effect in factories and in other places where people congregate for any length of time.

A fire-drill is now considered an essential part of every up-to-date, well-organized business enterprise. It is recommended by the city fire departments in order that the firemen on their arrival may give their immediate attention to putting out fire and preserving property instead of to saving lives.

For the working of Fire-drills, address H. F. J. Porter, Industrial Engineer, 1 Madison Avenue, New York.

FIRE INSURANCE. See Insurance.

FISHERIES: A system of profit-sharing was introduced into the cod and mackerel fisheries of the United States about 1730.

When a ship was built the builders would take shares in it—painter, sail-maker, rigger, captain, and all who were to man it. The ship was divided into sixty-four shares. The builder would take a large part, the captain and mate each one share or one half share, and so on down through the entire crew. The chief owner was known as "the ship's husband." He determined the plans of the voyage. In fisheries, a ship would be held in five shares. The owner held two fifths and the crew (captain, mates, and men) held three fifths. Profits were divided among these conjoint owners according to the shares held. The owner kept the ship in repairs and the whole company paid the expenses. This custom has only in small part been kept up—longest in the Maine fishing smacks. To-day the fishers are poorly paid, and for the most part work for wholesale dealers.

This change in fisheries has destroyed its romance. That is bad enough, but the indirect loss of having a considerably smaller number of competent seamen to recruit our navy from, is more serious, and affects the whole country.

United States

(Compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries.)

Sections	Vessels employed	Persons employed	Value of products
South Atlantic States (1902)	526	23,452	$2,839,633
Gulf States (1902)	714	18,029	3,494,196
Middle Atlantic States (1904)	3,583	83,103	18,963,976
New England States (1902)	1,479	39,250	12,406,284
Great Lakes (1903)	206	9,333	2,745,501
Mississippi River and Tributaries (1903)	5	13,377	1,841,168
Minor Interior Waters (chiefly for 1900, 1902, and 1903)	1	2,491	425,929
Pacific Coast States (1904)	226	19,658	6,680,866
Alaska Territory (1905)	170	10,866	7,330,224
Total	6,910	219,559	$56,727,777

The total capital invested is $88,349,563.

Great Britain

(Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1905.)

	Regular fishermen employed	Fishermen occasionally employed	Fishing boats	Value of products
England and Wales	34,318	8,132	9,131	£7,502,768
Scotland	29,064	10,487	10,581	2,719,810
Ireland	8,744	17,079	6,221	393,630
Isle of Man	637	240	.....	.....
Channel Islands	530	193	.....	.....
Total	73,293	36,131	25,933	£10,616,208

Fish imported were valued at £3,224,402.

Other Countries

In Germany (1895), 32,199 persons were employed in fisheries; in France (1905), 20,272 men (in cod and herring fisheries); Italy (1905) 94,684 men in 24,264 boats; Spain, 14,700 men; Norway, 93,169 men; Holland, 20,141 men.

FLOWER, BENJAMIN ORANGE: American editor and author; born at Albion, Ill., 1858; educated in public schools and Kentucky University. Until 1880 he edited *The American Sentinel* at Albion, Ill., and then went to Boston, where he established *The American Spectator*. In 1889 he founded *The Arena*, of which he was editor until 1896. For a short time he edited *The New Time* in Chicago, and later *The Coming Age* until that magazine was merged into *The Arena*, of which he (1904) became sole editor. A firm believer in pure democracy, he holds that the most important immediate step is the introduction of the initiative, referendum, and right of recall. He also favors proportional representation and direct primaries, believes in public ownership of all natural monopolies, and holds that the single tax would do much toward establishing equality of rights and opportunities. In view of the great inequalities of wealth he believes that a graduated income tax and an inheritance tax should be introduced for a term of years, as an equalizing factor. He is the author of: "Lessons Learned from Other Lives" (1891); "Civilization's Inferno" (1893); "The New Time, Essays on Social Problems" (1894); "Whittier, Prophet, Seer, and Man" (1895); "The Century of Sir Thomas

More" (1896); "Persons, Places, and Ideas" (1896); and "How England Averted a Revolution of Force" (1901), etc. *Address*: 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

FLÜRSCHEIM, MICHAEL: German social reformer; born in Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1844. From 1860 to 1867 he worked in banks in Frankfort, Berlin, and Paris. In 1867 he went to the United States, where he was an importer, manufacturer, and inventor—first in New York, and from 1870–72 in Virginia. In 1872 he returned to Germany, first engaged in a journalistic enterprise (*The American News*), and in 1873 purchased the Gaggenau Iron Works, which he conducted for fifteen years with great success. He introduced new industries into Germany, and at one time he had taken out over one hundred patents. In 1883 he began to devote a part of his time to social reform. In 1884 his first book, "Auf Friedlichem Wege," appeared. In 1886 he published "Deutschland in 100 Jahren," a precursor of Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and the flood of similar writings following in its wake. In 1889 he completed and soon published "Der Einzige Rettungsweg," and in 1890 he wrote in English, "Rent, Interest, and Wages," which appeared in London in 1891. In 1894 he published "Bausteine für Social Reform." In 1893 he went to the U. S. and Mexico, to assist in the foundation of a cooperative colony on land nationalization principles. Tho a follower of Henry George in the general idéa that common land ownership is the foundation-stone of social reform, Flürscheim differs from him in most other theories, and also in regard to George's proposal of the single tax, which he calls confiscation. He prefers full land nationalization, with compensation of landowners. He considers his most important discovery is his crisis theory. It was in 1888 that he completed this theory. He holds that the cause of commercial depression, of scarcity of work—in fact, of the modern social problem—is that the very rich neither consume the total of their incomes nor do they invest a great part of their savings in products of work (machines, houses, steamers, etc.). They mostly invest in spurious capital, consisting of nothing but tribute claims that give no opportunity for work, but, on the contrary, by increasing the debts of the people, keep back their purchasing power, and thus prevent this power from keeping pace with the increasing productive power of the world, without which it must be impossible to keep at work all producers, for we cannot produce if we do not consume.

This spurious capital, these tribute claims, have their foundation mainly in private land ownership; for rent is the mother of interest and compound interest. As long as capital can invest in land and thus obtain rent, it will claim interest, wherever otherwise invested. When capital can no more purchase rent, it will be offered free of interest (of interest proper—i. e., of interest less risk premium) to labor, as the production of capital, when unhampered by the effects of private land ownership, will exceed the demand, and all who save for a rainy day and for old age will be glad to obtain the advantage of having their savings preserved intact for the day when they need them.

One other reform he proposed lately, which, tho he does not think it a fundamental one, he judges of great importance. This is the nationalization of commerce, the doing away with all middlemen, and effecting direct exchange of products through a State department, that monopolizes it just as letter delivery is monopolized by another department. He desires to restrict individualism to production where competition is a stimulating element, whereas it only produces waste in distribution. This system would allow the introduction of another reform which is possible in this way—a money reform. Exchange could take place through warrants issued by the commercial department, or checks drawn on the same, which warrants are redeemable only in goods or services. Metal money would become unnecessary or could be restricted to small coins.

He has introduced the above three reform principles into the by-laws of the Mexican colony, Freeland—i. e., common land ownership, monopolization of commerce (distribution) by the community, and warrant money.

FOLKS, HOMER: Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, New York. Was born Feb. 18, 1867, at Hanover, Mich. Graduated from Albion College in 1889, from Harvard in 1890. He was secretary of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania from 1890–93, and was appointed secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York in Feb., 1893, which position he has held continuously since with the exception of three years—1901–4—when he was Commissioner of Public Charities of New York City. He has been on numerous committees, both for the state, city, and the U. S. Government. Author: "A History of the Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children in the U. S." (1902); "Family Life for Delinquent Children" (1893); "Reform and Public Charities" (1895); "Problems in the Administration of Municipal Charities" (1901); and other papers on similar topics. *Address*: 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

FOOD VALUES: The science of nutrition, tho a comparatively new science, has recently made rapid progress. The chemical standards of nutrition have been mainly investigated by Professor Voit and others in Germany, by Sir Lyon Playfair in England, by Prof. W. O. Atwater, Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, Edward Atkinson, and now to a large extent and very effectually by the Department of Agriculture in the United States. Statistics of the nutritive values of food have been clearly presented by Professor Atwater and others.

The animal body is a living machine, and, like any machine, needs fuel—i. e., food—to enable it to work, and also, as a machine does not, it needs fuel to keep it alive even without work. About one third of the food eaten goes to maintain life. The main nutriments of the body are protein, fats, and carbohydrates, mineral matter and water. What is called protein forms tissue (muscles, tendon, fat, etc.), and serves as fuel. Fats form fatty tissue and serve as fuel. Carbohydrates are transformed into fat, and serve as fuel. Water forms 60 per cent of the weight of the body and is an important constituent of food. Mineral matters form only 5 or 6 per cent of the body by weight, but are important. The standard of nutrition for a man at active but not excessive work is 700 grams of actual nutritive and digestible material free of water, 450 of carbohydrates or starch, 150 of fats, 150 of

protein, with such mineral ingredients as will be found in any miscellaneous dietary in sufficient measure. These elements will yield 3,520 calories, the calory being the amount of heat necessary to raise one kilo or 1,000 grams of water 1° C. In order to make allowances for inevitable waste, we may safely adopt 4,000 calories as the average units of nutrition for a man at active but not excessive work for one day; 2,700 calories is, however, perhaps enough to nourish a man at sedentary employment. The U. S. Department of Agriculture, "Farmers' Bulletin 142" (1902), publishes the following table of food values:

Kind of Food	Protein		Fat		Carbohydrates	
	Digestibility	Fuel value per pound	Digestibility	Fuel value per pound	Digestibility	Fuel value per pound
	Per ct.	Calories	Per ct.	Calories	Per ct.	Calories
Meats and fish	97	1,940	95	4,040	98	1,730
Eggs	97	1,980	95	4,090	98	1,730
Dairy products	97	1,940	95	3,990	98	1,730
Animal food (of mixed diet)	97	1,940	95	4,050	98	1,730
Cereals	85	1,750	90	3,800	98	1,860
Legumes (dried)	78	1,570	90	3,800	97	1,840
Sugars	....	.....	....	.....	98	1,750
Starches	....	.....	....	.....	98	1,860
Vegetables	83	1,410	90	3,800	95	1,800
Fruits	85	1,520	90	3,800	90	1,630
Vegetable foods (of mixed diet)	84	1,840	90	3,800	97	1,820
Total food (of mixed diet)	92	1,820	95	4,050	97	1,820

The department also makes the following statements of food values. ("Year Book, 1902"):

FOODS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEIR VALUE AS A SOURCE OF ENERGY OR FUEL

Cheap.—Furnishing more than 1,900 calories energy for ten cents at ordinary prices: All cereal products; sugars, starches, etc.; lard; dried beans and peas; cheap fat cuts of meat, such as beef, plate and brisket, and mutton neck, fat salt pork and bacon; potatoes and sweet potatoes.

Medium.—Furnishing 800 to 1,900 calories energy for ten cents at ordinary prices: Such cuts of meat as beef flank, neck, shank, and shoulder, veal flank and knuckle, mutton chuck, rib, and loin, and the cuts of pork with the exception of bacon and fat salt pork; such vegetables as green peas and beans, parsnips, beets, and turnips; dried fruits; butter, cream, condensed milk, whole and skimmed milk; salt mackerel; a few fruits, such as apples, pears, and grapes.

Expensive.—Furnishing less than 800 calories energy for ten cents at ordinary prices: The leaner and the more expensive cuts of meat, such as beef chuck, rib, round, and loin, mutton leg and most cuts of veal; chicken and turkey; eggs, when costing over twenty-five cents a dozen; fresh and preserved fish and shellfish; green vegetables, such as cabbage, lettuce, cucumbers, tomatoes, celery, greens, etc.; fresh fruits, except those enumerated above; canned vegetables and fruits.

Concerning the food eaten by different nationalities, Mulhall ("Dictionary of Statistics") gives the following table, except that the figures for Australasia are taken from Coglan's "Year Book":

Country	Lb. per Inhabitant					Tea and coffee, ounces
	Grain	Meat	Sugar	Butter and cheese	Potatoes	
United Kingdom	378	109	75	19	380	91
France	540	77	20	8	570	66
Germany	550	64	18	8	1,020	78
Russia	635	51	11	5	180	6
Austria	460	61	18	7	560	28
Italy	400	26	8	4	50	20
Spain	480	71	6	3	20	6
Portugal	500	49	12	3	40	18
Sweden	560	62	22	11	500	112
Norway	440	78	13	14	500	144
Denmark	560	64	22	22	410	140
Holland	560	57	35	15	820	240
Belgium	590	65	27	15	1,050	142
Switzerland	440	62	26	11	140	110
Rumania	400	82	4	9	80	8
Servia	400	84	4	9	80	8
United States	370	150	53	20	170	162
Canada	400	90	45	22	600	72
Australasia	377	233	105	21	268	123

This question of food has a very direct and practical bearing on wages and productivity. Workmen ill paid are ill fed, and workmen ill fed cannot do work equally valuable to the work of well-fed men. European manufacturers continually marvel that American producers (e. g., in the steel mills) can sell their produce so cheaply and yet pay such high wages. But as proven in Schoenhof's "Economy of High Wages," high wages are really cheap wages, because the high-grade workman produces so much more. And a large part of the reason for this is that he is better fed. The well-fed workman has in the first place more vital power and endurance; and secondly, he has better quality of brawn and mind; he works less on a strain and nervous stimulus. His hand is steadier, his eye clearer, his brain more alert. He needs less minute direction and overseeing, which is expensive and rarely satisfactory. He needs also less stimulants, so much so that many temperance experts declare that good food is one of the best cures for the liquor habit. That American skilled workmen drink less beer and any alcoholic drink than their English or European competitors is probably one of the reasons for their higher productivity. All this is, in fact, a matter of food. A few English manufacturers (among them Chamberlain of Birmingham) have within recent years voluntarily raised their wages, being convinced that they would be more than repaid in increase of production. (See Production; Prices; Wages.)

References: W. G. Thompson, *Practical Dietetics* (1901); Howell's *An American Text-book of Physiology* (1897); Chittenden, *Nutrition of Man* (1907); Various *Farmers' Bulletins of U. S. Department of Agriculture*, especially No. 142, by Professor Atwater (1902).

FOREIGN BORN. See Population.

FORESTRY: Practical forestry, tho comparatively new to America, is, historically, quite old. In earliest times the forest was reserved for the game it contained, and was closed to the poorer people. In this era, when a man's life was worth less than that of the hare which he attempted to trap, forest reservation was exceedingly unpopular, and the feeling is even now not altogether outgrown.

China, of all the great nations, has wholly neglected its forests, and as a consequence suffers more from the effects of deforestation than any other country. The great floods which annually roll down the Yang-tse carry destruction in their path and cause the loss of thousands of lives. These floods are due wholly to the fact that the watersheds are absolutely treeless. Germany, France, and Switzerland have brought forestry to its highest development, and these three countries derive a large revenue from the administration of their forest estates. Forestry was practised in Italy long before Milton's time, because his famous line "thick as leaves in Vallambrosa," referred to a planted forest—the work of Italian monks.

Forestry in the United States, in spite of the great strides which it has made in the last few years, is still very much in its infancy. In the early days of the colonies the value of the forests was at first recognized, and the colonial governors promulgated laws for forest preservation. But the forest had to be cleared to make way for fields and gardens. It was a place where Indians and wild animals lurked, and as such was to be got rid of. This feeling grew, and the "westward course of empire" meant the downfall of the trees before the settler's ax. There was inaugurated a period of waste, which was kept up until the present time. Lumbermen now say that the best part of the forest was thrown away.

Recent investigations have shown that, at the present rate of cutting, the timber supply of the U. S. will not last out the first half of the twentieth century. It became imperative that steps should be taken to preserve those forests which were not yet taken up, and out of this need grew the National Forest Service and the present system of national forests.

United States

Altho American forestry is not confined to the government's activities, by far the most important work is that which is being done by the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture. The principal business of the Forest Service is the administration of the national forests. These lie wholly within the West, where the only remaining forests on public lands were to be found. The present area of the national forests is about 160,000,000 acres, an area equal to the New England and Middle Atlantic States. The objects of the administration of this domain are three-fold: first, to preserve the forests to future generations; second, to give them the highest use in the present; and third, to make them self-sustaining. To accomplish these ends, the first care is to see that fire and waste are eliminated.

The national forests are used in several ways: as a source of timber supply, as grazing areas, and as conservers of water. In some places, particularly in connection with the development of irrigation under the Reclamation Service, their principal use is as a protection cover. In such places they will not be touched except where their chief purpose will be subserved by the cutting. In enclosing large areas of forest it is impossible not to include certain grazing or agricultural land. In the case of agricultural land it is as freely open for homestead entry as when a part of the open public domain. Moreover, there are certain advantages to be had in connection with settlements on the national forests, such as: the land can be selected by metes and bounds to include only good areas, instead of having to take all the land that falls within a rectangular quarter section, as is the usual case; the free use of timber and stone and of the range, where such use is for private purposes.

Timber is cut and sold from the national forests where the cutting means an improvement, or where the forest crop is ripe. In these cases the land is not skinned, proper precautionary measures are taken against the ravages of fire, which almost invariably follow lumbering operations, and seed trees are always left so that natural reproduction will follow. In most cases this is all that is necessary to secure a future stand of timber, but for the purpose of reforesting burned areas, or where natural reproduction is insufficient, planting operations are carried on in connection with the forests, and rangers' nurseries are fixed institutions.

National Forests

The two principal sources of revenue from the national forests are, therefore, the fees which are received for the grazing privileges, and the stumpage price obtained by the government for its lumber. The grazing privileges are eagerly sought for by stockmen throughout the West, because the forest administration insures to them an equitable allotment, makes the range permanent by preventing overgrazing, and obviates difficulties between the conflicting interests of sheep and cattle, by absolutely segregating different parts of the range for these two industries. Indeed, so highly is the grazing administration held that stockmen's associations have advocated that a similar plan be put in operation for all the public range in the West, whether it lies within or without the national forests.

The timber sales are conducted with the idea of giving the best service to the immediate locality served by any particular national forest. They are not conducted with the idea of keeping lumber prices down, or coming in competition with private commercial interests. The settler and small dealer are, if anything, favored above large interests, and the whole policy is summed up in the idea that the forests shall be for the use of the greatest number of people over the greatest possible period of time.

The national forests must be maintained to supply the future. If they did only this, there would be a sufficient excuse for their existence. But to be truly successful, they must be a help now and all the time, and must be so conducted that they will "pay as they go." The U. S. Government now controls approximately 148,000,000 acres of land in its national forests. Some of this area does not bear merchantable timber, yet the total stand is estimated to be approximately 425,000,000,000 feet, log scale. No one of the largest timberland owners in the country holds more than 4,000,000 acres, nor does any one control more than 50,000,000,000 feet. With the possible exception of Russia, the U. S. is by far the largest owner of stumpage in the world. From now on there will be no such extensive additions as those made by the proclamation of March 2, 1907, which added more than 15,000,000 acres to the national forests.

Statistics

Outside the western reserves the principal interest in national forest areas is in connection with the proposed White Mountains and Southern Appalachian forests. Bills for the creation of these forests have passed the U. S. Senate and

have received the approval of the proper committees in the House, and it is understood they had practically the unanimous sentiment of the House of Representatives back of them. At the last moment they failed to pass the House. It is very likely that the American Forestry Association and the other interests which are back of the bills will see that they are reintroduced at another session, when they will likely be passed.

The importance of government administration of the Appalachian forests cannot be overestimated. The slopes of these mountains contain a large proportion of the remaining supply of hardwoods, and this supply should be made to go as far as possible. The forests of the Appalachians are, however, more important as a protective cover than for any other purpose. The industrial development of the South will depend in a great measure on the sustained water power of the streams which flow from the Appalachian Mountains. These rivers will be intermittent in character and will go from extremes of flood in one season to drouth in another and become sources of damage and danger if the mountain sides are denuded. Through the forests the perpetual flow of the streams will be maintained, and a specific amount of water power can be depended upon. The southern rivers and harbors will not be silted up, nor will fertile fields and valleys be washed away by the action of floods.

Two names will go down in history in connection with the preservation of the forest resources of the U. S. One of them is that of Theodore Roosevelt, the president under whom the forest policy of the nation has received its greatest impetus. In spite of the fact that his greatest popularity lies in the West, he has deliberately espoused a policy contrary to many powerful influences there in order to keep the people's property in the people's hands. At a time when the most determined opposition was being made to his policy, and when legislation was pending that would make it almost impossible for him to further enlarge the national forests, he had the courage to make large additions to the existing reserves.

Mr. Gifford Pinchot, the U. S. Forester, is the one other man whose name will shine with equal splendor in connection with the cause of forestry. He is an example of the best in American citizenship. Rich by inheritance, and with no other incentive to the work than his love for it, he has thrown himself into the cause of furthering forestry in the U. S. with a zeal and industry that are stupendous. Every other interest in his life has been made subservient to this, his one great purpose. He and President Roosevelt have worked hand in hand, and to neither of them will future years bring any greater monument than that which they themselves have created in the national forests and the forest policy of this government.

State	Number of national forests	Total area
Arizona	13	9,463,725
Colorado	18	15,748,722
California	20	21,849,171
Idaho	20	20,336,427
Nebraska	3	556,072
Nevada	5	1,391,999
New Mexico	13	7,007,044
Oklahoma	1	60,000
Kansas	1	97,280
Montana	23	20,528,263
Oregon	13	16,463,253
South Dakota	4	1,263,720
Utah	18	7,119,472
Washington	6	12,065,500
Wyoming	9	9,020,475
Alaska	2	4,909,880
Porto Rico	1	65,950
Total	..	147,948,685

To April 20, 1907.

Foreign Forests

Country	States	Towns, etc.	Institutions	Private	Total
	Acres				
Alsace-Lorraine	343,545	40,630	544,670	221,965	1,150,810
Austria	2,573,940	3,456,782	800,000	16,754,290	23,993,442
Baden	248,000	555,069	.....	466,770	1,269,839
Bavaria	2,150,000	800,000	.....	3,149,400	6,099,400
Denmark	142,140	2,962	.....	505,900	651,002
France	2,800,000	4,800,000	.....	16,000,000	23,600,000
Hesse	177,880	234,955	.....	199,185	612,020
Italy	128,960	.....	.....	7,000,000	7,128,960
Norway	2,130,948	.....	.....	7,000,000?	9,130,948
Prussia	6,955,227	2,563,812	763,652	10,828,730	21,111,421
Russia	640,000,000		Not given		640,000,000
Saxe-Meiningen	106,530	84,460	1,480	71,850	264,310
Saxony	442,000	.....	.....	520,000	962,000
Saxe-Weimar	110,910	.....	.....	120,510	231,420
Sweden	18,080,753	.....	.....	58,715,135	76,795,888
Switzerland	96,497	1,414,677	.....	604,014	2,115,188
Wurtemberg	420,000	.....	.....	537,000	957,000
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	816,031,648

In Great Britain, according to report in 1903 of a departmental committee the area of waste, heather, and rough pasture or land out of cultivation in the United Kingdom on which afforestation could be profitably undertaken is 21,000,000 acres, and that afforestation would furnish remunerative labor to an increased rural population, land under forests requiring more labor than the same area under sheep. The world is approaching a dearth in its supply of coniferous timber, which constitutes between 80 and 90 per cent of the total British timber imports, and which can be grown in these islands, and the question is therefore a matter of grave national concern.

The figures for woodlands, as given in "Agricultural Statistics, 1905," are:

	England	Scotland	Wales	Great Britain
	Acres	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*
Coppice	538,123	23,015	15,733	576,871
Plantations (since 1895)	59,647	35,407	8,629	103,683
Other woods	1,117,703	809,987	159,999	2,087,689
Total woodlands	1,715,473	868,409	184,361	2,768,243

In the German Empire some 13,995,859 acres were estimated to be in forests, or 25 per cent of the empire. They are cared for by the State on scientific methods. Prussia alone receives from forests and domains a revenue of some $20,000,000. In France about 15 per cent is under forests; in Norway, 22 per cent; in Russia, 64 per cent of the forests (in European Russia) belong to the State. The revenue from the State forests in 1904 was 50,452,000 rubles, and the expenses 11,142,000. BRISTOW ADAMS.

FOUNDLING HOSPITALS: In ancient times infanticide, at least by exposure, was frequent. Aristotle and Pliny the Elder defended it. Institutions for the rescuing of exposed children do not seem to have been wholly unknown, and the Christian Church early condemned such exposure and rescued infants; but the first foundling hospital for the receipt of infants abandoned by their parents appears to have been established by the Bishop of Treves in the sixth century. The first authenticated one is that at Milan. This was copied elsewhere, the usual way being to receive the infants in a marble basin in front of the cathedral. In the Middle Ages, foundling hospitals existed in all the large Continental cities, tho the system was early abolished in Germany. In France it was early condemned as leading to vice, but defended as preventing infanticide, and continued. The revolutionary government of France in 1790 called such children *enfants de la patrie*, and decreed that every pregnant girl should receive a premium of $24. This was abolished in 1811, but foundling hospitals were maintained. They exist still in large numbers in France and Spain, and to a less extent in other countries. Those in Russia are the largest. The medieval device long used in France, and perhaps still used there in some parts of the country, consists of a double cradle. When the child has been placed in the cradle on the outside of the building, the contrivance is revolved, ringing a bell as it turns. The purpose of these "*tours*" is to make it easy to get rid of babies, that there may be no temptation to infanticide. The agitation for the abolition of this system was bitterly resisted. When the *tours* had been suppressed in some places attention was called to the fact that infanticide increased thereafter. But further examination of the statistics showed that infanticide had also increased in those departments where the *tours* were still in operation; in fact, it had increased faster in the latter than in the former. From 1869–73 there were received in France 5,076 infants, of whom 2,037 died.

At present in France the foundling hospitals are merely for the temporary care of infants. In Vienna mothers who bring infants to the foundling hospitals must nurse them three months. In London foundlings and illegitimate infants are received only after careful investigation. In the United States foundlings are usually received in poorhouses; the foundling hospitals exist in all the larger cities. Infants, however, are now increasingly boarded out under the supervision of the State, the result being that the death-rate of foundlings, which in hospitals is very high, has been much reduced. Massachusetts has abolished foundling hospitals by law, and the tendency everywhere is in that direction. (See CHILD-HELPING.)

FOURIER AND FOURIERISM: François Charles Marie Fourier was born at Besançon in 1772. Well educated and much traveled, but losing his property in the Revolution, he served two years in the army, and later entered business in Lyons. In 1803 he published an article on European politics. Becoming interested in social questions, he published anonymously his "Théorie des Quatre Mouvements" (2 vols., 1808). He believed that the full indulgence of human nature, with all its passions, would produce happiness and virtue. Society he would harmoniously organize in groups (phalanxes) of 1,600 persons, to inhabit a phalanstery, a certain proportion to do one kind of work, others other kinds, and to regulate their time so as to harmoniously develop all sides of life. In 1812 the death of his mother put him in possession of a small sum of money, with which he retired to Bellay in order to perfect his second work. The "Traité de l'Association Agricole Domestique" was published in two volumes at Paris in 1822, and a summary appeared in the following year. After its publication, the author proceeded to Paris in the hope that some wealthy capitalist might be induced to attempt the realization of the projected scheme. Later he became a clerk in an American firm in Paris. In 1829 he published "Le Nouveau Monde Industriel." In 1831 he attacked the school of ST. SIMON. He now began to gain followers, particularly Victor CONSIDÉRANT, who in 1834 published his "Destinée Sociale," the most important work of this school. In 1832 a newspaper was attempted, and, with many interruptions, published, till it was suppresst in 1850. In 1832 Baudet Dulary became a convert, and proceeded to establish a phalanstery at Condé sur Vesgre, but it soon failed.

Not discouraged, Fourier lived in the expectation that some rich man would appear and carry out his ideas. He announced that he would be at home every day at a certain hour to receive the rich man, and is said to have done so each day till his death in 1837.

Fourierism has been frequently described, sometimes in ridicule, sometimes in admiration. Henry James, Sr., says of Fourier's writings:

> Every one who trusts in a living and therefore active God, in that God who is quite as active and original in our day as He was 6,000 years ago—in short, every one whose hope for humanity is alert, behooves to acquaint himself forthwith with the marvelous literature of socialism. You will doubtless find things of an apostolic hardness to the understanding; you will find many things to startle, many things perhaps to disgust you; but you will find vastly more, both in the way of criticism and of constructive science, to satisfy and invigorate your understanding, while such glimpses will open on every hand of God's ravishing harmonies yet to ensue on earth, that your imagination will fairly ache with contentment and plead to be let off.

John Stuart Mill says ("Political Economy," Book II., chap. i., sec. 4):

> The most skilfully combined, and with the greatest foresight of objections, of all the forms of socialism, is that commonly known as Fourierism. This system does not contemplate the abolition of private property, nor even of inheritance;

on the contrary, it avowedly takes into consideration, as an element in the distribution of the produce, capital as well as labor. It proposes that the operations of industry should be carried on by associations of about 2,000 members, combining their labor on a district of about a square league in extent, under the guidance of chiefs selected by themselves. In the distribution, a certain minimum is first assigned for the subsistence of every member of the community, whether capable or not of labor. The remainder of the produce is shared in certain proportions, to be determined beforehand among the three elements, labor, capital, and talent. The capital of the community may be owned in unequal shares by different members, who would in that case receive, as in any other joint-stock company, the proportional dividends. The claim of each person on the share of the produce apportioned to talent is estimated by the grade or rank which the individual occupies in the several groups of laborers to which he or she belongs, these grades being in all cases conferred by the choice of his or her companions. The remuneration, when received, would not of necessity be expended or enjoyed in common; there would be separate *ménages* for all who preferred them, and no other community of living is contemplated than that all the members of the association should reside in the same pile of buildings for saving of labor and expense, not only in building, but in every branch of domestic economy; and in order that, the whole of the buying and selling operations of the community being performed by a single agent, the enormous portion of the produce of industry now carried off by the profits of mere distributers might be reduced to the smallest amount possible. . . .

Fourierism

According to the Fourierists, scarcely any kind of useful labor is naturally and necessarily disagreeable, unless it is either regarded as dishonorable, or is immoderate in degree, or destitute of the stimulus of sympathy and emulation. Excessive toil need not, they contend, be undergone by any one, in a society in which there would be no idle class and no labor wasted, as so enormous an amount of labor is now wasted in useless things, and where full advantage would be taken of the power of association, both in increasing the efficiency of production and in economizing consumption. The other requisites for rendering labor attractive would, they think, be found in the execution of all labor by social groups, to any number of which the same individual might simultaneously belong, at his or her own choice; their grade in each being determined by the degree of service which they were found capable of rendering, as appreciated by the suffrages of their comrades. It is inferred, from the diversity of tastes and talents, that every member of the community would be attached to several groups, employing themselves in various kinds of occupation, some bodily, others mental, and would be capable of occupying a high place in some one or more; so that a real equality, or something more nearly approaching to it than might at first be supposed, would practically result; not from the compression, but, on the contrary, from the largest possible development, of the various natural superiorities residing in each individual.

Even from so brief an outline, it must be evident that this system does no violence to any of the general laws by which human action even in the present imperfect state of moral and intellectual cultivation, is influenced, and that it would be extremely rash to pronounce it incapable of success, or unfitted to realize a great part of the hopes founded on it by its partizans.

Says Prof. R. T. Ely ("French and German Socialism," pp. 91–94):

The central idea of Fourier's social scheme is association. The all-pervading attraction which he discovered draws man to man and reveals the will of God. It is passionate attraction—*attraction passionnelle*. It urges men to union. This law of attraction is universal and eternal, but men have thrown obstacles in its way so that it has not had free course. Consequently, we have been driven into wrong and abnormal paths. When we return to right ways—when we follow the direction, given us by attraction, as indicated in our twelve passions or desires—universal harmony will again reign. Economic goods—an indispensable condition of human development—will be obtained in abundance. Products will be increased manifold, owing, first, to the operation of the passion to labor and to benefit society; secondly, to the economy of associated effort. . . .

His System

A social organization must be formed which will allow free play to our passions, so that they may combine harmoniously. Our present society, called civilization, does not, and cannot, do this. It is a system of oppression and repression, and is necessarily a frightful discord. Harmony can only be found in combinations of suitable numbers in communities known as phalanxes, and occupying buildings called phalansteries. Each phalanx is a unit, a great family, and dwells in a single building, a phalanstery. What is it that determines the proper number for a single phalanx? It is again the twelve passions of man. These can be combined in 820 different ways in as many individuals, and no possible combination ought to be unrepresented in the workers of any phalanx, or there will be a lack of perfect harmony. But in every community there will be found old men, infants, and those disabled on account of illness or accident. Provision must also be made for absences. There ought not, then, to be less than 1,500 or 1,600 members in a phalanx, tho 400 is mentioned as a possible but undesirable minimum; 1,800 to 2,000 members are recommended. A larger number would produce discord, and is, therefore, inadmissible. But a further arrangement is necessary. These different characters thrown together helter-skelter would no more produce harmony than it would for one blindfolded to draw from a bag 2,000 combinations of notes for the piano and play them in the order in which they were drawn. On the contrary, they must be ordered intelligently in series, the series combined into groups, and the groups into the phalanx.

But when Fourier fell to arranging his phalanx he let his ideas run away with him into amusing absurdities. He maintained that if England would introduce his phalanxes her labor would become so productive that she could pay off her national debt in six months by the sale of hens' eggs. He would divide the time in his phalanxes into fixt mathematical divisions, allotting certain periods for study, for work, for amusements, for love-making, etc. He thought that his mathematical harmonies enabled him to understand the world and the universe. The chief of a phalanx is a unarch. The next highest officer is at the head of three or four phalanxes, and is called a duarch. Triarchs, tetrarchs, pentarchs, etc., follow; while the highest officer of the world is the omniarch, who dwells at Constantinople, the capital of the world.

The duration of the human race on earth, he held, would be 80,000 years, divided into two periods of ascending and two of descending vibrations. Lions would be taught to draw wagons, as a symbol of the victory of man over nature. His conception of the relation of the sexes, altho giving vent to some noble thoughts about the freedom of woman, was, to say the least, contrary to conventional views, and, according to some, utterly gross and immoral. Such are some of the fantasies that mingled with Fourier's profound thoughts. On his tombstone were inscribed words which were considered to give the key to his whole system:

Les attractions sont proportionelles aux destinées,
La série distribue les harmonies.

Fourierism had little practical application in France. Only two French phalanxes were ever started and both soon failed. For the efforts of Fourier's leading disciple, see CONSIDERANT. The most permanent result of Fourierism in France is the Familistère at Guise which Godet began as a Fourierite colony, tho it only finally followed Fourier's thought in a very general way. (See GUISE.)

In the United States, however, Fourierism swept in a wave from 1840 to 1850. Brisbane (q. v.) presented its ideas in his "Social Destiny of Man." Horace Greeley opened the columns of the New York *Tribune* to its teachings. Prominent men took it up. Brook Farm (*q. v.*) in 1844 became a Fourierite phalanx, and its paper, the *Dial*, was converted into the *Harbinger*, a weekly Fourierite organ, which endured four years (1844–1848). In 1843 Brisbane had started a monthly organ, the *Phalanx*, which was discontinued when the *Harbinger* began. The largest Fourierite colony was, however, the North American Phalanx, established in 1843 at Red Bank, Monmouth County, N. J., with a capital of $8,000. It endured over twelve years. In all Noyes tells us of forty-one Fourierite phalanxes, and there were doubtless more, tho many of them were very small and weak, and most of them started

prematurely with insufficient capital against the judgment of prominent Fourieirtes.

REFERENCES: Ch. Pellarin, *Fourier, sa Vie et sa Théorie* (5th ed., 1872); R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism* (pp. 91–99); John H. Noyes, *History of American Socialisms* (1879); Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the U. S.* (1896).

FOXWELL, HERBERT SOMERTON: English professor of political economy; born at Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, 1849; educated at Queen's College, Taunton, and at St. John's College, Cambridge (M.A., 1872). In 1881 he was elected professor of political economy at University College, London, which chair he still occupies. Mr. Foxwell is a fellow of, St. John's College, Cambridge. He early devoted himself to the collection of works on social and political economy, and succeeded in gathering together a library of more than 30,000 books and tracts, some of them very rare. It was bought in 1901 by the Goldsmith's Company, and presented to the University of London. Professor Foxwell was editor of "Jevons's Investigations in Currency and Finance," and of Menger's "Right to the Produce of Labor." He has himself written various papers, chiefly upon monetary questions. *Address*: 1 Harvey Road, Cambridge, England.

FRANCE: A republic since 1870. The constitution of 1871 has been revised in 1875, 1884, 1885, and 1889.

I. Statistics

Area, 207,218 sq. m. Population (1906, almost stationary for a number of years), 39,252,267. The census is taken every five years. In 1901 there were 18,916,889 males and 19,533,899 females. The population per sq. m. was 190.9. Foreign population (1901), 1,033,871, of which the most numerous were 193,178 Italians and 168,539 Belgians.

VITAL STATISTICS

(From the "Annuaire Statistique de la France, 1904," per 1,000 inhabitants.)

	1873 to 1877	1878 to 1882	1883 to 1887	1888 to 1892	1893 to 1897	1898 to 1902	1901[1] to 1905
Marriages	8.2	7.5	7.4	7.3	7.5	7.6	7.6
Births	26.0	25.0	24.2	22.5	22.3	21.7	21.3
Deaths	22.5	22.5	12.3	22.2	21.1	20.7	19.6
Divorces	....	....	0.10	0.17	0.20	0.23	0.24
Suicides	0.16	0.18	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.23	....

[1] Compiled from the "Annuaire."

Principal Cities (1901 census).—Paris, 2,714,068 inhabitants; Marseilles, 491,161; Lyons, 459,099; Bordeaux, 257,638; Lille, 210,696; Toulouse, 149,841; St. Étienne, 146,559; Roubaix, 142,365; Nantes, 132,990; Le Havre, 130,196.

Religious Statistics.—Nominally, the vast majority of Frenchmen are Roman Catholics; practically, there are many unbelievers. Up to Jan. 1, 1906, the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformed Church, the Augsburg Confession, and the Jewish Religious Community were recognized by the State, altho the Roman Catholic Church was considered the State church, according to the Concordat of 1801 and the Organic Articles of 1802. The ministers of these creeds also received their salaries from the State. In 1892, when the last religious census was taken, there were: Roman Catholics, 35,387,000; Protestants, 580,000; Jews, 49,000; other religions, 2,995,995. In 1905 the recognized creeds received from the State 37,528,800 francs, and from departments and communes, 7,555,042 fr.; making 47,083,842 fr. By the law of separation of Church and State, which went into effect Jan. 1, 1906 (the government claiming that the Church of Rome had already violated the Concordat), ecclesiastics over 60 years of age and 30 years of service, formerly recognized by the State, are entitled to a pension of three fourths of their salary, and those over 45 years and 25 of service to one half of their salary. Other ecclesiastics formerly recognized by the State were to receive grants for four years, and in very small communes for eight years. The total amount of pensions and grants in the first year is 29,563,871 francs descending to 20,018,326 in the fourth year. This is for 38,093 Roman Catholic ecclesiastics (including 17 archbishops and 67 bishops), 686 Protestants and 54 Jews. Church buildings and dwellings in actual use were to be made over to associations of citizens, for public worship (*associations cultuelles*) under civil law. This law was bitterly opposed by the Church of Rome as taking away its power of ecclesiastical rule, and very few associations have been formed. The State has granted minor concessions, but the main law is maintained with the general support of the country. A law of 1901 required all religious associations and establishments to be authorized by the State, but many declining to apply for authorization dissolved themselves, and the Chambers refusing to authorize the great majority of the others, they were closed in 1902.

Church and State

Education is absolutely free and obligatory from six to thirteen years. Teachers must be lay, and all teaching by monks and nuns is suppressed, tho Catholics may have their parochial schools. The number of pupils in "Infant Schools" in 1904–5 was 670,687, that of teachers 8,838; in "Primary and Higher" schools there were 5,568,030 pupils—2,802,599 boys and 2,765,431 girls—and 150,867 teachers. The *public* schools had 4,513,214 pupils of the primary and higher grades; and the private *lay* schools had 1,054,816 pupils. The maximum of pupils in primary and higher schools was reached in 1888–89, with the number of 5,623,401; since that time there has been a decrease. (See article EDUCATION.)

Education

In 1905 there were 24,743 miles of first-class railways in operation, and 3,345 miles of local lines. The State has made large advances to the railroads, which will eventually revert to the State without compensation (1950–60). (See RAILROADS.) There are 3,012 miles of canals and 4,665 miles of river used for internal navigation. The French mercantile fleet consisted—Dec. 31, 1904—of 15,057 sailing vessels of 653,268 tons, with crews 74,348; and 1,457 steamers of 696,059 tons, with crews numbering 16,133. The State granted subsidies to the extent of 40,770,000 francs.

Communication

In 1904 France had 11,869 post-offices with total postal receipts of 246,238,651 fr. and expenditures—for both posts and telegraphs—of 245,862,911 fr. The length of telegraphic lines was

98,890 miles with 369,630 miles of wire. The telegraph receipts were 43,932,706 fr. The telephone had 3,999 urban systems with 15,580 miles of line and 300,800 miles of wire; also 6,882 interurban circuits with 35,300 miles of line and 160,200 miles of wire.

The commerce of France consisted (1906) of 5,229,400,000 francs imports and 5,043,600,000 exports. The latter were made up chiefly of textiles, wines, silks, wool, leather, furs, perfumeries.

Commerce

The principal countries for exports were, in francs (1905): United Kingdom, 1,256,000,000; Belgium, 764,000,000; Germany, 629,000,000; United States, 295,000,000; Switzerland, 303,000,000; Italy, 213,000,000; Algeria, 327,000,000; Spain, 111,000,000; Russia, 58,000,000. Imports were from: United Kingdom, 593,000,000; Belgium, 313,000,000; Spain, 180,000,000; U. S., 512,000,000; Germany, 477,000,000; Italy, 154,000,000; British India, 246,000,000; Argentine Republic, 260,000,000; Russia, 275,000,000; Algeria, 216,000,000. Marseilles is the chief port with a total of imports and exports of 2,220,000,000 fr.

Agriculture is the chief occupation, employing 6,000,000 people; 84 per cent of the land is productive. The holdings are mainly small. In 1892 more than 85 per cent of the farms were of less than 25 acres, tho farms of over 100 acres had 45 per cent of the farm area. Less than 15 per cent of the owners possess 74 per cent of the land. Much is done to benefit agriculture; 57 per cent of the land under cultivation is devoted to cereals, mainly wheat. There are 36,637,517 acres, surpassed in Europe only by Russia; 4,324,250 acres are directed to grape culture, producing (1900) 1,784,854,500 gallons of wine.

In manufactures France suffers through lack of cheap natural resources, but excels in artistic finish. Textile industries are the most important, wool employing about 160,000 people; cotton, 150,000; silk, 123,761 (1905). The metal industry is next. In mining, the coal-fields are the most important national resource.

Fisheries employ 155,000 persons.

The mines employed 193,365 workers, producing minerals worth 528,673,362 fr.; the output of the quarries was valued at 228,029,712 fr. Manufactures employed (1901) 5,819,855 people; agriculture and forestry, 8,176,569; commerce, 1,822,620; transport, etc., 830,643; liberal professions, 399,839; personal service, 1,015,037; public service, 1,297,569; extractive industries, 266,351. Including other occupations not mentioned, the total number of people engaged in various kinds of profitable work was 19,715,075—12,910,565 males, and 6,804,510 females.

II. Constitution and Government

France is governed by a president elected for seven years, and a ministry selected by him from the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies. He promulgates the laws voted by both Chambers, and insures their execution. He appoints to all civil and military posts, has the prerogative of pardon, and is amenable to punishment only in case of high treason. The president has the right to convoke special sessions of the two chambers, and to conclude treaties with foreign powers; but cannot declare war without the consent of both chambers. Every act of the president has to be countersigned by a minister or secretary of state. M. Armand Fallières was elected president Jan. 17, 1906.

The ministry consists of twelve portfolios, viz.: president of the council and minister of the interior; ministers of finance, war, justice, marine, colonies, public instruction, foreign affairs, commerce, agriculture, public works, labor.

The *Conseil d'État* is a special body composed of councilors, maîtres de requêtes, and auditors —all appointed by the president. Its function is to advise the government in legal aspects and on new bills.

The present ministry, with M. Georges Clemenceau (Radical) as Premier, consists of a *bloc* of Radicals, Progressists, and Independent Socialists. The legislative power is vested in two Chambers, Deputies and Senate. The Chamber of Deputies is elected for four years by universal (male) suffrage. Each citizen of twenty-one years, who can prove six months' residence in a town or *commune*, and not actually in military or naval service, has the right to vote—if not otherwise disqualified. *Deputies* must be citizens and at least twenty-five years old. A candidate must declare his intention of seeking election in a given district at least two weeks preceding election day. The Chamber is composed at present (1907) of 584 deputies. Each *arrondissement*—a district containing not over 100,000 inhabitants—elects one deputy. In 1901 there were 10,863,421 inscribed voters. The Chamber is divided into parties: Socialist Radicals, 246; Republicans of the Left, 77; Dissident Radicals, 7; Independent Socialists, 22; Unified Socialists, 53; Progressists, 64. These parties form the working or government majority. The "opposition" numbers 117 members of the Royalist, Bonapartist, Liberal, and Nationalist parties.

Legislature

The *Senate* is composed of 300 members who must be forty years old, elected by Senatorial Colleges throughout the country, which are elected by the inscribed voters according to municipalities and departments. The function of the Senate is to steady, not to oppose the deputies.

The Senate and Chamber of Deputies assemble every year in January, and remain in session at least five months out of the twelve. They can compel the president to convoke them if the demand is made by one half the number of members of each chamber. The two Chambers, sitting as one body (National Assembly), elect the president. The Chamber of Deputies may impeach the president and the ministers for high treason, and the Senate acts as High Court of Justice in such a case.

Senators and Deputies receive an honorarium of 15,000 francs a year; they travel practically free on all railroads. The presidents of the two Chambers receive 72,000 fr. in addition for entertaining. The president of the Republic receives 600,000 fr., and an allowance of 600,000 fr. for entertainment.

In all cases the preliminary inquiry is made in secresy, tho the accused may have counsel and witnesses, by an examining magistrate (*juge d'instruction*) who, with the consent of the *Procureur*—State or public attorney—may dismiss the case or send it up for trial. The *Court of Assizes* is assisted by twelve jurors, who decide by a simple majority. There are twenty-six courts of appeal, composed each of a president and four councilors, for all criminal cases which have been tried without a jury. The *Court of Cassation* is the highest judiciary body in France. It consists of a first president, three presidents of sections,

Judiciary

and forty-five councilors. It sits in Paris, and deals with all criminal cases tried by jury.

All judges are appointed by the president for life, and can be removed only by the Court of Cassation.

France is divided into eighty-six departments for administrative purposes. Each department is placed under a prefect who has wide and undefined functions. He is appointed by the government, and is assisted by representatives of each one of the ministries and by a *prefectorial council*. He is the representative of the president, and sees to the execution of all laws, the supervision of government officials, supplies the central government with information, etc. He, in turn, is represented in every *arrondissement* by a subprefect.

The *unit of local* government is the *commune*, varying in size and population. There are 36,210 of them; the majority (31,690) have less than 1,500 inhabitants. The affairs of the communes are under a municipal council, composed of from ten to thirty-six members, elected by all legal voters within the commune, tho the prefect, sometimes even the president of the Republic, has the right of vote over the commune. The head of the commune is the *maire*, who is both representative of his commune and of the central government, and directs the police, etc.

The next division is the *canton*, consisting on an average of twelve *communes*. It is not an administrative unit, but a judicial one with a justice of the peace.

The *arrondissements*, or districts (362 in France), have a subprefect as a representative of the central government, and an elected *conseil d'arrondissement* as an advisory body. It is composed of one representative from each *canton*, and is concerned chiefly with the allotting of the quota of direct taxes among the *communes*, assigned by general council to each *arrondissement*. Members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected from the *arrondissements*.

A varying number of *arrondissements* form a *department* which—headed by a prefect—has a *conseil général*. This general council is renewed to the extent of one half every three years, and consists of one member for each *canton*. The council direct all economical affairs of the department, partition taxes, look after roads, schools, poor relief, etc. Their decisions are controlled by the prefect, and may be, but very rarely are, annulled by the president of the Republic.

Large cities like Paris form both *communes*, *arrondissements*, and a *department*. Paris has a municipal council of eighty members; is divided into twenty *arrondissements*, each with its own mayor. Over the council, however, is the prefect of the department of the Seine, appointed by the president.

The French army is administered by the Minister of War, assisted by a *Military Cabinet* and the *General Staff*.

Army and Navy

The army, including Algiers and Tunis, and combining the various arms, numbers 576,000 men and 129,511 horses on a peace footing. The colonial army numbers 86,000 men—making a total 662,000 (1906).

The navy is under the Minister of Marine, who has different staffs and councilors. The number of officers and men on the active list of the French navy was (1906) 53,247, and that of the reserve 49,340. There are 31 battle-ships of the first class, 9 of the second; 19 armored cruisers, 255 torpedo boats, etc.

Finance

The revenues of France are raised chiefly from direct and indirect taxes, and from State factories and monopolies. The total budget for 1906 was 3,709,241,503 francs; for 1907 (estimated), 3,831,222,273. The expenditure for the two years respectively is in francs: (1906) 3,709,192,067; (1907) 3,833,825,305.

Colonies

The colonies and dependencies of France include 4,089,076 sq. m., with 56,826,410 people; in Asia, 256,096 sq. m., and 21,471,300 population; Africa, 3,702,150 sq. m., and 34,849,380 population; America, 31,660 sq. m., and 425,050 population; Oceanica, 9,170 sq. m., and 80,410 population. The estimated colonial revenue (1905) was 17,937,500 francs, and the expenditures 111,292,700 fr.

The Minister of Colonies controls their administration with the assistance of the *Conseil Supérieur des Colonies*. The trade of France with her colonies, except Algiers and Tunis, was in 1904: Imports, 487,857,000 francs; exports, 557,872,000. 1905: Imports, 452,861,000; exports, 585,628,000.

III. Social Reform

Social reform in France, as elsewhere, rests upon the past.

History

Ancient Gaul, more thoroughly Latinized than any other Roman province outside of Italy, fell a rich prize to the Gothic invaders, and they here developed some of their richest cities and strongest states. Only gradually did Paris raise herself above other cities and develop in France a strongly centralized government, a process largely necessary to rescue France from the weakness in which she was left by the long English wars. Yet all through the country lay the traditions of much independence for the communes or townships and local divisions. These communes, especially those of the larger cities, stood repeatedly for their rights, and treated with the king sometimes as all but equals. But the process of centralization went on apace. When, in 1358, the Jacquerie rose, under Étienne Marcel, to battle for constitutional liberty, they were mercilessly put down. The Reformation was suppress in France for political reasons, and the suppression aided the central government. The court of the Louis became more brilliant, more despotic, more corrupt than any other court in Europe. The result could be but a revolution. The French Revolution (*q. v.*) did only what has been done in all other Western countries—it freed the bourgeoisie. The French Revolution was largely produced by English ideas. The philosophy of Rousseau and still more of the Encyclopedists came from the school of Locke. But it took in France, perhaps because of the logical French mind, a more revolutionary and more radical form. The genius of Rousseau, the writings of Mably, of Morelly, of Boissel, of Brissot de Warville, even the land views of the Physiocrats, filled France with new ideals of the rights of man, and with the conception of government as only just when resting upon the consent of the governed. It is doubtful if the French masses at the time of the Revolution were suffering more than the dwellers in England's manufacturing centers and in her agricul-

tural hamlets during the same period. But the despotism of the Louis gave to the Revolution a violent form. Nowhere else could a Louis say, "I am the State"; nowhere else did absolute monarchy go down in such a whirlpool of passion. The suppression, too, of the French Reformation, the infidelity of the Encyclopedists, the wit of Voltaire, had deprived France of faith. The Revolution came "a truth clad in hell fire," yet a truth, and a necessary one. Napoleon's cannon put down the Revolution, but could not put down ideas. It could only make France long the scene of constant revolution and insurrection.

With Louis XVI. guillotined in 1793, the house of Bourbon, which had ruled since 1589, met its fall, and we have the First Republic. From 1793–1795 the Convention ruled; from 1795–99 the Directory; from 1799–1804 Napoleon as Consul. Then came the First Empire, from 1804–14, under Napoleon I. (died 1821). In 1814 the house of Bourbon was restored, with Louis XVIII., 1814–24, and Charles X., 1824–30. After the Revolution of 1830 we have the rule of the house of Bourbon-Orleans under Louis Philippe (1830–48). Then comes the Revolution of 1848, and the Second Republic, from Feb. to Dec., 1848, under the Provisional Government; from 1848–52 under Louis Napoleon. In 1852 the Empire was restored under Napoleon III., who died in 1873. In 1870 we have the declaration of the Third Republic and the Government of National Defense, in 1871 the uprising of the COMMUNE, and the presidents Louis A. Thiers (1871–73), Marshal MacMahon (1873–79), F. J. P. Jules Grévy (1879–87), M. F. Sadi Carnot (assassinated June 24, 1894), Casimir Périer (1893–95, resigned), Felix F. Faure (1895, died 1899); Émile Loubet (1899–1906); Armand Fallières elected Jan. 17, 1906.

Constitutional Changes

Such is the bare chronicle of the constitutional changes that have swept over France. There have been continual smaller changes and uprisings and ministerial crises. Through them all has gone the struggle for a republicanism more or less modified by the communal ideas connected with the old communes.

Sixty years before Proudhon, Brissot de Warville, in 1776, the year of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," the year of American independence, had declared that property (as ordinarily understood) was theft. Babœuf was the first to battle for communism, in his attempted insurrection of 1797, but held as his ideal an utterly artificial dead equality to be rigidly enforced by the State. Insurrection crusht, thought was the only outlet. We come, therefore, to a long period of utopian socialism. Details of each author and school will be found under their separate names; we chronicle them here, to bring out the continuity. Fourier in 1808 published his "Théorie des Quatre Mouvements," with its strange blending of mathematical formulas, far-reaching thought, and impractical suggestions for artificial association and forced harmonies. It produced in 1834 Considérant's "Destinée Sociale," and his attempted phalansteries in France and far away in Texas; besides this, it led to Godin's famous Familistère at Guise (1859). Meanwhile Saint-Simon, an aristocrat, became revolutionary, dreamed in 1817 of an industrial scientific collectivist State, and in 1825 of a Neo-Christianity, a church which should introduce social reform. Calling upon the pope to lead in this, on his refusal Saint-Simon attempted a "religion" of his own, which Bazard and Enfantin developed into brief popularity and still briefer experiment from 1830–33. In 1840 Cabet published his "Voyage en Icarie," and the colony to Icaria in America was started in 1848. Meanwhile, Colins, Huet, and others were writing, while from England came the theories of Owen and the reports of Chartism. This long period of utopian socialism was broken by the July Revolution of 1830, and the almost constant attempts of radicals and revolutionists like Blanqui (*q. v.*) to rouse the Paris Commune.

In 1848 the Revolution of that year and the declaration of the Republic gave great hopes to the radicals, and the Socialists, mainly under the lead of Louis Blanc, demanded government shops for the unemployed. The provisional government nominally yielded, but appointed a committee constructed to procure the mismanagement of the plan. (See ATELIERS NATIONAUX.) The election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency and the *coup d'état* of Dec. 2, 1851, whereby the Empire was declared, put an end to the hopes of the Socialists till the overthrow of the emperor in 1870, the declaration of the third and present Republic. Conceiving it but a sham bourgeois republic, the Commune of Paris rose March 18, 1871, but were eventually defeated by the armies of the national government. (See PARIS COMMUNE.) Meanwhile the International had been planted in France, and under the influence of Bakounin, and influenced by the traditions of the old communes, had developed an anarchistic communism. The communards of Paris, scattered after the Commune, declared mainly for anarchism. But after a season some of the leaders became convinced of the impracticability of anarchism, and advocated socialism of the Marxist types. In 1879 amnesty was granted to communards, and Guesde, Brousse, Malon, and others returned Marxist Socialists. A storng party was developed for collectivism. The *Égalité*, the *Prolétaire*, the *Droits de l'Homme*, more or less formally committed to collectivism, spread the thought. The *Cri du Peuple*, founded and edited by Jules Vallès, had, since 1876, favored socialism. Collectivist ideas began to dominate the trade-unions. General congresses of working men were held at Paris in 1876 and Lyons in 1878, and were largely socialistic. The Congress of 1879 at Marseilles was Socialist in everything except name.

Revolution of 1848

But collectivism was not easily to triumph. French communist anarchism was still strong, and represented by men of ability and standing, like Kropotkin and Reclus, and still more by an intense and fanatic devotion, such as has furnished the modern dynamiters, a Vaillant and a Henry. It had an organ of marked literary ability, *La Révolte*, founded by Kropotkin in Geneva and transferred to Paris; it had a paper, *Le Père Péinard*, written in Parisian *argot*, and appealing to the workmen of the streets. The Socialist movement became divided. The right wing was for bargaining with the political radicals and for practising cooperation, and was hence called Opportunist or Cooperatist; the left wing worked with the anarchists; only the center was for Marxist collectivism. In 1880, at the Congress at Havre, division became open. The majority favoring independent political collectivist agitation, the right wing, which desired to work

Socialism

through existing political groups, defected, and formed the Alliance Socialiste Républicaine, and held congresses of its own at Paris in 1881 and Bordeaux in 1882. The anarchist wing renounced socialism altogether. The great majority, the center, declared for Marxist socialism, and formed the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire de France. This organization held a congress at Rheims, 1881, and declared *Le Prolétaire* its organ.

But even this organization divided. The question was whether to agitate for a complete Socialist program at once, or for portions of it, as might seem at the time possible. Those accepting the latter policy were called Possibilists, the former Guesdists, from their leader, Jules Guesde. Still another division took place. M. Brousse split the Congress of 1882, at St. Étienne, on a vote indorsing, instead of a centralized collectivism, a decentralized one based on the communes. He carried his point, 36 to 27, and formed the Broussist group, which soon became one of the largest, and in 1889 elected M. Joffrin to the Chamber of Deputies, while it frequently had nine members in the Municipal Council of Paris. Besides these groups there was in the Chamber of Deputies still another group, founded by followers of the old communist Blanqui, and hence called Blanquists.

Too much emphasis, however, must not be put upon French political groups. They continually change, and the French system of the second ballot (see Elections) allows its various groups to vote for their respective group candidates separately and then unite at the second ballot on the candidate of that particular Socialist group there seems the most chance of electing. Thus, in spite of divisions they have already increased the French Socialist vote from 47,000 in 1887 to 120,000 in 1889; 305,000 in 1892; 440,000 in 1893; 790,000 in 1898; 863,159 in 1902, and 1,120,000 in 1906. The main endeavor, indeed, of the French Socialists of recent years has been to develop a party unity. In 1899 M. Millerand, as leader of the French Opportunist Socialist deputies, accepted the portfolio of commerce in the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry, and the French Socialists became largely split on the question of indorsing this or not, the leaders of the government Socialists being M. Jaurés and M. Millerand and the leader of the revolutionary and irreconcilable party being M. Jules Guesde.

A motion to expel M. Millerand from the party was hotly debated in 1903, but finally defeated by a vote of 100 to 89. A new division and grouping, however, followed. M. Millerand was expelled from one party; and dissension was continued till 1906, when, under the influence of the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, and largely led by M. Jaurés, unity was at last attained and all the prominent Socialist groups united under the name of *Le Parti Socialiste*. This strengthens a political position already strong: for outside of the Chamber the French Socialists have elected sixty-eight mayors, and a representation in 111 communal councils, with the majority in sixty-eight.

The party has some forty-five journals, including three dailies. Leading papers are *L'Humanité*, the organ of M. Jaurés, and *Le Socialiste*, tho other papers like the *Petit République* are out and out in their socialism. Besides, too, the fifty-five party Socialists in the Chamber there are twenty-two independent Socialists and 246 so-called Socialist Radicals, largely favorable to many Socialist measures. In the cabinet are two Independent Socialists, M. Viviani, Minister of Labor and Hygiene, and M. Briand, Minister of Public Instruction, the able leader of the government in the matter of the separation of Church and State. Roman Catholic Christian Socialism, largely led by the Count de Mun (*q. v.*), has played a considerable part in France, but to a less extent now with the decrease of the influence of the Church. (See Christian Socialism.)

Socialist Influence

This Socialist influence in recent years is largely responsible for the fact that the government has increasingly introduced and enacted legislation favorable to the interests of labor. In 1887 there was founded in Paris a Bourse du Travail (Labor Exchange) with an annual subsidy (later) of 3,000,000 francs and in 1892 a fine building provided in the Rue Château d'Eau. This became the headquarters of some 200 trade-unions and a center of the labor movement. In 1894 it was closed for a while as having become too much of a Socialist headquarters, but was again opened and has since been copied by 111 other French municipalities which have provided Bourses du Travail. Connected with this was begun a public employment bureau, which has now sixteen branches in Paris, and finds places for thousands of operatives and others. This, too, has been copied and there were in 1904 twelve municipal employment bureaus. These French Bourses du Travail received in 1904 215,030 francs in subventions from the municipalities and 45,600 from the departments. There were affiliated in them 2,121 unions with a membership of 335,201. Through these employment agencies, 122,065 situations were sought. (See Public Employment Bureaus.) The government has also enacted much labor legislation. (See Factory Legislation, Digest of, section France; Railroad Laws; Sunday Rest.) An Old Age Pensions Bill has been enacted. (See Old Age Pensions.)

Trade-Unions

The trade-union movement of France, tho largely identified with the political movement, is not wholly so. The old gild system was overthrown in 1791, and working men's organizations placed under a ban. Napoleon I. undertook to establish compulsory organizations of employers and employees, with the employers in control, but with little success. Gradually, however, working men's unions developed. They won partially legal recognition in 1864, and complete freedom of organization in 1884. Strikes have been of late years somewhat numerous and often bitterly waged, especially in the mining districts. (For statistics, see Strikes.)

In 1905 there were reported 3,102 employees' unions with 252,036 members; 4,625 labor-unions with 781,344 members; 144 employees' and workmen's unions with 25,863 members; 3,116 agricultural unions with 657,953 members.

These agricultural unions have largely lent themselves to the French cooperative movement. This began in 1848 when the government appropriated 3,000,000 francs as a loan to cooperators. Two hundred societies were started, but soon failed, and by 1852 the movement was over. It began again, however, in 1863, in the formation of several working men's cooperative banking associations. These, however, mainly disappeared with the failure of the Crédit au Travail in 1868.

In 1879 a cooperative movement was restarted with new demand for government aid. M. Benjamin Ranopel made a bequest of 1,500,000 fr. to the city of Paris to aid cooperation. In 1883 the first instalment of 400,000 fr. was loaned out, but resulted in little. The movement, however, has recently grown and is now very strong. (For statistics, see COOPERATION, section FRANCE.)

More peculiar to France is the movement for profit-sharing, begun in France, 1842, by M. Leclaire (*q. v.*), and brilliantly carried out (1877) by M. Godin in his Familistère at Guise (*q. v.*) and (1876) at the Bon Marché (*q. v.*) in Paris. There are at present some ninety-three firms practising profit-sharing in France, sixteen of which began doing so before 1865. Some 100 cooperative societies also practise profit-sharing. In 1879 a *Société pour l'Étude Pratique de la Participation du Personnel dans les Bénéfices* was founded to guide the movement. (See PROFIT-SHARING.)

Philanthropies

There has been also much activity in France in the way of practical philanthropies. The *Musée Social* (*q. v.*) in Paris was founded in 1894 as a center for social studies. The same year there was organized the *Société Française des Habitations à Bon Marché*. This society was simply for education and propaganda, but largely as a result of its work there are to-day in France some sixty societies engaged in erecting cheap but good houses in some way for working men, whereas before 1889 there were only a few societies, tho the *Société Mulhousienne des cités ouvrières* dates from 1851. Of these earlier societies the important *Société Philanthropique*, founded in 1780, is wholly philanthropic and its works are numerous. The more modern building societies are partly commercial and partly philanthropic, like our American societies of philanthropy plus 5 per cent. The largest of these is at Lyons. A few more recent societies are working men's cooperative building societies, like *La Pierre du Foyer* (1891). A law has been passed by which any department can create a Superior Council on Working Men's Homes. (See HOUSING.) Some societies, like the *Société anonyme des Habitations ouvrières* of Passy-Auteuil, endeavor to create working men's model villages. The English Garden City movement has now a French representative in the *L'association des cités Jardins de France*, which is agitating for that ideal. Besides this the *Ligue du Coin de Terre et du Foyer*, founded in 1896 by M. L'abbé Lemire, agitates for working men's gardens (jardins ouvriers).

Many French employers, too, are active in industrial betterment (*q. v.*). (See also MODEL VILLAGES.)

Private charities have a large and varied development and cooperate with the State. The *Société Philanthropique* (1780) had, in 1900, 30 soup kitchens, 30 dispensaries, 4 for children; 1 hospital, 3 night refuges, homes for the aged, for mothers, for women enceinte, improved dwellings, etc. Twelve thousand children are cared for each year. At its refuges 12,000 women are admitted, and work found for about 25 per cent. Five thousand fr. a year are given in rewards to honest and industrious workers. The *Œuvre de Bienfaisance*, founded by Miss de Broen (1871), is notable. The *Œuvre de la Chaussée du Maine*, the *Société française de Bienfaisance de Tunis*, the *Hospitalité Universelle à Nantes et à Paris* are also important. Ecclesiastical charities are numerous, tho secular institutions are growing. Catholic societies relieved in 1901 107,400 persons, and numbered 4,000, according to abbé Gayraud. Protestant societies are proportionally strong, the *Institution des Diaconesses des Églises évangéliques de France* (1841) deserving especial mention. There is no charity organization society, but 15,827 *Bureaux de Bienfaisance*, in the communes, control private societies, and in a way unite them as well as administer outdoor relief. Indoor relief, only given when imperative, is well developed. There were in 1898 in France 1,708 hospitals, at a cost of 133,914,343 fr. Most of them have free dispensaries and many free clinics. There are in Paris 28 *Consultations de Nourrissons* and many in the country. Asylums and schools for the blind and deaf-mutes were developed in France earlier than in any other country, and in many similar ways France still leads. The national lunatic asylum at Charenton is a model, and Ainay is a colony for insane men, and at Dun-sur-Auron for insane women. Institutions for dependent children are various. The first crèche was opened at Paris, 1844. *La Maison Maternelle*, *L'Hôpital des Enfants Malades*, *la Ligue Fraternelle des Enfants de France*, *L'Œuvre laique du bon Pasteur*, are typical. The State has established State savings-banks, pawnshops. (See PAUPERISM AND RELIEF INSTITUTIONS; PAWN-SHOPS, SAVINGS-BANKS, LABOR COLONIES, etc.) For the temperance movement, women's movements, and activities for social purity, see articles TEMPERANCE; WOMAN'S ADVANCE, RESCUE WORK.

Charities

Important French social reform societies are:

Alliance d'Hygiène Sociale. 23 Rue Las Cases, Paris.
Bourse du Travail. Rue Château d'Eau.
Cercle Amicitia. (Women's Christian Society.) 12 Rue du Parc Royal, Paris.
Comité permanent du Congrés international des accidents du travail et des assurances sociales. 20 Rue Louis-le-Grand, Paris.
Confédération Générale du Travail, 10 Rue du Château d'Eau, Paris.
Conseil National des Femmes françaises. (1901.) 1 Avenue de Malakoff, Paris.
École des Hautes Études Sociales. (1900.) 16 Rue de la Sarbonne, Paris.
La Mutuelle-Habitation. 2 quai de Jemmapes, Paris.
La Croix-Bleu (Temperance). Rue Secrétan, Paris.
Ligue anti-alcoolique. (1896.) 107 Boulevard Magenta.
Ligue contre la Misère. (1894.) 22 Rue Orfila, Paris.
Ligue du Coin de Terre et du Foyer. (Homes and gardens for the working classes.) President and founder, l'abbé Lemire. 26 Rue Lhomond.
Ligue de Protection de l'Enfance. 122 Rue la Louvière, Lille.
Ligue Nationale contre l'Alcoolisme. 50 Rue des Écoles, Paris.
Ligue Nationale de la Prévoyance et de la Mutualité. (Savings-bank societies.) (1890.) Sec., Le Pasteur Arboux, 78 Rue Bonaparte.
Musée Social. 5 Rue Las Cases, Paris.
Office Central des Œuvres de Bienfaisance. 175 Boulevard, St. Germain, Paris.
Société des Crèches. (1846.) 15 Avenue d'Iena, Paris.
Société française des Habitations à bon Marché. Sec., Jules Challamel, 4 Rue Lavoisier, Paris.
Société française de Temperance. (1870.) Sec., Frederic Riemain, 50 Rue des Écoles, Paris.
Société pour l'Étude de la Participation aux Bénéfices. 20 Rue Bergère, Paris.
Société Philanthropique. (1780.) 15 Rue de Bellechasse, Paris.
Société de préservation contre la tuberculose par l'éducation populaire. 33 Rue Lafayette, Paris.
Société générale des Prisons. Sec., Albert Rivière, 14 Place Dauphine, Paris.
Union Chrétienne de jeunes gens. (Evangelical.) 14 Rue de Trevise, Paris.

L'Union française anti-alcoolique. (1896.) 5 Rue de Latran, Paris.

Union française pour le sauvetage de l'enfance. 108 Rue de Richelieu, Paris.

REFERENCES: *Almanach National*, Paris; *Annuaire Statistique de la France*; *Economie rurale de la France*, by L. de Lavergne, 4th ed. (1878); *France*, by J. E. C. Bodley (2 vols.), 2d ed. (1902); *La France et le Marché du Monde*, by Blondel (1901); *Evolution of France under the Third Republic*, by Pierre de Coubertin (1897); *Comparative Administrative Law*, by F. J. Goodnow (1903); *Modern Methods of Charity*, by C. R. Henderson, chap. ix., France (1904).

FRANCHISE. See SUFFRAGE; WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

FRANCHISES, in social science, means a privilege or grant of a public or semipublic nature conferred on individuals or corporations by governments (municipal, state, or national).

According to the common law, the franchise implies a mutual obligation between the government and the party holding the franchise. The government guarantees to strictly carry out the grant of the franchise (the franchise, however, always being strictly construed against the grantee), and the grantee agreeing to furnish the public all the facilities for which the nature of the franchise calls. The owner of a ferry franchise thus can be compelled to continue to run his boats, the failure to do this by common law forfeiting his grants. It is asserted that the government cannot repudiate or withdraw its franchise, once granted. (But see EMINENT DOMAIN.) Where the charter conferring the franchise, however, contains a clause reserving to the legislature the right to annul or vary the franchise granted, or where the charter is granted subject to a constitutional provision or general act reserving to the legislature such a power, it may constitutionally be exercised.

Franchises are not alienable by the owner or owners thereof without express legislative authority. They cannot, therefore, be conveyed or mortgaged of common right. They cannot be taken in execution and sold so as to convey any title to the purchaser.

The conditions upon which franchises are granted are among the subjects which need the most reform in the United States, and have produced the greatest scandals and corruptions, especially in our municipal governments. (See CORRUPTION.) Important and valuable franchises are again and again given away for a song to private corporations by corrupt aldermen, bought up by these corporations. European cities, on the other hand, rarely grant a franchise unless the corporation receiving the franchise gives the city high and adequate returns of various kinds. In Berlin, for example, a private company has the franchise to operate street-railways, but it only received the franchise on agreeing to pave the streets on which its tracks lie, from curb to curb; to pay a portion of its receipts to the city, amounting to some $250,000 annually, and in the year 1911 to turn its whole plant over to the city.

Professor Bemis, in a paper on "Some Essentials in the Way of Granting Municipal Franchises," read at the Minneapolis Conference for Good City Government, 1894 (see Proceedings, p. 123), makes the following points as requisites of a good franchise:

1. The mayor should have the right of absolute veto upon any proposed franchise.

2. Constitutional, or, if that is not possible, a legislative, limitation to the length of time for which future franchises can be given, such term not to exceed thirty years with elevated roads, twenty years with gas works or surface street-car lines, and a much less period for electric-light and telephone companies.

3. The prohibition of renewing franchises until within a year of its expiration, otherwise companies may secure a renewal from a corrupt council before the people are aware of it.

4. The expiration of all franchises for extensions to new streets with the expiration of the franchise on the main system; otherwise the city is prevented from entering on any broad policy.

5. Extensions on new streets made subject to order of the city, with appeal possibly to some court of arbitration.

6. Complete publicity of accounts, with the power and duty vested in the city auditor to prescribe methods of bookkeeping.

7. In case of transportation lines, the right of the city to require increase of cars to the capacity of the road when traffic demands it.

8. The express condition that the company receiving the franchise must, at its expiration, if not securing a renewal, sell out to the city or another company that may receive the franchise, at the cost of duplicating the physical plant, independent of any value based on earning power.

9. The sale of the franchise to the bidder offering the cheapest and best service or largest revenue to the city, emphasis being laid on cheap and good service.

10. Two years before the expiration of every franchise the citizens should have the opportunity to vote on city ownership, and if the latter is carried, the city to own and operate after the expiration of the franchise, with the provision for the merit system in the civil service, and with the further provision that every five years thereafter for ten or fifteen years, on petition of a certain number of citizens, another popular vote should be had on the question of continuing city management. (See MUNICIPALISM.)

FRANCKE, ERNST: Editor of *Soziale Praxis*; director of the *Bureau für Sozialpolitik*, Berlin; general secretary of the *Gesellschaft für Soziale Reform*. Born Nov. 10, 1852, in Coburg; studied in the Gymnasium of his native city, and several universities. Received the degree of Ph.D., and later the title of professor. He was editor of newspapers in Nürnberg, 1877–81; Münich, 1881–1892; Hamburg, 1893–97, when he was called to Berlin. He considers the necessity of elevating the working classes by means of legal reforms and by the organization of self-help as imperative, so as to avoid both socialism and the pauperization of the working men. Author of numerous papers and essays on social reform and the best industrial policy. *Address*: Nollendorf Strasse, 29 and 30, Berlin, W. 30, Germany.

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN: American philosopher and diplomat; born in Boston, Mass., 1706, of poor parents, the fifteenth of seventeen children. Taken from school in his tenth year, he became two years later an apprentice in the printing-shop of his brother, who published the *New England Courant*, and for which Franklin early wrote. Owing to difficulties with his brother, he went to Philadelphia in his seventeenth year, almost destitute. After a series of difficulties and adventures, including a trip to England, he gradually, by hard work and ability, met success. He became the editor and proprietor of a paper, *The Gazette*, and in 1732 of "Poor Richard's Almanac." He became clerk of the General Assembly in 1736, postmaster in 1737, and representative in 1747. In 1753 he was made deputy postmaster-general for the colonies. In 1757 he went to England, representing Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia with great success. He addrest Parliament, opposing the Stamp Act, and was consequently deposed from the postmastership. Returning to America, he was a delegate to the Congress of 1775, and signed the Declaration of Independence. In 1776 he was sent as

Minister to France, with which country he succeeded in securing an alliance. He raised loans, and in 1782 signed the treaty of peace with England. Returning to Philadelphia, he became president of the Supreme Council of the city and member of the Convention for Revising the Articles of Union. He died April 17, 1790, and Congress appointed a mourning of two months through the states.

Franklin founded the first public library in Philadelphia in 1732, "the mother of American libraries," and led in innumerable municipal improvements. In 1752 he discovered the idea of lighting with electricity, and by his electrical and other scientific discoveries became recognized by and intimate with the scientists of all Europe, and received degrees and honors from numerous English and European universities. In 1752 he organized a scientific society which became the American Academy of Science. Turgot said of him: *Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.*

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS: In England these are usually called friendly societies (*q. v.*). In the United States they are very numerous and play an important part in economic and social development. They are also very largely fraternal benefit and insurance societies. They are opposed by a small and demonstrative but earnest minority who oppose all secret societies. Many believe they are only needed to-day because the Church and the State do not perform their full duties.

According to the *World Almanac* (1907), the membership of the principal fraternal organizations in the U. S. and Canada is as follows:

Odd Fellows	1,521,095
Freemasons	1,229,001
Modern Woodmen of America	813,642
Knights of Pythias	622,466
Independent Order of Rechabites	488,000
Woodmen of the World	459,211
Improved Order of Red Men	400,774
Knights of the Maccabees	325,000
Royal Arcanum	288,011
Ancient Order of United Workmen	275,603
Independent Order of Foresters	250,000
Order of Eagles	250,000
Foresters of America	241,110
Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks	225,000
Ancient Order of Hibernians	210,000
Knights of Columbus	166,494
Junior Order of United American Mechanics	163,205
Ladies of the Maccabees	145,293
Knights of the Modern Maccabees	125,000
Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association	95,500
Tribe of Ben Hur	92,500
Knights and Ladies of Honor	92,000
Improved Order of Heptasophs	70,439
Knights of the Golden Eagle	70,431
National Union	62,444
Brotherhood of American Yeomen	61,671
Protected Home Circle	59,981
Catholic Mutual Benefit Association	57,672
Order of Gleaners	56,000
Court of Honor	55,392
Brith Abraham Order	53,853
New England Order of Protection	43,167
Knights of Honor	40,126
Ancient Order of Foresters	38,898
United Order of American Mechanics	36,554
Sons of Temperance	34,789
Independent Order of B'nai B'rith	28,539
Knights of Malta	27,000
Smaller organizations	379,819
Total	9,656,280

(See also A. C. Stevens's "Encyclopedia of Fraternities.")

FREE CHURCHES (OF GREAT BRITAIN) AND SOCIAL REFORM: Until very recent times the Free Churches have shared largely the conception of the Church which was embodied in all Protestant symbols, according to which the Church was an institution whose chief object was to promote and insure the spiritual interests of its members, by the sound doctrine preached and by the sacraments administered.

In recent times, however, two currents of thought have pervaded the mind of the Church in Great Britain and elsewhere, and have illumined and enlarged in the minds of men their conception of the essential nature of the Church and of her mission in the world.

1. The revival and concentration of interest in the life and teaching of our Lord Himself was begun by Strauss's "Leben Jesu" and Renan's "Vie de Jesus." Ever since a growing splendor of light has been poured out upon the Gospel histories, and upon Him—the Light of the World, whose glory fills their pages. Hence it is that the gospel of the kingdom which He preached, which had been somewhat obscured by the gospel of salvation as it had been called, meaning thereby personal salvation, is now restored to its true place in the ministry of the Church. And that gospel sets forth not only the laws and beatitudes of the kingdom of God, but describes the manner and conditions of its gradual growth, till in all human society the healthful order of the kingdom of God be established.

2. Also there has been a deeper study of the life and organization and object of the Church. Especially has this been the case in the Free Churches, which renounce at once the Erastian doctrine of a Church which is upheld and regulated by the State, and the sacerdotal doctrine that the Church is constituted by a priestly caste which is self-replenished. If the Church be a living organism, its life must be within itself, possessing and quickening each member and uniting them by the one spirit which gives life to each. But such an organism it is now seen cannot exist merely to maintain and edify itself. The Church exists to fulfil by great and gracious activities the object for which she was founded, and for which she is continually upheld and inspired by the living Spirit of her Lord. This object is the same as that for which Christ came into this world, and which He proclaimed in His gospel of the kingdom, viz., that the whole of our humanity may be redeemed, and that the kingdoms of this world may become in truth the kingdom of God.

New Currents of Thought

A few words will show how these currents have gradually pervaded the Free Churches, and have thus led them to apprehend their social redemptive mission. In the beginning of last century the evangelical revival awoke the social conscience of England. It was the moral sense of England quickened by the evangelic faith which not only gave birth to the great missionary societies founded at that time, but also to the mighty movement led by Wilberforce and Clarkson, which abolished slavery in every colony and dependency of Britain. Then a new spirit was breathed upon the middle of the century which also awoke a new social and humane spirit, Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, leaders of the "Broad Church," wing of the Church of England, emphasizing the Incarnation, and teaching that all human relations and human society were brought under a new and divine law, and under the obligation of the universal brotherhood of men which was God's family on earth, of

which Christ is the Eternal Head. This doctrine, enforced by other leading divines, such as Bishop Westcott, has influenced large numbers not only in the Church of England, but in the Free Churches. Also in the middle of last century much interest in Britain was awakened in the Inner Mission of Germany, especially under its great representatives, Dr. Wichern of the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg, and Pastor Fleidner, the founder of the great Deaconesses' Institution at Kaiserwerth, near Dusseldorf, as in later years Germany has again stimulated the social mission of the Church by the Colonies of Mercy which have been established in that country by Pastor Bodelschwing, near Bielefeld, and under his influence in twenty-five other provinces.

The result of these different forces so far as organizations and activities in the Free Churches are concerned has so far exprest and fulfilled itself as follows:

1. The National Free Church Council, which represents all the Free Churches of England and Wales, and represents, therefore, probably more than one half the people of these countries who are members or adherents of the various branches of the Christian Church, has created a Social Questions Committee with three duties:

National Free Church Council

1. The study of Christ's teaching and of the fundamental principles of the Christian faith in relation to the social problems of our time.
2. The upholding of Christ's authority as the Lord and Redeemer of human society as well as of individuals.
3. The wise direction of Christian redemptive efforts so as to abate and remedy great social evils which degrade human life.

This Social Questions Committee has published a "Manifesto on the Social Redemptive Work of the Free Churches," which has been largely circulated, and it has, now (1906), drawn up a program of social work, to be presented and urged upon the local Free Church Councils, which have been formed in every part of the country, and in which all Free Churches are practically united and represented.

In addition to this the Presbyterian, the Wesleyan Methodist, the Primitive Methodist, and the New Connection Methodist churches have each of them formed a special Social Service Committee, the objects of which are almost identical. They are exprest in the following statement, which sets forth the objects of the Social Service Union of the Wesleyan Church:

"The collection and study of social facts, the pursuit of social service, and the discussion of social problems and theories from the Christian standpoint, with the view to educate public opinion and secure improvement in the conditions of life."

2. Soon after Toynbee Hall was established in Whitechapel, a settlement was founded in one of the poorest districts in the extreme east of London, called the Mansfield Settlement, established by Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., then a student at Mansfield College, Oxford, and who gave the name "Mansfield" to this new settlement in the hope that the students of Mansfield College might specially cooperate in its varied work. Following upon this, the Robert Browning Settlement was founded in Walworth, of which the Rev. F. Herbert Stead is warden. The Nonconformists' Students' Union of the University of Cambridge takes an active part in many of the departments of this settlement. In addition there are six other settlements which have been established—more or less in connection with Free Churches—one in Canning Town, for women workers; the Ipswich Social Settlement, Lancashire College; the Settlement, Manchester Women's Settlement, Middlesboro; Croft House Settlement, Sheffield, and the United College Settlement in Bradford. The Wesleyan Methodist Church established some fifteen years ago a strong settlement which has been one of the most prosperous in our country, in Bermondsey—a large and poor district in the east of London. This settlement was founded by the Rev. Scott Lidgett, president of the Free Church Council for 1906. It has two branches, one for men and the other for women.

Settlements

3. The Wesleyan Methodist Church, which has not done much in the formation of settlements, has set a great example to other churches in what has been called its "Forward Movement," which has led to the formation of forty-five missions, established in the heart of the most populous districts in London, and of other great cities of the United Kingdom. Many of these missions are practically settlements, but their work centers in the popular evangelistic services which are held on Sunday and week-days, and in which the preaching of the Gospel is made at once attractive and impressive by song, and choral and orchestral music. Of the two best-known missions, one is the West London Mission, founded by the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. In it the Sunday services have been held for years in St. James's Hall and in three other halls. Surrounding these, and in a sense emanating from these, there are the ministries of a band of sisters and of brothers for whom a home is provided as in a settlement, but instead of giving only part of their time, the whole time of many of these sisters and brothers is devoted to the various kinds of social ministry. The other is the great Central Mission, founded by the Rev. S. F. Collier in Manchester. In this mission, the two largest halls of Manchester, and many chapels in the poorest districts from which the congregations had ebbed away, are now filled by 16,000 people every Sunday evening, and each of these congregations is organized for various forms of useful social work. But the whole mission finds its center and crown of work in institutions which are founded: (1) to aid men who have fallen out of work, giving them employment which pays their board and lodging, and helping them again to find employment; (2) for fallen women and for women who are in peril, and (3) for the great army of crippled children found in the City of Manchester. The other missions of the Methodist Church do not equal these two in compass and varied organization, but all have the same impress, and have achieved a striking success.

Institutional Churches

4. In other Free Churches a similar movement to the Forward movement in the Wesleyan Church has led to the establishment of Institutional Churches. Three of these have been founded by the London Congregational Union: (1) Whitefield's Tabernacle, in Tottenham Court Road, over which the Rev. Silvester Horne and Rev. James Holmes preside; (2) in Claremont Hall, in the northwest of London, of which the Rev. W. F. Newlands, M.A., is president, and (3) in the south of London, of which the Rev. Herbert Kenward is superintendent. One has been established by the London Baptist Union, of

which the Rev. Thomas Philipps is the superintendent.

The Westminster Church, under the Rev. Campbell Morgan, is also forming itself into a great institutional church, in connection with which a number of social agencies are being organized in the poorest neighborhoods of Westminster. In other towns and cities several church buildings which had become almost derelict because deserted by their former congregations, are now being occupied and used as institutional churches in which large congregations are gathered, and by which many social agencies are carried on in the poorest districts. In every case the members of suburban churches are given efficient help.

But apart from special missions, and institutional churches, there is being widely diffused among a multitude of churches the same social spirit and activity. So in connection with them there are formed Week Evening Institutes for the elder scholars of our Sunday-schools, and the younger people of the church, in which recreation and bright educational classes are provided for the young: Boys' Brigades, Girls' Life Brigades, Leagues of Honor and of Service are also formed in them for the physical and moral training of boys and girls. And in addition to these Week Evening Institutes for the young, there are also being formed in many churches social institutes for the adults, not only for those who are members of the congregation, but for working men and women in the neighborhood. The object of these institutes is thus defined: "To supply the great social need of working men and women of our country—viz., to provide for them rest and recreation in the evening that will be bright and attractive, and give opportunities for social intercourse and pleasure. It is desired that everywhere these institutes be so conducted that the social and recreative attractions shall awaken the desire for higher interests."

5. During the last few years two great religious and social movements have arisen among the working people of Great Britain, and they are chiefly associated with the Free Churches. One is the Adult Sunday-School Movement. For some years this was largely confined to Birmingham and the neighborhood. It was initiated there by Mr. Alderman White, a "Friend." The movement has been from its origin very largely maintained and associated with the Friends. Mr. Cadbury, of Bournville, has, throughout his whole life, presided at an adult Sunday-morning school regularly attended by some 700 or 800 working men. During the last ten years this movement has spread over the country in a remarkable way, and there are now over 100,000 working men assembling in these schools in different parts of the country. In these schools half an hour is devoted to the reading and study of the Bible, half an hour to some educational subject, which may be very elementary, or may open up social and literary studies, and another half hour is devoted to the enrolment of members, the payment of a small weekly fee, and to a bright, hortatory religious service. Five or six years ago a National Council was formed in order to extend and develop these Sunday-morning schools, and with amazing success. This council issues a monthly organ entitled *One and All*; the head offices are in Birmingham, where the organ is published, and the secretary is Mr. E. Gilbert, Bournville, Birmingham.

Adult Sunday-Schools

The second movement is still more remarkable. During Mr. Moody's first visit to Great Britain Mr. Blackham, of West Bromwich, caught the idea of having, on the Sunday afternoon, a service for working men which should be, in his terse phrase, "bright, brief, and brotherly." He called it a Pleasant Sunday-Afternoon Class. This class started in the chapel with which he was connected, and immediately filled the chapel. Mr. Blackham, a business man of consecrated energy, then devoted much of his time to the establishment of these classes throughout the country; and others followed him. There are now 600 of these P. S. A. Brotherhoods, as they are called, tho they also bear other names, such as "Men's Own," or "Men's Brotherhood," established throughout the length and breadth of the land. On the very day on which this article is being written, a National Council has been formed at a great representative assembly, attended by delegates appointed by 500 Brotherhoods, held in London; the Rev. F. B. Meyer has been chosen its first president, and Mr. Ebenezer Goold, who through many years has devoted himself to form these P. S. A. Brotherhoods, is appointed honorary secretary. He is the editor of the *P. S. A. Leader* which is the organ of this movement.

Pleasant Sunday-Afternoon Movement

6. Besides these distinctively church movements, there was early formed a Christian Social Brotherhood, of members of the Free Churches of England, somewhat similar to the Christian Social Union of the Church of England. It had a somewhat limited influence, but there has been developed since an active Scottish Christian Social Union, and in England a Christian Union for Social Service, largely supported by the Free Churches, which has one colony at Lingfield and one in Westmoreland (see LABOR COLONIES), patterned somewhat after Bielefeld, and has been active in other ways, publishing also a monthly *Social Science*. JOHN B. PATON.

FREELAND is the English name of a German book, "Freiland ein sociales Zukunftsbild," written by the eminent Austrian economist and statesman, Dr. T. Hertzka (*q.v.*), advocating socialistic principles, and outlining an imaginary free socialistic state founded in Central Africa. It aroused very general attention, and committees were formed in various countries to raise money and establish such a state. Pioneers started to found the state, which eventually wholly failed.

FREE SOIL PARTY, THE: This was the name of a political party that appeared in the United States about 1846 in the course of the abolitionist movement. (See ABOLITIONIST.) Its standpoint was "the Wilmot proviso," offered by David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, to amend a bill making an appropriation to negotiate peace with Mexico. It read: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall be hereafter acquired by or annexed to the U. S. by virtue of this appropriation or in any manner whatsoever, except for crime."

It created great excitement. Calhoun had declared that the annexation of Mexico was necessary to protect slavery, which was an in-

stitution placed under the guaranty of the Constitution and necessary to the peace and prosperity of the slave states. The proviso was defeated in the Senate, but taken up in the North. A convention met at Buffalo, Aug. 9, 1848, and formed the Free Soil Party. It was composed of the old Liberty Party (*q. v.*), seceders from the Democrats and Whigs, and a faction of the Democrats called Barn-burners. Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, were nominated for president and vice-president. The platform disavowed attacking slavery in the South, but simply stood for the above principle. The party polled over 300,000 votes and elected several congressmen, among them Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. The conflict then came over the admission of California, and when it was admitted with a constitution prohibiting slavery, the Free Soil Party lost its main need of existence. Agitation, however, sprung up over the Fugitive Slave Law (*q. v.*), and the Free Soilers met in 1852 and nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, and polled 151,000 votes. But the aggressive policy of the South roused the North to a more general policy, and the Free Soil Party was merged, in 1856, in the Republican Party (*q. v.*). Its cry had been "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men."

FREE SPEECH LEAGUE, THE: Organized in 1902, the league demands freedom of peaceable assembly, of discussion and propaganda; an uncensored press, telegraph, and telephone; an uninspected express; an inviolable mail. It works by means of the press, the platform, and the courts; by persuasion, argument, petition, protest, and demand; through the agencies of election and rejection, but believes that the education of brains and quickening of consciences are first in order of time and effect. *Secretary*: A. C. Pleydell, 175 Broadway, New York.

FREE TRADE IN THE U. S. (See also Tariff Reform in Great Britain. For other countries see Tariff.) As here used free trade means commerce unfettered by law, whether for taxation (support of government) or protection (monopoly of home producers). Again, free trade is here considered only as opposed to taxation (or obstruction) by tariff duties—this because in practice our policy has long been that of free trade throughout the United States; so that we have in fact to deal only with international commerce.

Even as to tariff taxation; it is frequently attempted to distinguish between the ends for which it may be framed—taxation on the one hand, or protection on the other, or both combined. This distinction is ignored, *first*, because any effective taxation of commerce is, in fact, an obstruction—a shackle—of commerce, and therefore inevitably destructive of free trade and its benefits; *second*, because—while there have been examples elsewhere of revenue tariffs as distinguished from protective ones, and some items of our own tariff can be analyzed into revenue and tariff factors—with us political necessities have so far compelled protection to disguise itself as revenue taxation that we have to deal with a system purposely so framed as not merely to include both revenue and protective factors, but so to combine them as to magnify and conceal the extent to which protection results.

I. Tariffs for Revenue

As to even a strictly revenue tariff—that is, one in which the protection feature is so far lacking that the total amount by which the consumer is mulcted, less the expense of collecting it, goes to the government: To be a trustworthy support of government it must be levied upon the necessaries of life. For otherwise, government revenue would be uncertain and shrinking just when most needed.

But this is simply another way of stating that revenue taxation must be upon want rather than wealth—upon need to consume rather than ability to contribute. It stands vigilant and pitiless by the side of the cradle in every wage-earner's home. As each babe is added to that family the revenue tariff adds to the proportion of taxes the father of that babe has to pay—this, while the contribution of wealth is not increased as bond is added to bond in its strong box and acres to acres outside.

We, therefore, find as the most successful and prominent examples of revenue taxation just those most oppressive to the masses of the people and of least concern to the well-to-do—the salt tariff of India, the sugar and salt tariffs of Italy, and the sugar tariffs of France, Germany, and the U. S.—the revenue features of which are thus worked out at the disproportionate expense of the very citizens of those countries who are compelled to work most and permitted to enjoy least.

As to labor: Take a ship arriving at one of our docks from Europe, laden, as it commonly is, with labor in the steerage and goods on their middle decks. If the wage-earner goes to the dock to buy any of these goods he is met by a customs officer—paid by the government, but serving his "protected" fellow citizens—and forbidden to purchase those goods, or fined if he dare do it—in order to compel him to pay a higher price for the necessaries of life. But his employer can go to that very dock and buy the cheap labor imported by the same ship just as fast as it steps from the gangplank. No customs officer touches him; for our tariff was not made that way.

As to "American standards of living." Granted that American standards are comparatively high, and that this is as it should be: To the precise extent that the cost of necessaries is raised by tariff taxation—even tho only for revenue—the wage-earner—having a given amount of money to live on—can buy less; that is, is forced to adopt a lower standard of living.

The method of taxation thus involved is practically indirect; that is, it is not collected from the one who ultimately pays the tax. For example, the wholesale importer pays to the government the duties upon the goods he brings in. He, however, does this not as a tax, but simply as a business investment upon which he realizes from the retailer, who, in turn, does so from the ultimate consumer, who, tho he pays a higher price on account of the tariff, may be utterly ignorant of this, and generally is so as to the extent he is mulcted.

For example, suppose a town meeting held to raise money to repair roads, build bridges, or support the county poor. The almost invariable

way in which this is done is to calculate the total amount required, and then, after practical calculation, to levy upon the gross amount of the assessed property in the town a tax of as many mills on the dollar as will raise the amount required and pay for its collection. The tariff way would be—omitting the complicated machinery actually required to appraise merchandise and allot duties—to provide that the storekeepers should charge two cents a pound more for each pound of sugar, 50 per cent above the ordinary price for each yard of woolen cloth, twice as much for window-glass, 20 per cent more for every stove, etc., and keeping account of the extra amount thus charged by them, turn it into the public treasury until the money was raised. The objection would be instantly made that the wealth of the town would thereby escape taxation, and that the greater part of it would be saddled upon poor men with large families. But that is precisely the "tariff for revenue" system, and such is precisely its effect.

Concealed Taxation

It has been the aim of all governments, most eagerly sought by the most tyrannical, to escape responsibility to the public. A direct tax—that is, one levied upon the individual and paid by him to the collector—is a constant reminder to him of the burden of government, and constantly stirs him to watch and criticize its expenditures, and to insist upon an economical policy in government affairs. In cases of indirect taxation, such as a tariff paid by the wholesale importer, to be repaid, after sundry profits of middlemen are added, by the increased price at which the retail merchant sells it to the final consumer, it is a tax as to which no one knows either how much he pays or even when he pays it; and justifies Turgot's commendation of indirect taxation as the one best means "So to pick the geese as to get the most feathers with the least squawking." A system of direct taxation would practically call for the annual judgment of the masses of the voters upon the policy of the government; but with a revenue tariff once in operation, a government can undertake the most extravagant measures, until, by the slow process of popular education, the public can be educated.

Again: The characteristic of an indirect tax is that it is a tax upon consumption as distinguished from a tax upon wealth. It is obvious that such a tax leaves wealth to escape the burdens of government which it puts upon the shoulders of the masses. For in proportion as a man's income is absolutely required for the sustenance, shelter, and comfort of himself and his family, to that extent is this indirect taxation levied upon the whole of it; while, to the extent that the income of the more fortunate citizen is so large as to enable him to amass wealth by laying aside a part of it, to that extent he escapes indirect taxation.

Again, indirect taxation—especially tariff taxation—is generally levied, not merely upon consumption as such, but disproportionately upon the necessity of the poor rather than upon that of those who have large incomes. There are many ways in which it is perfectly practicable to tax indirectly the income and the property of well-to-do citizens. Many of these ways have indeed been tried—some of them by ourselves in late years. It is not suggested that any of them is free from objection; no tax is so.

Rests on the Poor

But none, either of these, or numerous others which we exploited during our Civil War, were discontinued on account of practical or moral objections. But the income tax, the tax on corporate receipts, the tax on watches, carriages and articles of special luxury, the tax on bank checks, were abolished with a haste that contrasted with the deliberation with which the tariff was even touched, and the obstinacy with which it was meddled with only to increase its burdens.

There is a reason for this: In all governments, from the beginning of time to the present, the laws have been made, if not by the wealthiest men in the country, at least by those a vast majority of whom are in personal or social touch with the more well-to-do few. In other words, taxes have been so adjusted as to bear upon the poor, because taxes were imposed by others than they. This does not apply misanthropy on the part of our legislators. A large proportion of them would, indeed, consider themselves as poverty-stricken toilers compared with those whom they regard as possest of wealth. But between them and the masses of the population even in our own day there is a gulf so great as to class them rather with the money power above than the muscle power below; while in every other country the contrast is still more marked and the natural tendency just described more nearly the inevitable one.

In connection with indirect as compared with direct taxation, it may be remarked here that "protection" has another incident even less capable of defense than the indirectness of the tax levied; and that is the indirectness of the use of the tax. For not merely is it so levied that no one can tell when it is being paid—tho he is none the less mulcted of his money; but it is so applied as not to disclose how much any favored individual gets—tho he none the less lives at the public expense. For example, a plated-ware manufacturer being favored by a duty of 35 per cent knows—as does no one else—the amount of bonus he can therefore exact, and the circumstances of his trade determine the amount of his profits. As to the method and extent by which he is to benefit the community he thus mulcts he is not held to account. He can—as he generally does—hire his labor at the cheapest rate he can get it. In case he wishes to give a present to the public in the shape of a church or a library, he can do so, or he can—as he more frequently does—spend the round amount annually in good living for himself and family, or sink it in speculative business ventures, or leave it at his death to dribble back into circulation again through spendthrift heirs.

Just as in the case of indirect taxation, one motive for it was to avoid the publicity of direct taxation; so the strongest motive for the indirect method of distributing the bonus raised by a protective tariff, except the desire to escape accountability. For it is perfectly easy for government that dares be "above board" to reward a manufacturer who has been a benefactor to the community, by voting him a lump sum out of the public treasury; or to promote the carrying on of any special industry by voting, as Congress lately did in the case of the sugar planters, a bounty for a certain amount of a given quality of product.

A tariff is therefore a tax system so adjusted that the one who pays the tax neither knows how much he is mulcted nor when it is taken from his

pockets; nor who gets the proceeds; nor what is done with them—the perfection of crookedness.

Finally, if the question is one of a revenue tariff such as admittedly have been those imposed by the U. S.—so framed as to raise somewhat of revenue while giving incidental "protection"—the problem of intelligible, not to say equitable, adjustment becomes complicated beyond expression. It involves reliance upon data, the only experts as to which are interested to deceive the lawmaking power in order that they may thrive at their neighbors' expense, and whose willingness thus to thrive insures that they will stickle at no means to do so. It offers the same inducements to falsification, the same opportunities for bribery, the same use of political corruption.

II. Protectionism

But our system is not one of revenue tariff. It rests upon the influence—political, economic, industrial — that protectionism has acquired among us; so that for the purposes of this discussion the terms "protection" and "free trade" are used as the opposite of the other. And since the burden is upon him who defends governmental interference with private business, therefore free-trade argument is most conveniently stated as an answer to protectionist claims.

The first step toward understanding this question is to define "protection" as here practised.

It consists in obstructing imports by the imposition of a fine, proportioned to the extent of his trespass, upon any one who shall bring into this country the goods upon which a tariff is laid —the object being to make those who desire such goods pay one of our own citizens a bonus, equal to a part or the whole of the fine thus provided, above the price they would otherwise have to pay for the foreign goods—and thus to enable the home manufacturer or producer to charge a higher price for his goods than he would otherwise be able to do. The home producer is in that case said to be "protected" from competition and assured control of the market here for goods such as he supplies. This, however, simply means that certain producers are favored —as was intended. Protectionists and free traders would, however, alike protest against stopping here, and say that a national policy should be defined with respect, not to the few individuals whose ends it subserves, but to the general public, whose weal alone justifies legislative interference.

In this light, what is protection? As to the few who are "protected," it is favoritism. What is it to the people at large?

The articles the import of which into this country are to be thus obstructed are not claimed to be harmful in themselves. They are, on the contrary, the very things we want, the possession of which makes a nation rich and its people comfortable—such things as clothes, food, crockery, glassware, and the raw materials we need for our manufactures.

Again, the fines imposed by tariff laws are not levied upon those who are attempting to do something to which we are opposed. They operate alike upon the foreigner who brings his goods here, and the American who, having purchased them abroad, attempts to bring them home. And so far as they operate upon the foreigner, they simply prevent him from doing something that we want him to do. No "protection" is needed to enable us to avoid buying anything we do not want. It is needed only to keep us from getting something we do want to buy—to prevent us from doing what we want to do—self-denial by law.

What are the grounds upon which it is attempted to justify the interference with trade involved in "protection"? The following are some of those urged:

Justification Offered

"*Trade is War.*"—The idea that trade is war, and that, as between the buyer and the seller, if one gains the other one must lose, seems ineradicable from the uneducated mind. Discredited as is the suggestion by the whole theory of our civilization, nothing is more common than to hear suggested, as a conclusive argument of beneficial results to our people, that we have rendered miserable some village in England, or of misfortune to us, that the peasants of Germany expect to prosper from our trade. That this argument is so generally used shows how thin is the skin of culture that covers the savage within us. From its very nature, trade is a benefit to both parties to it. If I do not prefer what my neighbor has I will not trade with him. If he does not prefer my present possession to his, he will not exchange with me. The fact of voluntary trade is of itself a demonstration that, so far as the participants to it can judge—and no one else is competent to do so—they are both benefited by the exchange. So far from the prosperity of the nation with which we trade and the high value it places upon our trade being a proof that we are the losers thereby, it is the most nearly conclusive one possible that we are great gainers, so that no experience is more universal than that the mercantile connection which is valued by one country is equally esteemed by the country with which it trades.

But the suggestion that trade is war may mean that it is a war between the two merchants who are competing for the trade. But the foreign and the home producer are simply struggling to see which can offer the greatest inducements to customers—by offering a better quality of goods, by offering them at a cheaper price, or by supplying them in better assortment. In other words, this war is as to who shall serve best the general public—the consumers. Is it to the interest of this public to put an end to this kind of a war? Is not the climax of assurance capped when the home manufacturer asks that the general public be taxed to put an end to this rivalry to serve it?

"*Protection Lessens the Number of Traders.*"—Scarcely less inherent in the notions of uneducated people is the idea that the trader is a non-producer, and, as a consequence, the corollary that it would be a good thing to obstruct trade and abolish traders.

In the *first* place, to get goods cheap is precisely the problem upon which the most intense application of the brightest and shrewdest men of the world has been devoted for thousands of years; and *second*, at no time has progress in this direction been more marked and its results more beneficent than during the past few years, when governments have interfered less and less, and left their citizens more and more freedom to do as they pleased.

In other words, the very reasons why trade ex-

ists are such as demonstrate that it is a saving to the consumer in the labor requisite to enable him to get the property he wishes to use; and the whole world of trade has always been, and is now more than ever, working with the most intense application upon the problem of reducing to him the cost of this advantage—the success of every trader depending upon the extent to which he can offer greater inducements than his neighbor to the consumer to whom he wishes to sell.

To sum up, an article is finally produced only when it is put into the hands of the final consumer at the place he wishes to use it. The trader is as essential a producer as the manufacturer or the farmer. To discourage him is to increase the cost of the only production in which the consumer is interested—that of furnishing him the article when and where he wants it.

"*Protection Encourages Home Trade.*"—This claim may be stated thus:

"Free traders claim that trade is an advantage—that it is so to both parties to the trade—that the greater the advantage to the one, the greater it is also to the other. Now if that be so, it is more advantageous to a nation to have its citizens trade with each other, and thus have both ends of the bargains they make, than it is for them to trade with foreigners, in which case the latter will, of course, get half the profits, and thereby enrich their own country rather than ourselves."

The fallacy of considering this an argument against foreign as distinguished from domestic trade lies in forgetting to apportion profit to capital and effort. The efforts and the capital of two men produce two profits in the one case, and the same in the other. In the one case, the U. S. furnished both efforts and both capital, and it, therefore, got both profits. In the other case, the U. S. furnished but one effort and one capital and got but one profit. But it had the other effort and the other capital still free for equally remunerative trade at home or abroad; and so, employing it, would still make two profits. If, for example, both Americans traded with Canadians instead of with each other, the U. S. would get two profits. In other words, to get the greatest *number* of profits by trading, it is only necessary that the greatest number of men and capitals be employed in profitable trade. And to get the greatest *amount* of profits it is only necessary that each shall trade with the one from whom he can make the most.

Home Trade

"*Protection Brings Producer and Consumer Together.*"—The comical thing about this argument is that it is precisely what, with all the ingenuity that self-interest, experience, and business training can devise, the producer and consumer are always trying to do with the least trouble and most profit to themselves, and precisely the thing that, whenever a national boundary happens to lie between them, the protectionist attempts to thwart. But the latter will protest that that is not what he means; that his idea is rather to prevent the consumer from being obliged to go so far for his goods, and the purchaser from being forced to seek so distant a market. Here again, that is precisely what each is working at, and precisely the matter as to which each is an infinitely better judge in his own business, and as to his own wants, than his neighbor can possibly be for him. To say that I shall not trade with another man 1,000 miles off, because there is another one 100 miles distant, if, in the end, I can get my goods cheaper of the first than of the second, is most impertinent tyranny. To insist upon it that I ought to go the shorter way when I find it cheaper or easier to go the longer way, is not less so. To insist that I do not know my own business, and that you will attend to it for me, is intolerable.

"*Protection Defends Us from Foreign Monopoly.*"—In one sense this is true. It "preserves" us—for home monopoly. The horror of American monopolists for foreign ones is easily understood. But why the American people should build up home monopoly, in order to avoid a possible world combine, is as hard to understand as it is why, in terror at St. Patrick, "the snakes committed suicide to save themselves from slaughter."

"*Protection Promotes Trade Between Dissimilar Nations.*"—This is a *reductio ad absurdum*, rather than an argument. It assumes that in the intense development of civilization by subdivision of labor we shall require less of the services of those about us, and more of those who, by race and by habitation, are the farthest removed from us.

On lines of travel eastward and westward, tho the measured miles indicate distance, they bring us in great degree continually in contact with civilization similar to our own, in the same zone as to climate, with similar facilities of transport and similar trade and social customs; but from the very relations of the earth to the sun, a journey northward or southward plunges us promptly into a different climate, among people of different associations and different habits. To favor commerce between countries that have least in common is at once to ignore the facts of subdivision of labor and interdependence of individual upon individual, community upon community, nation upon nation, and also to adopt the theory that the farther off in effective distance, and the harder to reach and to deal with a nation is, the more profitable it is to have commerce with it.

Carried to its legitimate result, it would insist upon tearing down the railways between New York and Chicago and subsidizing lines to the poles and to the equator—in discouraging the greater part of our existing commerce, the development of which has shown it to be natural and legitimate, and encouraging a novel sort, the lack of which shows that it is comparatively unprofitable.

"*Protection Secures Us a Favorable Balance of Trade.*"—Few arguments for "protection" are brought to a close without the attempt to conjure acquiescence by flourishing the term "balance of trade." We are told that unless we hamper foreign trade the result will be to make our imports so much greater than our exports that the balance of trade will be against us.

It is hard to realize the extent to which it is actually argued that commercial prosperity consists in exporting more than one imports. The farce broadens when we see that the nations which, on the protectionist theory, have the most favorable balance of trade are such as Turkey, Persia, and Spain, which for generations have been drained by more fortunate countries of the wealth produced or accumulated in them; and that the countries that have continually been menaced with "the advance balance of trade," involved in continually receiving more than they send out, are precisely those countries that profit the most by their foreign commerce—Great Britain lead-

ing. Elaborately to refute the balance-of-trade bogy is to waste time in a world where life is already too short.

To give but one example: If a New York merchant loads a ship with 50,000 bushels of wheat worth $1 a bushel, and sells it in Europe for $60,000 over and above the expense of getting it there, and buys and expends that money in goods which he thinks he can dispose of profitably here, buying them so cheaply that when they arrive here they are worth and appraised at $75,000, the "protection" idea is that by this nefarious proceeding the U. S. has lost $25,000. On the other hand, if the same merchant, sending the same cargo, had so miscalculated that his wheat at Antwerp netted him but $40,000, and then if he had made so bad an investment or had so disastrous a voyage that the goods brought back in return were worth and appraised at only $25,000 when they passed our wharves, the balance-of-trade theory is that the country would have gained $25,000.

Taking the enormous commerce of England; since her capitalists own the ships that carry the most of it both ways, it is perfectly plain that over and above the amount of profits and interest her merchants realize, her imports ought to average an amount above her exports sufficient to pay for both inward and outward carriage. And yet, on the balance-of-trade theory, this essential of prosperity is an index of disaster.

"*Protection Prepares a Nation for Self-defense.*"—In the first place it does not. There was a time in the history of nations when *export* duties upon articles used in war were prevalent, and may have been efficient in keeping within the country the munitions of self-defense. The tendency, however, of import duties is to make the country poor in everything that is best produced or found in its best shape abroad. The only exceptions are the cases of establishments of industries for the express purposes of manufacturing war material. To the extent that these are thought proper this discussion has nothing to do with them. It is not actual self-defense, but interference with business, that is here under consideration.

So far as concerns the idea that the country would be in a general way better prepared for self-defense by cutting off trade with others, it is not true—and especially a mistake when applied to this country. The two great necessities for successful war are men and money. Our men can best be developed by leaving each man to work out his own prosperity in the calling which he finds to offer most inducements, and not by taxing him to hire some one else to attempt unprofitable business.

Again, the U. S. is in a peculiarly favorable position. Our great exports are more and more relied upon by other nations, and more and more a necessity to them. In proportion as we shall accept of their manufactures, they will be able to buy and will purchase more and more of our food products and cotton and become more and more dependent upon us. Free trade, therefore, so far as the U. S. are concerned, makes the world more and more dependent upon us, and a greater number of its principal nations more and more under bonds to keep peace with us.

"*Protection Diversifies Industry.*"—There has never been an inhabited country of the varied natural features of ours in which industry has not been naturally and of necessity most diversified; that is to say, in which the arts and manufactures, and mining, if minerals are at hand, do not follow close upon the heels of agricultural settlement; or where, on the other hand, in case mining and manufactures have prospered and there is land which can be utilized for agriculture, that land is not cultivated by a rural population. To insure this result "protection" has never been found necessary. If, therefore, the claim means anything, it means that "protection" will increase the variety of industries by encouraging some that would otherwise not be carried on. Whether this is a benefit or not depends entirely upon whether the aided industries are such as are then or there legitimate and profitable. In so far as industries become more diversified, because with advancing settlement and civilization a greater variety of them can be advantageously carried on, that diversity supplies the inhabitants of the country in question with a greater amount of the comforts and necessities they wish. But in that case "protection" is not needed. If, on the other hand, the industries of the country are diversified by turning capital and labor into occupations that for any reason are not self-sustaining—the only excuse for "protection"—then the result is to have wasted capital and labor, and to compel the people of that country to be satisfied with fewer of the products of these new industries than they could otherwise have afforded had they been permitted to purchase these where they could get them cheapest.

Diversified Industry

Instead of diversifying industries, "protection" multiplies the leeches upon industry.

"*Protection Builds Up Infant Industries.*"—Here is the one tenet of "protection" that can be logically sustained in hypothesis, but as to which experiments have been grotesque failure—for the simple reason that the hypothetical status does not exist. The theory is that disinterested statesmen with broad views may discern certain classes of business not then developed in their country which it would be obviously to the advantage of that country to have developed, but which for one or other reason it is improbable will be naturally developed there in the immediate future. It is self-evident that in most cases some one can be hired to undertake the business in question; and that—*provided* those thus induced to carry on the business for the benefit of their fellow citizens shall apply to that business the intense application and energy, the tact and the ingenuity which in other business would make them succeed without government aid—an industry thus fostered might grow into a self-supporting one. Such were the arguments of Hamilton and Clay, and indeed nearly every leading advocate of "protection" before the Republican convention of 1884. The trouble here is, however, that for a hundred years we have been trying a series of experiments in this line, which in extent, variety, number, and absurdity have covered the whole field; and all this with the result that to-day the industries that are most dependent upon "protection," and most successful in their late appeals for additional "protection," are the "infants" of one, two, and three generations ago.

Instances might be multiplied indefinitely. Our experience has been that the more an infant is protected the more infantile it grows. The reason is, of course, not far to seek. In the first place, even well-meaning statesmen are generally

mistaken in giving hothouse development to an industry with the natural conditions of which they are not familiar; and in the next place, the fact is that "protection" to an infant industry never has been arranged by disinterested statesmen. There was, to be sure, one tariff drafted by such a man with such an intent—by Hamilton in 1791. But that was never enacted, and from the free-trade argument with which it opens, to the limitations by which it was drafted, it is as antagonistic as would be free trade itself to our tariff of to-day. As a matter of fact, the "protection" to infant industries has been adjusted at the suggestion of gentlemen who either wanted to be hired to carry on an unfamiliar or unsuccessful business, or who wanted government to give them increased profits upon an industry which without "protection" had demonstrated its success.

Tariff and Industries

Again, the system being one that impels those who avail themselves of it to depend even more upon government aid and success in lobbying for it, than upon making their industry a self-supporting one, the economy and enterprise are lacking which alone enable an industry to secure legitimate success. The result is that our protected industries have not merely failed to be self-supporting, but that they have become more and more dependent upon government aid. Indeed, under protection the infant industry which is best protected, and which grows into most obstreperous manhood, is the oldest "industry" of all—human greed—thus encouraged to manipulate Congress and debauch elections.

"*Protection Encourages Industry.*"—A "protected" manufacturer takes me to look over his plant—a great factory, expensive machinery, well-kept grounds, and, incidentally, his own most comfortable and costly home with its surroundings, and says, "Behold the benefits of protection; listen to the machinery humming in that mill; see the scores of operatives to whom I give labor; see the prosperity all about us here." And all the while he not merely admits but argues that the business would not be a profitable one were it not for the protective bonus—that all about him, and his own snug wealth to boot, is but the surplus of a tax in which he has procured his fellow citizens to be mulcted to pay him for carrying on an unprofitable business.

If an industry does not depend upon "protection" then it is no argument for it. If it does, to precisely that extent it is not an industry but a nuisance. It is not legitimately classed with factories, but with the poorhouses of our own country, and the beggars and idle aristocracy of others—with the vermin that infest and drain, rather than the blood which circulates and nourishes the body politic.

In this connection there is another consideration to be kept in mind—that every attempt specially to encourage one industry by tariff taxation is *discouragement* to every other industry directly or indirectly affected by it.

For example: The combined effect of the German and U. S. bounties on the export of sugar was so excessive that for a period of years the German manufacturer could and did deliver raw sugar to the American refiner more cheaply than to the wholesale dealer at home, and the American dealer could and did refine the raw sugar and pay the freight to England by the excess of the U. S. rebate; so that every English citizen was able to buy refined sugar produced in Germany, transshipped to America, refined there, and reshipped to England, at a cheaper rate than the German could get raw sugar. This, of course, made sugar cheap in Great Britain, which promptly became by far the greatest consumer on the globe, not merely in the aggregate, but per inhabitant. Here was a genuine case of a deluge of cheap foreign goods. The continental sugar bounty nations got the "protection" and England got the sugar.

Great Britain's course shows the difference between the way our tariff is made and that in which such questions should be treated. The English Government set on foot an investigation that amounted to something—not merely of sugar-refining at home and sugar-planting in her colonies; *but of those other interests which, prosperous under cheap sugar, would be hurt should sugar be made more dear.* It was found that there were only 4,000 persons—engaged in sugar-refining—who were prejudiced by the deluge of cheap sugar complained of, and, on the other hand, that there were at least 12,000 people employed in the jam and confectionery industries which, through cheap sugar, had lately sprung up in England, and in which she supplied the world. It was found in addition that the *profits* from these industries were *more than all the wages paid* in sugar-refining; while refined sugar was a raw material in the biscuit industry and mineral- and soda-water bottling, and used to the extent of 50,000 tons in brewing and distilling, all of which were dependent upon the cheap sugar thus secured for their prosperity and enormous export trade. As far as colonial planters were concerned it was shown that the loss to the general consumers—mainly the working men of Great Britain—by the attempt to "protect" sugar growing in the colonies, would be greater each year than the whole amount of capital employed in that business.

Here is the fatal weakness of the claim that "protection" encourages industries. In pointing to the one favored industry he proposes to favor, the protectionist forgets the myriad of legitimate industries which this favoritism will injure or destroy. Like a bad physician, the very "protection" which thus blasts the industries of a nation buries its malpractice below the sight of criticism.

Fatal Weakness

Again, the claim that the tariff encourages industry is nowhere more conclusively exploded than in the numerous and flagrant instances in which we impose tariffs upon the raw materials of our manufacturers. The tariff on raw materials—coal, iron, copper, tin, lead, lumber, wool—is not merely (1) a tax on the laboring man, making his fuel and clothing, as well as his tools and every article of furniture, cost him more than it otherwise would, but (2) directly reduces the profitable opportunity and demand for labor.

As to (1) it is so well understood that it needs but a word. The tariff enables the owners of raw materials to charge more than they otherwise could. If it did not, there would be no use for a tariff. The manufacturer having to pay more for his materials, his manufactured goods cost him more than they otherwise would, and he has to sell them for more to make a profit. Every suit of clothes costs the buyer more because of the duty on wool. Every tin roof increases the rent of the victims that are under it,

every can of tomatoes or oysters costs more because of the tax on tin plates. Every yard of calico costs the woman that wears it more because of the tax on dyestuffs; every pound of paint costs more because of the tax on lead; every house costs more because of the tax that is levied on the materials of which it is composed. The result of this is that the wages of the workman are diminished—that is, the same wages will buy less goods.

But the second effect of the tariff on raw materials is still more serious. Even if our people alone were to be considered, it is plain that the higher the price of any article the fewer will be sold—fewer people can afford to buy it. And since the demand for labor depends upon how many goods are to be made (and not on how much profit the manufacturer makes on each piece), it is easy to see that taxed raw materials make the product dearer and reduce the number of men employed and the demand for labor, and thus reduce in the most effectual way the rate of wages the workman can get.

But this is not the worst. In proportion to its product American labor is the cheapest in the world. But the high price of raw materials caused by the tariff (25 per cent on coal, 40 per cent on iron ore, 75 per cent on tinned plates, 40 per cent on copper, 20 per cent on lumber, 50 to 100 per cent on wool) makes them cost more to our manufacturers, who therefore cannot make goods as cheaply as they otherwise could; and hence cannot afford to sell them as cheaply as do the English and the Germans, who get their raw materials free. It, therefore, is the English and Germans, and not ourselves, who largely supply the rest of the world with manufactured goods, and it is American workmen whom our tariff thus deprives of the job of making goods for the rest of the world.

And this dearness of raw materials arises not from their scarcity, but from their abundance, which has tempted their owners to get laws compelling their countrymen to buy of them, but not compelling them to sell reasonably to their countrymen. The owners of iron ore and coal, of lumber forests, or copper and nickel and lead and salt mines, that God put in the ground for all, thus make them a curse instead of a blessing to the land. Given free raw materials, and there would be no limit to the possible expansion of our export trade in American manufactures; to the steady increase in the demand for American labor to make them, and to the steady increase both in the nominal rate of the wages paid and in the purchasing power of every dollar of such higher wages.

"*Protection Preserves Our Manufactures.*"—How does it do so? By far the greater proportion of them are now independent of "protection." Free trade would immediately relieve these of the taxes levied upon them, especially in the materials they use and the increased costs of living of all employed in them, and give them greater prosperity then they now have.

Not merely this, but by releasing a great portion of the remainder from similar exactions, it would render them the gainers rather than the losers. There would practically remain only a few cases in which experiments of a generation or more had demonstrated that the industry could not be made self-supporting here. As to these few thus discredited by experiment, the quicker we stop paying taxes to support them, and get their product more cheaply from others, who are willing to furnish it, the better for us.

As Adam Smith said, a century ago:

"Neither the public nor individuals will suffer any more from the occasional disbanding of some particular classes of manufacturers than from that of soldiers at the close of a war. Our manufacturers have no doubt great merit with their country, but they cannot have more than those who defend it with their blood, nor deserve to be treated with more delicacy."

But this is not all. Just as cheap sugar and free ores developed in England the multitude of industries dependent upon them that have brought her wealth from all portions of the globe; so with the withdrawal of that "protection" by which our industries are obstructed, there would immediately spring into being a myriad of new ones; those now self-supporting would develop to supply the new demand which their cheaper product would create; and there would be thrown open to American industry the world-wide field to which the unparalleled abundance and natural cheapness of our raw materials, the energy, ingenuity, and effectiveness of our labor, entitle us as the chosen people of the century.

"*Protection Furnishes Work.*"—The Almighty's curse furnished Adam with work when it "protected" him from Eden by the flaming sword, and "protection" increases the amount of work which the citizen of a country must do to secure a given amount of the rewards of labor. It diverts capital and labor from occupations in which, because they were profitable, citizens had invested them, into channels so unnatural that a dead loss is incurred, to recoup which government aid is asked; it diverts the labor of a country from the lines in which it can produce what is or would exchange for most of the good things that its people want, into directions where the production will be or will procure less; it diminishes the amount of good things that each shall receive as the reward of a given amount of labor.

Protection and Labor

The conditions of land tenure in Europe are doubtless accountable for the assumption on the part of protectionists that laborers as a class are indebted to employers for giving them work. This is due to a simple cause—that for centuries in most of the civilized nations of the world their lands have been closed to their laborers. Accepting the theory that they are entitled to breathe Heaven's air only so long as some other man permits them to stand upon his possession, they are not less grateful to their landlord than their Maker.

There is happily no need to argue with American working men upon this point. The natural resources of this country are so boundless, the use of them has produced so self-asserting and handy a mass of laborers, that the real conviction of American wage-earners is in accord with the truth—that non-workers, and not themselves, constitute the "dependent" class.

"*Protection Is Needed to Equalize Labor Cost.*"—This is, after all, the most stoutly contested position of latter-day protectionists, tho it was not so of their great predecessors. Hamilton showed that we could already afford to pay higher wages, and that in any case we could import pauper labor. Clay explained that the question was one of effectiveness and not of rate of wages at all, and that immigration would

doubtless bring wages to a level—all things considered.

But our present protective tariff, originating in war time, was defended, not upon the normal cost of production, but upon the plea that it was needed to equalize, first, the increased cost of production caused by internal-revenue taxes, and second, the increased cost of labor caused by the insufficient supply on account of enlistment in the army. The internal-revenue taxes have been abolished, except those on spirits and tobacco; not merely have the armies disbanded, but foreign labor is coming in at the rate of over a million of immigrants each year. The wealthy are no longer taxed on their income; bankers are no longer bothered by a two-cent stamp on their checks; but employers still find a tariff bonus not less pleasant than ever. And so because it is the "last ditch" of their position, they have rallied about the labor cost of production. This question is one of fact. The claim is baseless; the allegations upon which it is based are simply not true. In the nature of things the evidence should be endless—and it is. The issue is not as to the wage per diem the domestic laborer gets as compared with the foreign one, but as to the labor cost in a given product.

In basing their claim for a government bonus upon the fact that they pay higher wages, our manufacturers are guilty of pleading poverty—on the ground that their working partner gets more profits—while suppressing the fact that he is getting less than *his share* of the greater profits his more effective labor has assured for the common business.

"*Protection's Aim Is to Increase Wages.*"—When it is recalled that the advocates of "protection" are not wage-earners, but employers; that the tariff schedules are fixt, not upon any investigation of wages paid or desirable, or even upon evidence as to the profits actual or to be secured, but upon the suggestion of each knot of manufacturers engaged in any particular branch as to the rate at which they should be hired to conduct their business—When it is noted that the claim involves the assumption that labor is best off when left at the mercy of its employers; and that, in order to secure the greater welfare of their employees, our manufacturers should be given a tariff bonus of hundreds of millions per annum—with no security to the employees that they shall share it—it is seen how innocent in more senses than one must be the voter who listens to such a suggestion. But we need not rely upon the American contempt for cant to refute them. The history of our country is an open book, and no one will question that Hamilton and Clay of the dead, and Justin S. Morrill and John Sherman of the living, are qualified to speak for "protection."

Alexander Hamilton was the Secretary of the Treasury and the head of the party of which the present high protectionists are the successors—an honest aristocrat, who was as far from professing a particular regard for wage-earners as he was from bothering his head about their condition. Not merely in his general writings and speeches, but in his great "Report on Manufactures," which is the Koran of the protectionist faith, did he urge as the main ground for "protection" the necessity of offering temporary inducement to capital; but, in support of his claim that he was thus but accelerating our natural development, he explained that wages were not so much higher in this country than in Europe as generally supposed, and that the high wages here were paid not to the manufacturing employees, but to agricultural laborers; and that in any case we could safely rely upon the importation hither of the cheap labor that European manufacturers had. He mentioned as an additional advantage the probability that the importation of foreign labor by manufacturers would lead to the same process for farm labor; and he urged as a great advantage, if only sufficient factories were established, that women could be more frequently worked, and thus be made to help support the family, and that children might be utilized and worked at an earlier age than that at which they would be good for anything in agriculture.

Wages

After Hamilton came Clay, who from 1810 was the high priest of our ante-bellum "protection," the author of most of the tariff bills, their defender in Congress, and the presidential candidate who asked for the suffrages of the people in their behalf. He, in turn, asked for a tariff, not in the interest of labor in general, but in that of manufacturing employers. Adopting and amplifying Hamilton's arguments, he urged that "women and children who would be comparatively idle if manufactures did not exist, may be profitably employed in them," and that ingenuity in the construction and adroitness in the use of machinery, and the possession of raw materials, existed in our country in an immense degree, and more than counterbalanced the lower wages of labor in Great Britain "if they really existed."

In 1846 the U. S. abandoned the theory of "protection," and reduced duties toward a revenue basis, and in 1857 removed most of the "protection" that remained; so that our present tariff dates back only to the Morrill acts of 1861 and later years. As to the objects of these, the records are open to any one who will read. In order to raise revenues for the conduct of the war, a system was adopted of internal-revenue taxation upon the manufacturing employers, wealthy citizens, and great corporations of the country. Each manufacturer paid a tax on his product, each man of wealth was taxed a large proportion of his income; railroads, telegraph, express, and insurance companies, were taxed a large per cent of their gross receipts, and a stamp duty was levied on every contract and on every bank check. These taxes simply called on the wealth of the country to contribute to the common defense. The acts imposing these tariffs were, however, only allowed to pass accompanied by tariff bills, the effect of which was, as says Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," "to shut out still more conclusively all competition from foreign fabrics," and "to charge the increased cost to the consumer." The object and effect of the protective tariff was, therefore, *to enable the manufacturers of the country to get back from the people at large such taxes as the former had been compelled to pay for the support of government.*

But that was not all. In his speech of June 2, 1864, Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, called the attention of Congress to the fact that the presence in the army of a large number of working men left the supply short and wages high at home. It was in view of this that there had been progressed under Mr. Sherman's care in the Senate, and Mr. Morrill's protection in the House, another measure demanded by the manufacturers as the price of their contribution to support government, name-

ly, "An Act to Encourage Immigration," better known as the Contract Labor Law of 1864. There was no concealment about it in Congress, tho its promoters naturally avoided such debate as would call it to the attention of the country. The attention of the public was kept tickled with the patriotism of capitalists in submitting to the internal-revenue act, the tariff act was suppressed from prominence and mainly adjusted in committee; while the Contract Labor Law was whipt through both houses and signed by the president, July 4th, Independence Day, 1864. It provided for a U. S. commissioner to advertise throughout Europe the high wages paid in the U. S., and to cooperate with the American employers in contracting for labor abroad. A first lien was given employers who imported labor, for the cost of so doing, upon its wages for the first year, and also "until liquidated by the immigrant," upon any land, whether homestead or otherwise, or personal property, that he might acquire; and the faith of the government was pledged not to call upon immigrants for military service within a certain number of years after they arrived.

Our present tariff was, therefore, a twin of the Contract Labor Law of 1864. It was passed by the same Congress and advocated by the same men who procured government to advertise in Europe to induce foreigners to come over to reduce wages here, and to take the place in our factories of American working men who were fighting in the field, and who, when they returned, found their jobs gone and themselves forced to compete with the contract labor thus imported.

"*Protection Does Increase Wages.*"—To increase the wages of labor sums up the greater part of the expedients by which the best and wisest of our race have attempted to benefit humanity. An overwhelmingly great majority are laborers. The wage of labor, counted tho it may be in money, is really the proportion of its product which it receives. To increase this proportion is to direct more and more of this product into the hands of those who have thus deserved to enjoy it. To increase the absolute amount represented by this portion is to give more of comfort to each dweller on earth, except those who, objects of charity or restraint, would still remain dependent as now, and those others who are possest of such accumulations of either their own or other men's work that they already subsist comfortably without effort.

The test thus offered is a crucial one, politically as well as morally. Not merely is that system most just which insures to labor the largest proportion of its product; not merely is that plan most inspiring that offers the greatest rewards for exertion; but, in a land where government is based on manhood suffrage, increase of the compensation of wage-earners is at once beneficent in principle and the one object to which, as intelligence directs votes, the policy of government must tend.

As already noted, wages are *not* high here when product is taken into account. To stop here, however, would be begging the question, since ability to earn and demand good wages is a blessing in itself. The real question is, "Why are wages high here?"

This is not a new query. In 1773 Adam Smith stated as to America that in the Province of New York the wages of common laborers were 3*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* sterling, of ship carpenters 10*s.* 6*d.* and a pint of rum, or 6*s.* 6*d.* sterling per day; house carpenters and bricklayers, 8*s.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling; tailors, 5*s.* or 2*s.* 10*d.* sterling; and that the price of provisions was everywhere much lower than in Great Britain, where wages ranged for common laborers from 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling in London to 10*d.* in Edinburgh, and 8*d.* the usual price throughout the greater part of the low country of Scotland—which latter figures are those most nearly comparable with the American rates—there being then no large cities here like London. Inquiring into the cause of this, he concluded that "plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs in their own way, seemed to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new countries. . . . Every colonist has more land than he can possibly cultivate. He is, therefore, eager to secure laborers from all quarters, and to reward them with the most liberal wages. But these liberal wages, joined to the plenty and cheapness of the land, soon make these laborers leave him in order to become landowners themselves, and to reward with equal liberality other laborers, who soon leave *them* for the same reason *they* left their first masters."

Alexander Hamilton, in discussing comparative wages in Europe and this country, noted the same fact, especially that the difference in wages in regard to artificers and manufacturers was much less "than in regard to country laborers," and gave the same reason adduced by Adam Smith—adding the suggestion that laborers who might be imported for manufacturers would doubtless soon find out this state of things, and help furnish a better supply of laborers for agriculture; while Clay, reasoning on the same lines, argued that tho wages might fall on account of the importation of foreign labor, yet that "the extent and fertility of our lands constitute an adequate security against an excess in manufactures, and also against oppression on the part of capitalists toward the laboring portions of the community"—in other words, that our *unprotected* industries would always be a protection to labor against the oppression of protected capital.

Since the settlement of this country agricultural labor has received an average wage, approximately equivalent to its product, without deduction for hire of the land—in bad times the fact being notorious that it is our laborers and not our landowners, as such, who realize the greater part of the product of agriculture. Again, as an increasing proportion of the world's working men are weakened neither by hunger nor the diseases of want and squalor, hands and head become alike more efficient in product, and wage-earners more plucky to insist upon an equitable share of it. With this "protection" has had nothing to do. In this country—whose men have never been hungry, whose children have never been wretched, whose women have never sunk under unwomanly labor—the result—the greatest prosperity since the sun shone upon Eden—is due to our free soil and the blessing of Providence—neither of which came through the custom house.

"*Protection Keeps Our Home Market for Us.*"—If by this were meant what is the fact, that protection shuts us all up, and thus tends to make *us* a market for the protected few who have procured us to be thus fenced in, there could be no objection to the statement, or to any argument legitimately drawn therefrom. But such is not its intended application. Speaking

Home Market

on the assumption that a nation may be regarded as a single individual, it is urged that its markets should be reserved for its own supply; and that, rather than permit foreigners to let us have what it would take us three days to make, in return for something else we can make in two days, we had better work the three days ourselves. It is precisely analogous to the resolve of a tired man, offered a ride, to keep his traveling for his own legs.

"*Protection Increases Population.*"—In proportion as a population becomes dense, in precisely that proportion is the extent of the demand for manufactures such as to make economical the production in the community of the products which that community can use. To the extent that there is capital and brains there, to that extent the development of all manufactures which can legitimately flourish there will follow upon the population that justifies them.

It is only in the same way that manufactures increase the value of land, if we except the infinitely small proportion of the land they occupy. That their establishment is coincident and somewhat in proportion to the rise of land, is simply a result of the fact that it is the consequence of the same development that increases the price of land—the increase in number of those who want to use it.

And the establishment of a village of manufacturing operatives may help raise the price of the land about it. The most ardent protectionist, however, will stop short of the suggestion that the citizens of any village can enrich themselves and increase the value of the land in their village by taxing themselves to pay the profits of an unprofitable industry. If that were the case, the shortest road to wealth for every farmer would be to increase the value of his farm by hiring hands till he had enough to eat all he could raise.

Here, let us say, is a farmer located on a bit of land a hundred miles away from the nearest city. That city is his market. The cost of transportation is so much taken from his profits.

Here steps in the protectionist. There is in this region, say, a stream capable of abundant water-power. "Let us put up a woolen-mill here," the protectionist urges. "Let us agree to pay something more than we pay now for woolen stuffs, and so make it an object for some one to come here and start a manufactory. Hundreds of hands will be employed; the railway will be put through. We will build up a town right in the midst of our farms, and have a market at our very doors. Good prices then for everything." It is done. The mill is built; the railway is laid; the town grows up. And the farmer—what of him? Strange to say, we presently find him getting poorer!

Where is the mistake? It is just here—in the agreement to "pay something more than we pay now" for manufactured goods. If the farmers of *this* locality want a woolen-mill, those in *that* locality want a cotton-mill, and those in the next county an iron-furnace, and so on. The result is that the farmers everywhere pay "something more" for everything they buy.

This, however, is not the worst. Nowadays there is no such thing as a "home market" for any considerable portion of their produce. The farmer in the Genesee Valley not merely sees the trains run past him to Rochester, laden with flour, rolled in Minneapolis, from Dakota wheat, but uses the same flour in his own household, and his village butcher sells fresh meat from beeves killed at Kansas City. No manufacturing town dreams nowadays of looking to the locality about it for any supplies, except only the cheapest part of its "garden truck." The American manufacturer has free trade in the one thing he buys the most of—labor. He lives in a land where transport facilities are so developed that he need not depend upon the locality about him—and he does not; in a country whose surplus of food products is so great that their first price-fixing markets are found at Liverpool, a free-trade city—and so he gets them, too, at free-trade rates. The American farmer has sold his birthright and has lost his pottage to boot.

There is another aspect of the relations between American mill owners and American farmers. All international commerce is practically barter—that is, exchange of goods for goods. The necessity of paying in money for any considerable part of the imports of a commercial country for a single year would require such an amount of our money as is absolutely unattainable, and the attempt to get it would so derange the financial status as to cripple all business, international commerce first of all. This does not mean that our exports must be directly to countries from which we import. With the development of financial communication throughout the world the effect upon us is the same as tho the exchange were direct, provided we export somewhither an amount of goods approximately sufficient to pay for those we import from anywhere.

Now, generally speaking, the two great items of trade are food products and manufactured goods. As compared with Europe, to which most of our exports go, we export food products and import manufactured goods. The extent to which we can export is closely dependent upon the extent to which we can import. We can sell anywhere only in proportion to what we buy somewhere. Our supply of goods is, therefore, furnished in part by our home manufacturers, and in part (indirectly) by our farmers in the shape of goods which are imported to pay for their produce. The competition fostered by our tariff is, therefore, between the home manufacturer and the American farmer.

In this competition, therefore, to supply the American market with manufactured goods, a high tariff not merely enables the manufacturer to avoid competition from the goods which, as pay for his produce, the American farmer would bring into this country, and to secure the home market for himself at a higher rate; but it compels the American farmer, thus obstructed in export trade, to sell farm produce here cheaper than he would otherwise have had to do.

Of late years increasing facilities of communication and the accelerated progress of invention have promised mankind such a reduction in prices as should result from the fact that the whole world has become, as it were, a single locality, and that the tact, ingenuity, and enterprise of the captains of industry in every part of it would naturally be enlisted in rivalry to secure the advantages of wider markets and greater sales.

Trusts

But the world has been disappointed. The railroad, the telephone, and the telegraph, by making the world but a single locality, have not merely inaugurated world-wide competition, but they have awakened producers to the greater intensity of rivalry thus made possible, and facilitated the formation of trusts, or industrial

combines. Not all of them are consequences of the tariff any more than all crime is a result of drink. It is as plain, however, that our tariff promotes trusts as that drunkenness breeds crime.

For, in any industry whose product our government "protects" by a tariff upon similar articles made abroad, it is in the power of home manufacturers to extort from our people the full tariff rate as a bonus for their own pockets; whereas if it were not for the tariff, no combine would "work" unless it included the whole world. As to a protected industry, therefore, the tariff makes it as much easier to form trusts than it otherwise would be, as it is easier successfully to combine the few manufacturers of a single nation than it is to get and keep together in harmony many times as many manufacturers, scattered all over the world.

Monopoly once secured, the results are:

First.—These combines, covering, as they do, many great branches of protected manufacture, and affecting many others, raise the price of manufactured goods, so that the consumer gets less for the same amount of money. It is generally the case also that a large proportion of the concerns which have combined together are those which cannot manufacture the manufactured goods as economically as the others. The ordinary course has been to pay such for remaining idle, leaving all of the product to be made at the manufactories which can produce it most cheaply, while the combine keeps up the price not merely to afford exorbitant profit to the plants still kept at work, but to pay to idle manufactories the bonus agreed upon for their remaining non-productive.

Second.—The object of a trust combine is to make large profits on a limited product. If successful, therefore, a trust makes up by the high rate of its profits what it loses by the smallness of its sales; and it is, therefore, just as well off as tho, by selling goods more cheaply, it made larger sales. But it is the amount of goods to be manufactured, and not the profit that the employer is to make out of each item, that determines the demand for labor and the wages he must pay. Trusts, therefore, enable manufacturers to make more money by employing less labor.

Shipping

It is evident that there are two industries involved in the general term "shipping"—one, that of shipbuilding, the other, that of the carrying trade; also that of these two the carrying trade is the principal one and the other simply incidental—that is, that we build ships in order to carry goods and passengers, instead of carry goods and passengers in order to employ ships. In our shipping industries the principles of "protection" have been most thoroughly applied, and have produced their legitimate results. But for a consideration of this, see Ship Subsidies.

Just Protection Impossible

There are practically no articles to which protection can be applied which are not directly a factor in a myriad of other industries and indirectly so in all the countless branches of industry. Even to secure the data upon which an estimate can be made of what is or is not fair protection, and whether its burdens and benefits are equally distributed, presupposes an accurate knowledge on the part of the framers of a tariff bill of every conceivable branch of every imaginable industry in all of its infinitely varied relations. It is, therefore, not merely impossible for a just tariff to be framed, but impossible—except by the disastrous result of experiment—even to guess at the wide-spread effects of any provision. And even this guesswork is vitiated by the impossibility of estimating alternate developments which such provision has made impossible.

Again, recalling the complexity and the importance of the task thus assigned legislators, who are the men who undertake it—and by what are their deliberations guided? They are Congressmen—a body of gentlemen of whom it is not belittling them to say that on an average they know somewhat more about politics and somewhat less about business than do their fellow citizens who are engaged in non-political business. Neither in capacity nor in opportunity would their most complimentary friends for a moment claim them to be endowed with a tithe of the omniscience necessary. They must depend upon somebody. And they do—upon those who are sufficiently interested to go to Washington or to employ others to go there to argue with congressional committees as to the fairness of what each asks for himself. Bearing in mind that in each case the legislators are and must be largely ignorant of the main considerations—much more so of their practical application—by which any proposed tariff item should be judged; and that the men whose interest is to have the law give them as much as is possible are generally of the few, and often the only ones competent to judge as to the fairness of their own statements; remembering that each is careless of the effect upon others of the particular provision which will benefit him, and that each is jealous of the effect upon him of any provision that will help others; remembering that the most practical, and, indeed, the most common way of settling these differences is not by fighting it out before the congressional committee but by a friendly arrangement by which each abandons opposition to the other in consideration of the other agreeing to stand aside from additional benefit to himself; remembering that a tariff bill is the one measure of legislation that it is impracticable to debate even in Committee of the Whole, and one recognizes at once how apt is the simile in which a well-known author described the effect of pending tariff legislation in Congress upon the swarm of protected—or would-be protected—or prefer not to be obstructed—industries as comparable only to that effect of throwing a banana into a cage of monkeys.

The simile, however, is not a complete one. The real process of tariff construction is that of first throwing the banana to a half dozen who have been gathered, and then attempting to allay the consequent scrimmage by flinging in further bananas until not merely the monkeys originally on hand, but all those from the woods about, who have been attracted by the chatter, shall have had their share in the mêlée and gorged themselves with bananas—all of which have been taken from the hard-working natives to whom they belong.

III. Free Trade

We are told that if we permit free trade, we shall be "deluged with foreign goods." On reflection, few of us can be thus frightened. The more goods we have the better we are off; the

cheaper we can get them the better we like it; the more we are inundated with them the better we are suited. The protectionist says, however, that it is not fair to make him ridiculous. So let him state soberly what is the reason of his fright at this deluge of prosperity. He will probably tell you that the result of it will be to deprive our own people of the labor of producing it.

Now, there may be people of such peculiar taste as to like work in and for itself. Individual protectionists are not generally such, however, and the majority of us rack our wits as to how we can get the most goods for the least work. "But," the protectionist says, "you are still laughing at me. Nobody supposes foreigners will let us have these goods for nothing. No? What will they do then?" "We shall have to pay for them." Exactly, and with what? What have we been paying for them? What are the terms of all international trade? We pay for them by exports of the produce of this country. So this deluge of foreign goods is simply an exchange for goods that have been manufactured here. Such being the case, why is not our labor just as well employed in making here the goods that are sent abroad, as it would be in making the foreign goods imported? "Oh, but," the protectionist says, "there is not as much labor employed." But does not that prove that the importation of foreign goods is a good thing? If two days' work here can make what we send abroad and get back what would take three days' work to do, have we not gained the product of a day's work by the exchange? And if there was any loss; if, for example, we had to work three days to make the goods for which foreigners would give us others which would take us but two days to make, would we need government aid to stop us in our mad career? The protectionist again says we do not understand him, and that what we want to do is to keep our workmen employed. Not unless we pay them. And if they are not to be paupers, they ought to be employed in some business that pays. That business is one of those in which two days' work will buy from somebody else what would have cost three days' labor to make here, and not a business that spends three days' work upon something that it could get in trade by working two days. The workmen should, therefore, go into some of the great industries that do not need "protection." And, in fact, such are the industries in which are engaged nine tenths of the working men in this country, and in which the highest wages are paid.

Does any one claim that trade between men of different nations is a bad thing in itself? The experience of the world to date is directly to the contrary.

Benefits of Trade

It is as natural for men to trade as for blood to circulate. In direct proportion as man rises from a savage state, he trades with his neighbors. In direct proportion to the extent civilization develops, the neighbors he trades with are more numerous and more widely scattered. It was about the centers of trade between different races and nations and in the persons of those who carried it on, and through intercourse of which trade was the object and the opportunity, that the great advances of civilization have been made. Down at the bottom of every prospect of increasing earnings of labor and comfort for the race are—division of labor so that to each shall be allotted what he can do best—the development of processes of production, so that the product of a day's work shall be greater and greater—and the perfecting of facilities of transportation, so that the product of any day's work may be everywhere most easily supplied; and all this to the end that, all workers making the most goods possible, each may receive as his share an ever greater amount in proportion to his exertion. To the extent to which trade is facilitated, this result is advanced. But on the protective theory every reduction in the cost of freight, every increase in the facilities of communication, every addition to the ease with which we can trade with foreigners raises a new evil to be met by increase of tariffs.

In olden times each tribe was separated from its neighbor by a belt of waste land never crossed except at risk of death. Exchange of goods was effected by the battle or the foray in which the warrior spoiled his slain foe, or ravaged the home of the absent one. To-day nations eagerly join in opening new facilities for mutual intercourse, and each uses the arts and the products of all; while "On earth peace, good-will toward men" —the common fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man—are preached from every pulpit.

"Protection" or free trade? Which faces backward?

On the whole our people are intelligent and conscientious, and habitually do neither what they know to be foolish nor what they feel to be wrong. And yet most of us have not the least hesitation in bringing from foreign countries everything that we imagine we can get abroad cheaper than here. Rather than make false oaths some American citizens pay many duties they otherwise might avoid. But the fact remains that returning ships are loaded with the baggage, purchased abroad, of protectionist statesmen; and that the woman has not yet gone abroad who has hesitated for a moment to avoid the tariff upon everything she could smuggle; conspicuous cases of unsuccessful smuggling are those of millionaire protectionist manufacturers; and one of the most flagrant cases ever known was that where a communion service of massive silver plate was smuggled by a reputable banker as a present to the church of which he was an ornament. Either we are degenerates or else we know better than to respect a tariff.

Whether a country is rich or poor it will be benefited by free trade with its neighbors. For in either case the result is to give its citizens so many more chances to trade. If they cannot profit by them they will not trade; if they can, then they and through them their country will be richer for their having them. No country is either so rich or so poor that it is not to its advantage to have its citizens better off than they are.

By permitting us to obtain each what things we need from the locality that has the greatest facilities for their production, trade increases enormously the sum of things which a given quantity of labor can secure. Men of all nations trade with each other, for the same reason that men of the same nation and the same village do, because they find it profitable; because they get what they want with less labor than they otherwise could. To this motive we owe civilization and the progress the world has so far made. It involves considerations far too complex for the omniscience of a Congress or the omnipotence of a Parliament. It can safely be left only to those

instincts which are to society what the vital instincts are to the body; which have brought us thus far from savagery; and which have established free trade as "the international law of God." JOHN DE WITT WARNER.

THE TARIFF AND TRUSTS. STATISTICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

The largest and most typical of tariff trusts is the U. S. Steel Corporation. Its outstanding capital was $1,439,055,864 in 1905.

Its controlled and "community-of-interest" companies bring its capitalization up to about $1,700,000,000.

It owns or controls about 80 per cent of the Lake Superior iron ore mines, the Connellsville coking coal mines, operates 1,200 miles of railroads, and mines over 20,000,000 tons of iron ore a year, mainly transported on its more than one hundred vessels. It produces two thirds of our steel products, or more than does any other country than the U. S.

In 1905 its gross sales and earnings were, as reported, $585,331,736; its net earnings $119,787,658. It paid $128,052,955 in wages and salaries to its 180,158 employees—an average of $710.75 each.

Its owners thus got about as much in net profits as its 180,000 employees got in wages. In 1902 net profits exceeded wages and salaries by $20,000,000. In 1906 the net profits are $156,619,111. The total of wages was probably about $136,000,000. Since this trust was born, in 1901, its total net earnings has about equaled its total wages and salaries paid.

This trust exports goods to all parts of the world and sells them abroad at "very much lower rates than those here," as testified its first president, Mr. Charles M. Schwab. This difference has probably averaged about $10 per ton.

United States Steel Corporation Profits

In 1905 the U. S. Steel Corporation sold 9,226,386 tons of "rolled and other finished products." The average selling price was probably less than $40 a ton, making the total receipts from this source about $370,000,000. Other receipts, from freight and passenger rates, sales of cement, spelter, copperas, etc., may have amounted to $20,000,000 or $25,000,000. Thus the total of "gross sales and earnings" probably amounted to less than $400,000,000. The "gross sales and earnings" of $585,331,736, in 1905, undoubtedly included sales between the subsidiary companies. This fact was so stated in the 1902 report.

Deducting net earnings—roughly $120,000,000—we get $280,000,000 as the total cost of production, including all administrative, selling, and general expenses, employees' bonus funds, taxes, etc. The rate of profit was, therefore, about 43 per cent. As this rate would look very high, the officials report fictitious gross sales and cost of production, the latter as $440,013,432. But even on this cost, the rate of profit is over 23 per cent.

Deducting $5,000,000 as the estimated profits on everything else, we get $115,000,000 as the net profits on the sale of 9,226,386 tons of steel. The profits then average $12.50 a ton. The profits on goods sold here average about $14, and on the goods exported about $4 a ton. Ten or 12 per cent of all goods sold were for export. *All* goods for export are sold to and through the U. S. Steel Products Export Company, whose stock is owned by the Federal Steel Company of the U. S. Steel Corporation. This selling device, like the fictitious gross sales and costs, helps conceal export prices and tariff profits. *Prices* are quoted delivered in foreign ports. This selling company contracts in advance for tonnage to different foreign countries and can then quote relatively lower prices, delivered in foreign ports, than for export from New York.

But often the selling company has agreements with foreign steel producers as to prices at which each can sell certain products and as to territory in which each producer can or cannot sell. Thus there is an "International Rail Syndicate" of manufacturers of steel rails in the U. S., Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium, which practically reserves the two American continents to our manufacturers. So there is to-day little or no competition as to rails. Thus the *Iron Age* of Jan. 21, 1907, says:

"Whatever understanding has been maintained between the largest German and American steel interests in the past year respecting exported material has been facilitated by an unprecedented condition of activity. The falling off in rails (exported from Great Britain), as has been claimed on behalf of British rail-mills, is due to their unfortunate experience under the international rail syndicate's allotment of business."

Since the formation of these international syndicates, and probably largely because of them, there has been less difference between export and home prices than formerly. Thus, at the end of 1906, the average difference was estimated at $5 or $6 a ton. Previous to 1906 the average difference was, perhaps, $10 or $12 a ton. On many products, however, such as wire nails, most wire and wire products, and tin plates, the average difference is still about one half cent a pound, or over $10 a ton.

Previous to the international agreements of 1905 and 1906 the difference between the export and home prices may be said to have measured roughly the tariff profits of the Steel Trust. Since 1905 the tariff profits undoubtedly exceed this difference. The number of tons of steel sold by the trust in 1906 is not as yet known. It may be estimated at 11,000,000. Taking the amounts exported for each year and estimating the tariff profits—after making allowance for goods exported without tariff profit—as indicated in the table, we get the following as the

TARIFF PROFITS OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

YEAR	Finished products, Tons	Tariff per ton	Profits, amount	Total net profits
1901....	6,000,000[1]	9	$54,000,000	$84,787,596
1902....	8,197,232	10	81,972,320	133,308,764
1903....	7,635,690	8	61,085,520	109,171,152
1904....	6,792,780	7	47,549,460	73,176,522
1905....	9,226,386	9	83,037,474	119,787,658
1906....	10,578,433	8	88,000,000	156,619,111
Totals.	48,852,088	Av. 8.50	$415,644,774	$676,850,803
Deduct tariff profits.....				415,644,774
Net profits less tariff profits.....				$261,206,029

[1] Estimated for nine months in 1901.

Thus during the five years and nine months of its existence the Steel Trust reports net profits of $676,000,000, or an average of $118,000,000 a year. This is an average of over 8 per cent, even on the nominal capital of the trust. As the actual value of all property taken over by the trust probably did not exceed $400,000,000 in 1901, and as less than $200,000,000—perhaps not $100,000,000—has been added for new properties since, it is evident that the actual capital necessarily invested has averaged only about $500,000,000. On this the profits have averaged 23.5 per cent (?). Taking out the estimated tariff profits of $415,000,000, there would still be left an average profit of about 9 per cent (?) on all actual necessary capital. The industry would thus thrive if all protection was removed.

As the Steel Trust makes about two thirds of the steel made in this country, the total tariff tax on this class of steel products is about $177,000,000. Besides, we imported in 1903 $52,456,840 of iron and steel on which $16,865,971 of duty was collected. The tariff tax at wholesale, then, amounted to about $200,000,000. At retail, and after the iron and steel had been worked into machinery, tools, implements, etc., the tariff tax was, perhaps, twice this amount, or $400,000,000.

The trust has lately utilized only about half of its protection. On some products less, on others more. That no duty whatever is needed, except for purposes of plunder, is clear from the immense quantities of these products exported. Thus, in 1906 we exported 390,000,000 pounds of wire, over 27,000,000 pounds of tin-plate, and 328,036 tons of steel rails, valued at $8,903,411. The wages of those making tin plates for export are reduced 25 per cent over what is received on other tin plates.

Mr. Charles M. Schwab said, in a letter to H. C. Frick, in 1899, that steel rails were made here for less than $12 per ton, while the cost to produce them in England was $19. He says that similar differences existed as to other steel products. The tariff duties serve no honest purpose. They are maintained by the brutal force and political power of the Steel Trust.

The "Report of the Bureau of Statistics on Commerce and Finance," for Aug., 1900, particularly mentioned the export and home prices of steel rails, then $24 and $35 respectively, and the extreme prices for wire and nails, which "had advanced from $1.35 to $3.20 in the course of a year."

THE TARIFF TAX ON WOOLENS

The factory value of the woolens manufactured in this country in 1900 was $295,990,484. Adding 8 per cent for increase in population and 12 per cent for increased prices from 1900 to 1905, the value of the manufactured product in 1905 was $356,000,000.

The imports of woolen goods for consumption in 1905 amounted to $18,021,042. The duty collected was $16,547,592, or 91.82 per cent ad valorem. Including transportation costs, these goods were worth $38,000,000 when they reached our shores. Adding these values we have $394,000,000 as the factory and import value of all woolens. The *Statistical Abstract*, however, tells us that the raw wool retained for consumption in 1905 was 6.52 pounds per capita, against 5.72 pounds in 1900. As the imports of manufactures were but slightly larger in 1905 than in 1900, we should add at least 10 per cent to this factory value, making it

$433,000,000. Adding 15 per cent for profits we get $498,000,000 as the value of the woolen goods ready to be made into clothing, etc. The retail value of the clothing, etc., was probably 50 per cent greater, or $747,000,000. This gives an average of $41.50 per family.

Our imports of raw wool in 1905 amounted to $35,444,449, on which a duty of $16,529,787 was paid. Hence the total duty collected on wool and woolens was $33,077,379.

As only about one ninth of our woolen goods are imported and as the tariff on these goods amounts to $16,547,592, or perhaps $27,000,000 at retail, the increased cost to our consumers of all woolens should be about nine times this amount, or $243,000,000. If it is only $200,000,000 it averages $11.10 per family, of which only $1.84 goes to the government, leaving $9.26 mainly for the American Woolen Company, and somewhat to the few owners of about 40,000,000 sheep. The number of sheep has changed but slightly during the last quarter of a century. The per capita consumption of wool averaged 5.6 pounds from 1898 to 1905, inclusive, as against 6.8 pounds from 1890 to 1897, inclusive. The decreased consumption of wool, under almost prohibitive duties of nearly 100 per cent, has resulted in greatly increased consumption of cotton and shoddy goods.

The Sugar Tariff—Trust Tax

Our people consume about 72 pounds of sugar per capita. The average price paid is about 5½ cents per pound, or over $18 per family, and our total sugar bill is about $325,000,000.

In 1905 we imported 3,680,932,998 pounds of raw sugar, valued at $97,645,449, on which $51,171,284 of duty was collected. About 2,200,000,000 pounds was produced in this country, making a total used of 5,896,163,840 pounds, or 2,632,216 tons.

The duty on refined sugar is 1.95 cents per pound, plus a countervailing duty equal to any export duty that may be paid by foreign countries. Our refiners are specially protected by an extra or "differential" duty on refined sugar—nominally 12½ cents per 100 pounds, but really much more—and also by a part of the countervailing duties. These latter have now about ceased.

The extra protection on refined sugar is probably about ⅛ of a cent per pound. Of course the whole duty of 1.92 cents per pound protects the producers of the 576,124 tons of beet and cane sugar not imported.

Here, then, is a tariff tax of $51,000,000 collected by the government, and of $38,000,000 more collected by the trust and other protected interests, on sugar sold at wholesale. At retail the tax is probably over $125,000,000—2.15 cents per pound, or nearly 40 per cent of the total price paid by the people. The sugar bill per family is therefore about $18 a year, above $7 of which goes to the Sugar Trust and other protected interests.

That there is no economic or moral justification for any protection factor here is clear from the fact that sugar is refined more cheaply here than anywhere else, and that the total labor cost of refining, according to the 1900 census, was less than 3 per cent of the value of the product, or only 15 cents per 100 pounds. That is, *the net extra protection on refined sugar is more than the total labor cost of refining sugar.*

Amount of Tariff Tax

Somewhat careful estimates of the tariff tax were made for the year 1903. It is probable that the tax per family is now about the same as it was then.

By comparing various estimates of earnings and expenditures the conclusion was reached that in 1903 the net value of all goods produced was about $18,000,000,000, and that the amount consumed by our 17,000,000 families was $16,000,000,000, or about $9.41 per family. The percentage of expenditures for the principal items entering into the cost of living for the average family was based upon the July (1904) Report of the Bureau of Labor.

Space will not permit a detailed explanation of how the estimate of the tariff tax on each item was reached. The $16.52 of legitimate tariff taxes collected by the government were, of course, known. The main items on which they were collected were also known. Frequently, however, as in the cases of steel rails, wire, borax, and hundreds of other products, almost no duty was collected by the government while almost the full amount of the tariff tax was collected by the protected trusts from consumers.

In a general way it may be said that to the factory and import values of each important product were added a fair allowance for transportation and for profits of middlemen and that this amount, divided by 17,000,000, gave the per family consumption for each product. On this the tariff tax was figured as closely as possible, considering the known facts in each instance.

The conclusion is reached that the average family pays $111 of tariff tax, of which $16.52 goes to the government and $94.48 to the trusts and middlemen. That this estimate of about 10 per cent of all expenditures as the proportion collected by the trusts is reasonable is apparent from other deductions. Thus, at the present time (March, 1907) average prices in the U. S. are about 50 per cent higher than they were ten years ago. In England—generally speaking a free-trade country—average prices are only about 30 per cent higher than ten years ago. Here is a difference of 20 per cent. If only two thirds of this difference be credited to the tariff and tariff trusts, we have fully 10 per cent of the cost of living chargeable to the tariff; even if the tariff was ineffective in 1906, as we know was not the case.

Export Prices

No stronger indictment can be brought against our tariff system than that furnished by the difference between export and home prices. Probably fully 80 per cent of the $570,000,000 worth of manufactured goods exported in the fiscal year 1906 were sold at prices below those prevailing at home for similar goods. The average difference was perhaps 15 per cent.

This system of favoritism to foreigners not only shows the needlessness of any tariff whatever on goods sold in this way; it shows that "protection" that taxes the protected and gives to the unprotected is a suicidal policy. It increases the cost of living and of producing in this country and decreases the cost in foreign countries.

In the following table are compared the export and home prices in the summer and fall of 1906 on a few articles:

Export and Home Prices of Certain Articles

Articles and Description	Export price	Home price	Difference, per cent
Cultivators, wheel, No. 61, each	$4.00	$5.00	25
Wheelbarrows, garden, wood wheel, each	2.50	3.00	20
Thrashers, grain, horse or steam power, 32-in. each	300.00	400.00	33⅓
Rubber belting, 6-in., per foot	.39	.30	33⅓
Horse-powers, 10 horse, each	143.00	190.00	33⅓
Engines, traction, 8 horse-power, each	917.00	1,225.00	33⅓
Engines, farm, 8 horse-power, each	563.00	750.00	33⅓
Clothes-wringers, 10 x 1¾, per dozen	18.70	22.50	20
Incubators, No. 1, each	15.00	20.00	33⅓
Brooders, 200 chicks, each	9.20	11.50	25
Potato-diggers, each	90.00	100.00	11
Shovels, D-handle, square point, No. 2, per dozen	8.25	11.00	33⅓
Watches, 21-jewel Crescent st., nickel case, each	15.43	19.88	28
Watches, 23-jewel Riverside Maximus, each	31.77	43.15	35
Watches, 21-jewel Father Time, each	14.42	19.89	38
Knives, kitchen, per gross	12.00	16.00	33⅓
Auger bits, snells, ½-inch, per dozen	1.62	2.40	48
Auger bits, Jennings, ½-inch, per dozen	1.21	2.00	60
Bits, expansive, Clark Brown, per dozen	4.86	8.10	66
Shears, barber's, 8-inch, japanned, per dozen	3.80	4.80	26
Shears, tailor's, 13-inch, per pair	3.60	4.32	20
Soap, toilet, violet, per gross	32.00	40.80	25
Soap, toilet, sweet lavender, per gross	14.04	19.12	35
Soap, toilet shaving stock, large, per gross	13.00	16.74	20
Soap, toilet glycerin, per gross	8.34	12.75	52
Florida water, per case	2.75	5.00	82
Vaseline No. 2	.58	.70	20
Plows, disk No. 1, each	32.50	40.00	25
Kerosene in barrels, gallon	7.50	.12	60
Wire nails, 100 lbs	1.55	1.90	23
Barb-wire, 100 lbs	2.22	2.45	10

Byron W. Holt.

FREE TRADE CLUB, THE UNIONIST: An English club, the object of which is to unite and combine in common work free-traders in all parts of the country who may, whether as conservatives or liberal unionists, belong to the Unionist Party. It exists to organize those who are willing to assist in the dissemination, by speeches and lectures, of unionist and free trade principles. The policy of the club is actively to support free trade, and equally energetically to oppose protection in all its forms and under whatever names it may be

put before the electors. In furtherance of its object, the club proposes: (1) To organize those who are willing to assist in the dissemination by speeches and lectures, and by the publication of leaflets and other literature, of unionist and free trade principles; (2) to afford opportunities to its members of meeting to discuss the political situation; (3) to entertain from time to time eminent free trade statesmen at dinner, and hear from them addresses on current events; (4) to establish a connection with local bodies in various parts of the country, with a view to furthering the object of the club. With the approval of the executive committee, other unionist free trade bodies may be affiliated to the Unionist Free Trade Club under the following conditions: "The objects of the affiliated body must be the same as the objects of this club, namely, to unite in common action free-traders who are unionists; and its rules and any amendment to its rules must be submitted to the executive committee for approval. Beyond retaining the power to cancel the affiliation at any time, the club will not exercise any control over these affiliated bodies, and will not be in any way responsible for any action which they may take." The president of the club is the Duke of Devonshire; the secretary, E. G. Branker; office, 38 Victoria Street, S. W., London, England.

FREILIGRATH, FERDINAND: German poet and Socialist, born at Detmold, 1810; was educated at the gymnasium of his native town. Destined for a mercantile career he was apprenticed to an uncle in Soest, and in 1831 went to Amsterdam to fill a position. Returning in 1836 he held a position in Barmen until 1839 when the success of his first poems, "Tropenlieder," encouraged him to give up mercantile pursuits and devote himself to poetry. During the following years he wrote prolifically, and for several years kept far from politics. In 1844, however, he became an enthusiastic fighter for a "free Germany," saying: "Firmly and irrevocably do I place myself on the side of those who with brain and brawn endeavor to stem the tide of reaction. No life for me hereafter without liberty!" In the same year he met Marx at Brussels and became greatly interested in the latter's doctrines. His poems at this time "breathed of the liberty to come while they sighed over the misery that was." While previously obscure, he became of a sudden one of the most popular poets of the day.

In 1846 Freiligrath went to London as commercial correspondent, and remained there until 1848 when the news of the "March Day" drew him home. He was hailed with enthusiasm, and became leader of a democratic party. In a poem entitled "Die Toten an die Lebenden" (The Dead to the Living), he voiced his thoughts of liberty, and was accused of having tried to incite the citizens to riot. He was arrested on Aug. 18th and held until Oct. 3d, when his case was tried before a jury, being the first case to be thus tried in a German court. He was unanimously acquitted, and was triumphantly received by the thousands who had gathered about the courthouse. Shortly after Freiligrath went to Cologne, where he became editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* founded by Marx. In May, 1849, the paper was suppressed on the charge of having published anarchistic matter, and an order was issued for the arrest of the editors. Freiligrath escaped to Holland, and later ventured back to Cologne disguised as a coal-heaver. In 1851 he returned to England, just in time to escape apprehension on a charge of lese-majesty growing out of some of his poems. Since then he took no active part in political life. In 1867 Freiligrath, who held a responsible position with a bank, suddenly found himself penniless by the collapse of that institution, and when his friends heard of this they took up a collection which netted 60,000 thalers, contributions coming even from the United States. In 1868 he went to Stuttgart, and in 1874 to Cannstadt, where he died two years later.

FREMANTLE, THE HON. AND REV. WILLIAM HENRY: Dean of Ripon, England; born 1831; the second son of the first Baron Cottosloe. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, he held a fellowship of All Souls, 1855–63; ordained in 1858, he became curate at Middle Claydon, vicar of Lewknor, rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London, 1865, and canon residentiary of Canterbury Cathedral in 1882. In 1895 he was appointed Dean of Ripon. He has been a frequent writer, and in 1882 gave the Bampton Lectures at Oxford on "The World as the Subject of Redemption," in which he advocated the broadest application of Christianity to social and political life. Other social works are: "The Gospel of the Secular Life" (1882); "Christian Ordinances and Social Progress" (1900). *Address*: The Deanery, Ripon, England.

FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE, played an important tho a frequently misunderstood part in social reform.

France was groaning under despotism, royal extravagance, and financial ruin. In 1774 Louis XV. ended his profligate reign, brilliant only because of its literary men. Louis XVI., married in 1770 to Marie Antoinette of Austria, was pure, stubborn, and weak. Turgot (*q. v.*), entrusted with the finances, tried to levy taxes equally. The nobility resisted, and in 1776 he was deposed. Necker followed, vainly trying to stave off national bankruptcy. France, aiding America against England, for five years fought England, and grew still poorer. The nobility and the higher clergy dodged the taxation; gaiety ruled in the court; the people hated the foreign queen. Finally, in 1789, after various efforts with Parliament, the king was compelled to summon the states-general (see ESTATES) to vote taxes. Meanwhile the writings of Rousseau and others were filling the people with ideals of equality. The First Estate, the clergy, returned to the assembly 291 members, 48 bishops, and 208 parish priests, the poorer priests largely on the side of the people. The Second Estate, the nobility, returned 208 members. The Third Estate had 557 members, nearly half of them barristers. They met at Versailles. The king was stubborn, but they would not vote as he willed. June 17, 1789, they formed themselves into a national assembly, and June 20th, on the neighboring tennis-court, took an oath not to separate till "the constitution of the kingdom had been established and confirmed on solid foundations." The king attempted to compromise, but finally threw himself into the hands of his courtiers, and called out the army. Paris rose, and blood was shed July 12th. July 14th the Bastille was taken. Uprisings occurred in the provinces. Aug. 4th the old feudal rights were abrogated, and the famous Declaration of the Rights of War declared. June 19, 1790, nobility was abolished. The nobles fled. The royal family finally attempted to do so, but were captured (June, 1791). The assembly was in control, and completed a constitution. Robespierre and other Republican leaders were, however, agitating in Paris for the deposition of the king. Violence broke out, and Lafayette put down the Republicans with bloodshed. Sept. 14th the assembly completed its constitution and the king swore to obey it, and chose a Girondist cabinet. A legislative assembly elected under the constitution met Oct. 1, 1791. Meanwhile the nobility in foreign lands were gaining friends, and the king was declared to be conspiring with them. War was declared with Austria. The Girondist ministry was ejected, and they sided with the Jacobins against Lafayette as leader of the conservatives. June, 1792, the populace of Paris rose against the assembly, and marched to Versailles and forced the king to don the red cap. Mean-

The Causes

Republicanism

while, Prussia declared war on France. The Jacobins organized a new insurrection Aug. 10th, sang the Marseillaise, and set up in Paris an insurrectionary commune. The people, under Robespierre and Danton, were victorious. Guillotining increased. The march of the Germans increased the terror, and Sept. 21, 1792, the republic was declared. In the new national convention the Girondists on the Right were in the majority; the Jacobins were high on the Left, and called the "Mountain"; below sat the moderates. In November the king was accused, Jan. 17, 1793, condemned, and Jan. 21st guillotined. Roland and the Girondists had tried to prevent it. It roused the hostility of all Europe. Demouriez, however, in command of the French armies, was successful, and entered Belgium. England now declared war (Feb. 1, 1793), but the war spirit in France grew. Demouriez, however, was accused in Paris, and after a defeat he conspired with the Austrians and marched against France to overthrow the Jacobins. They created the terrible Committee of Public Safety. Disturbances broke out in the provinces, and La Vendée arose in a bloody insurrection. The Girondists in the south threatened Paris. The allies were slowly uniting.

The Reign of Terror

It was a crisis. Some think that Danton, who, altho rough, was a sincere patriot, felt that a little bloodshed now would save bloodshed in the end. He led in a sanguinary policy. Marat, at the head of the Sans Culottes, overthrew the Girondists June 2d, but was himself assassinated by Charlotte Corday. Danton made the convention proclaim martial law and a new constitution. A new calendar was proclaimed and statues erected and fêtes celebrated to Nature and Reason. The republic was successful on the field, insurrection put down, and the invaders repulsed. The queen, the leading Girondists and aristocrats, the ci-divants were guillotined. Hébert now led the terrorists and Danton the moderates. Robespierre, who seems to have been an ambitious fop, sided with neither. Robespierre became dictator. The French armies were victorious, Napoleon being in charge of the artillery in Italy. Robespierre undertook to bring in "the fête of the Supreme Being." He trusted in his ideas, but was laughed at; he allowed the reign of terror to go on, and created personal hostilities. His arrest was voted, and he was guillotined. Paris was weary of revolution; the armies on the frontier were victorious, but, tho Republicans, they by no means sympathized with affairs at home. Jan., 1795, the convention closed the Jacobin clubs, which had worked such evil. Famine broke out in Paris and insurrections broke out. They were easily put down and the power left with the bourgeois. A Girondist constitution was now declared. The death penalty was abolished, five dictators were to have power. The royalists made one last effort. Barras now called Napoleon to Paris, and his artillery cleared the streets and left Paris in the hands of the Directory.

The End

Babœuf plotted his communistic conspiracy, but was put down. Napoleon was put at the head of the army in Italy, and commenced his brilliant succession of victories. The Directory, however, at Paris was threatened, and was only sustained by recalling part of the army. In 1797 Napoleon entered Paris in triumph. He was, however, sent to Egypt, but, victorious there, returned once more to Paris to find political weakness and division. A new constitution was proclaimed, with consuls: one supreme, Napoleon. He established himself in the Tuileries, conducted brilliant war and a despotic policy, and May 18, 1804, had himself proclaimed emperor. So ended the Revolution. (See France.)

It was in the beginning a parliamentary contest with the king over taxes. Revolutionists with ideas of the rights of man took the opportunity to rouse the suffering *canaille* of Paris to insurrection. Successful in the field against foreigners, they could not agree at home, and having unchained the spirit of terror, could not chain it till a strong hand came, and the people, weary of bloodshed, submitted to an empire. It established nothing; it simply ended the old régime. When the people grew strong again they overthrew the empire. It was thus led by bourgeois men, yet participated in by all classes. Its cries of "Liberty, equality, fraternity," were individualistic, not in the modern sense socialistic. Economically and politically it did with terror and confusion what was done legally in England and Germany by overthrowing despotism. It succeeded negatively; positively it failed because it lacked unity.

References: Carlyle's *French Revolution*; Gronlund's *Danton*; the histories of Lanfrey, Thiers, etc.

FRESH-AIR WORK: The taking of poor children from the tenements of congested cities either to the country, mountains, or seashore for recreation, convalescence, or general improvement of physical and mental conditions. This movement had its origin in the United States with the Rev. William A. Mühlenberg, rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, New York, N. Y. He sent poor and sick people from his parish to the country for short vacations as early as 1849. A number of churches followed this example, and in 1872 *The New York Times* started a system of free daily excursions. This example was also imitated in other parts of the country. In 1874 the first societies were organized for carrying on this work. New York City alone has now over fifteen general, or non-sectarian, societies, and over twenty denominational or special organizations engaged in this work. A number of newspapers, e. g., *The Evening Post*, the *Tribune*, the *Journal*, took up the cause of New York's poor and sickly tenement children. The work of the New York *Tribune* may be mentioned. Its fresh-air work began in 1876. In twenty-five years (1876–1901) about 193,348 children were sent to the country for two weeks, at a total cost of $485,538; and 333,321 mothers with babes were taken out for one day's excursion, either by railroad or steamboat. The banner year during this time was 1892, when 15,236 children were sent to the farms for two weeks. The children are usually boarded free by the farmers, one or two in a family; and the railroads give free or greatly reduced transportation.

United States

Individual churches in New York City send each from 100 to 600 children and mothers out, and some societies as many as 1,200. Nearly every large city in the U. S. has now various agencies to carry on fresh-air work. An estimate for forty cities places the day's outings to children and mothers at or about 1,200,000, provided by general agencies. This number is nearly equaled in some cities by the different churches.

In some cases camps are arranged for young men, and special cottages for young women. The benefits are usually free; but part of the cost is paid in some cases by the beneficiaries.

In England the custom prevails to have them pay from 20 to 35 per cent of the cost. This leads, however, to competition among the various societies for customers—an evil which not only prevents cooperation, but reduces the system to a commercial basis, and thus largely diminishes the beneficial influence of the managers. For be it remembered that fresh-air work is intended to benefit not only the body, but the morals and minds of the children, by inculcating habits of cleanliness, of nature study, and of higher enjoyments.

Switzerland was the first country in Europe which took up fresh-air work. Pastor Bion, of Zurich, sent sixty-eight poor children to the mountains in 1876. The benevolent society of Hamburg arranged vacations for children in the country the same year, and Frankfort-on-the-Main began in 1878. The system has spread all over Germany, Austria—Vienna began in 1874—Hungary, France, Switzerland, Denmark, England, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Holland, and—Japan.

Europe

The work in Germany is well organized; there is a central committee in Berlin, which receives regular reports from the different societies. Co-

operation is thus assured between the various organizations. Owing to this fact pressure has been brought to bear on the municipalities, and several cities are now making provision for this work in their budgets. The German committees held conferences in 1881, 1885, 1887; and in 1888 the international congress met in Zurich.

Germany's Complete System

The work done by these committees may be estimated from the following figures: From 1876–99 they sent 382,805 children to "vacation colonies" at an expense of about 18,000,000 marks. This number does not include the many day excursions given to many children. In 1896 the societies of 125 cities provided two weeks' outings for 30,000 children. In 1899 there were 200 societies in various cities of Germany, 171 of whom were connected with the central committee. Their total expenditure in 1898 amounted to 1,086,236 mk. for 30,414 children; the number of the latter increased in 1899 to 32,124.

Two departures from the ordinary fresh-air work need special mention: (1) Many of the poor children are followed up during the winter by being provided with healthy food and frequent afternoon outings, in order to maintain the advantage gained during the summer. (2) So-called *Ferien Reisen*, or trips for healthy and well-to-do scholars conducted by their teachers, are arranged for the purpose of making them acquainted with the neighborhood of their homes, kindling patriotism, and furnishing exercise. The trips are always made on foot to battle-fields, castles, famous sights, etc. They extend from three to fourteen days. In order to avoid stopping at hotels and inns, so-called *Schulherbergen*, school-inns, have been established, in which the boys stop. In 1904 Germany had sixty-six of these with 252 beds; Austria ninety-eight with 439 beds. Scholars' trips have rapidly grown in favor; in 1884 twenty-one students availed themselves of the school-inns; 1894—3,787; 1899—9,107; 1901—12,545; 1903—14,500.

Scholars' Trips

Of this number 31 per cent were German Austrians, and 69 per cent Germans. According to schools there were 21 per cent university students, and 79 per cent scholars of middle schools; 366 schools in Germany and Austria arranged trips for their scholars. The school-inns furnish excellent accommodations free to the scholars of those schools that belong to the *Verein*, usually for a day. The trips are limited to scholars of over sixteen years of age. In 1898 Leipzig inaugurated a movement to enable poor scholars to take part in these trips.

France has not developed fresh-air work to the extent of other countries; altho this charity is becoming more popular every year. All of the large cities have arranged vacation schools. Paris heads the list with 4,254 children in 1897.

Switzerland has many vacation colonies, usually situated in the mountains; the number in 1895 was 73 with 2,119 children.

The system of fresh-air work in Europe is conspicuous by its efficiency owing to cooperation and to affiliation with the public schools. All children who need an outing are reached, and overlapping is avoided. The American system is more expensive, and less efficient, owing to lack of cooperation.

While in the U. S. we have as yet nothing comparable to these European scholars' trips in extent, we have their beginnings in the taking of school children in New York and elsewhere to historic sites, vacation trips and camps, conducted by private schools and parties, and the beginnings of this in public ways in Chicago and elsewhere. RUDOLPH M. BINDER.

REFERENCES: *Country Outings for City Children*, by Eugene T. Lies, in *Charities*, vol. xii., No. 27, July 2, 1904; *One Summer's Work and Another*, by Marion Libby, 1902; publications of the *Centralstelle der Vereinigungen für Sommerpflege*, 1885 to date; Ufford, *Fresh Air Charity in the U. S.* (1897); Comte, *Les Colonies des Vacances* (*Revue Philanthropique*, 1898).

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES: Great Britain. For the United States, see FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS. The following statistics are from the report of the chief registrar of friendly societies:

1905

	Returns	Members	Funds
			£
Building societies:			
Incorporated societies....	2,014	553,709	52,852,148
Unincorporated societies.	61	56,076	15,296,449
Friendly societies, etc.:	2,075	609,785	68,148,597
Ordinary friendly societies	6,938	3,132,065	17,042,398
Societies having branches	20,819	2,606,029	23,446,330
Collecting friendly societies	45	7,448,549	7,862,569
Benevolent societies	75	26,509	317,913
Working men's clubs	913	236,298	318,945
Specially authorized societies	122	75,089	628,759
Specially authorized loan societies	517	115,511	771,578
Medical societies	95	324,145	62,049
Cattle insurance societies	57	3,736	7,746
Shop clubs	7	10,859	773
Cooperative societies:	29,588	13,978,790	50,459,060
Industries and trades	2,185	2,195,400	45,208,296
Businesses	310	77,227	977,496
Land societies	138	17,450	1,206,408
	2,633	2,290,077	47,392,200
Trade-unions	646	1,544,461	5,385,924
Workmen's compensation schemes	54	100,215	185,570
Friends of labor loan societies	257	34,653	270,497
Total registered provident societies	35,253	18,557,981	171,841,848
	Banks	Depositors	Deposits
Railway savings-banks	17	58,209	5,281,879
Trustee savings-bank (including investments in stock and special investment accounts)	224	1,702,791	59,435,569
Post-office savings-bank (including investments in stock)	14,614	9,673,717	165,697,304
Total certified and post-office savings-banks	14,855	11,434,717	230,414,752
Grand total	50,108	29,992,698	402,256,600

FRIENDS' SOCIAL UNION, THE: An organization among the Friends or Quakers of England, constituted early in 1902. The Council came into being by a very interesting process of evolution. Beginning as a subcommittee, it passed into the Union for Social Study and this, by the perfectly natural transition from theory to practise, became the Friends' Social Union. The aim and object of the union is to evoke the spirit of justice and of social service, and to consistently apply religious faith to social and civic life. This purpose the union endeavors to achieve by the following methods: (1) Lectures, classes, and reading

circles; (2) social service committees in connection with the quarterly and monthly meetings and the adult schools; (3) the publication of leaflets on social questions, local administration, etc., written especially with a view to helping the members of adult schools; (4) visits to institutions, illustrating the work of social reform, of philanthropy, or of education.

The organizing secretary is a sort of social evangelist, traveling throughout the kingdom under the auspices of the union, delivering lectures on such themes as the housing problem, the unemployed and the unemployable, constructive philanthropy, what the individual can do in the work of social reform, the problem of poverty, child life in the town, the church and the social problem, etc. These addresses are usually followed by useful discussion, and in many instances result in the formation of a social service committee, a discussion society, or of a civic league, the stimulus and enlightening influence of which are by no means confined to Friends but are felt profoundly far beyond the boundaries of Quakerdom. The chairman of the committee of the union is Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree; secretary, Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., 1 Woburn Square, London, England.

FROEBEL, FRIEDRICH WILHELM AUGUST: German philosopher, educational reformer, and philanthropist; born at Oberweissbach, Thuringia, 1782. His father was pastor of the village church. His mother died when he was in his infancy, and he was neglected in consequence. At the village school he was considered stupid, and he was apprenticed to a forester. The forest then became his college. Every natural object—stone, insect, plant, or tree—suggested to him some general truth; and he perceived some underlying connection between all objects, however apparently remote from each other. His inborn tendency to mysticism was strengthened by his lonely meditations in the forest, but after overcoming many obstacles he at last obtained permission to attend the university at Jena. He went from professor to professor seeking for a connection between the sciences. His career at Jena ended ignominiously by his imprisonment for nine weeks through incurring a debt of $7 or $8. He returned home, was sent on a farm, and then, on the death of his father, was set free to shift for himself. He wandered about as land surveyor, accountant, secretary, and at last became a very successful teacher in a model school at Frankfort. After a short time at a university, he was patriotic enough to enlist as a soldier for the campaign of 1813. While in the army he gained his two most devoted followers, Langethal and Middendorff. On the termination of the war, he returned to Berlin, and obtained a position under Professor Weiss. But his own ideal soon forced him to give up his position and to unfold his system of education. He set out on foot for Griesheim, a small village where a sister-in-law lived. Here he founded a school, composed at first only of his little nieces and nephews. Removing his school to Keilhau, he sent for his two friends Langethal and Middendorff, and soon their pupils began to rapidly increase. Financially it was not profitable, and for many years the teachers suffered the hardships of poverty. Froebel opened another school in Switzerland, and the Swiss Government was wise enough to send young teachers to him for instruction. He discovered that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of a perfect education, or "self-completion," was the general neglect of children in their earlier years. His great work on "The Education of Man" (1826) deals chiefly with the child up to the age of seven. Returning from Switzerland, he founded at Keilhau the first kindergarten in 1837. He sought to base a course of educational exercises on the games in which children were most interested. His first kindergarten failed for lack of funds; but by pen and lecture he spread the principles of his system; and until his death he continued to train male and female teachers in the impartation of his ideas.

In 1851 his nephew published a book which the government accused of teaching socialism and irreligion, and unfortunately confounding his views with Froebel's, an edict was issued forbidding the establishment of schools based on Froebel's principles. He took this greatly to heart, and in May, 1852, died, and was buried at Schweina.

The starting point of his researches was his belief in the unity of creation. Education meant with him unity of development, perfect evolution in accordance with the laws of his being. From this belief naturally followed his doctrine: "All education not founded on religion is unproductive."

He agreed with Pestalozzi in this belief: That the true educator *creates* nothing in the children, but guides the growth of inborn faculties. Children grow as plants grow. But he went beyond Pestalozzi in holding that the function of education was to develop the faculties by arousing *voluntary activity*. (See KINDERGARTEN.)

FRY, ELIZABETH (née GURNEY): English prison reformer; born at Earlham, Norfolk, 1780; brought up a Quaker. In 1813 she began taking an active interest in prison reform, and four years later assisted in forming an association for the amelioration of the lot of prisoners. Her activity was extended also to the deportation of convicts, and she induced the government to make certain regulations for their transportation. Her work was fruitful not only in England but also in other European countries which studied the reforms instituted at her instigation. She died in 1845.

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW: A United States fugitive act, passed in 1793, declared that whenever a person held to service, etc., shall escape into another state or territory, the person to whom such service may be due, his agent or attorney, may seize or arrest such fugitive and take him before any judge of a court of the U. S., or any magistrate of a county, city, or town, and upon proof to the satisfaction of the judge or magistrate, whether by oral testimony or sworn affidavit, that service is owed as claimed, the judge or magistrate shall give a certificate thereof to the claimant, which shall be sufficient warrant to remove the fugitive.

This act, long obsolete, was later more and more made use of by the slaveholders of the South. That Northern states should be compelled to help Southern slaveholders catch their slaves created great indignation at the North. The constitutionality of the law was tested, but it was decided constitutional, two judges dissenting. This led to the passage of a still more rigorous bill in 1850. U. S. commissioners were to perform the judicial acts, and U. S. marshals execute warrants and processes. Owners could

themselves pursue and demand the help of the commissioners and marshals. The sworn statement of the claimant was to be sufficient proof. Any aid rendered to fugitive slaves was made a penal offense, and all citizens were required to aid in the capture of the runaway, if required. This law almost more than any other roused the North. It was openly violated and resisted, tho often obeyed. After the war the fugitive slave laws were repealed.

FUNK, ISAAC KAUFMAN, LL.D.: American publisher, born at Clifton, Ohio, 1839, of Dutch-Swiss descent. He graduated at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, 1860. Entering the Lutheran ministry, he was pastor at Moore's Hill, Ind., Carey, Ohio, and Brooklyn, N. Y. (1865–72). Resigning his pastorate, he became, after travel in Europe, associate editor of *The Christian Radical*, published in Pittsburg, Pa., and then in New York City. In 1876 he founded and edited the *Metropolitan Pulpit*, now the *Homiletic Review*. In 1877, with Mr. Adam W. Wagnalls, a lawyer, he established the publishing house of I. K. Funk & Co. (Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1891), with branches in Canada and England. In 1884 the firm started *The Voice*, a campaign paper in the interests of the Prohibition Party, which soon had a circulation of 130,000, and in the presidential campaign of 1888 ran up to 700,000 weekly. It was merged in the *New Voice*, 1898, and later sold. In 1888 the *Missionary Review* was founded; 1889, the *Literary Digest*, and 1907, *The Circle*. The firm has published, among a long list of books, various encyclopedias and dictionaries, notably the Standard Dictionary, the last at a cost of nearly $1,000,000. For many years Dr. Funk was a leading figure in the Prohibition Party; he has also been active in other movements, like reformed spelling; of recent years he has given large attention to psychic research. *Address*: 44–60 East Twenty-third Street, New York.

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GALL, HEINRICH LUDWIG LAMPERT: "The First German Socialist," born at Aldenhoven bei Jülich, 1790. He held various clerkships in government offices in Cleve, Düsseldorf, Luxemburg, Treves. The sufferings of the people after the War of 1815 moved him deeply; and he analyzed the industrial situation and the social evolution which put all power into the hands of capitalists, and left the workers poor. Doing what he could to spread his ideas, he met with no encouragement, and in 1819 left his government situation to devote all his time and his considerable means to the service of social reform. He conducted to America an ill-fated, ill-planned company of the offscourings of German cities (thieves, convicts, and harlots), and organized a colony near Harrisburg, Pa. He believed he could make of them successful colonists; naturally he failed, exhausting his means, and receiving only criticism and opposition. Returning he entered the government service once again, and made numerous inventions in distilling apparatus, etc., all to get the means to carry on his propaganda. He traveled in England and France, meeting Owen, Fourier, and the Saint Simonians, and tried to form an international movement. He traveled all through Germany, even to East Prussia, opprest with the condition of the masses. In 1828 he published a paper, *Menschenfreundliche Blätter* (Humanitarian Leaflets), but was compelled to discontinue it for lack of support. He wrote many books, especially "Mein Wollen und Mein Wirken" (1835), in which he outlines the principles of modern socialism, the helplessness of the individual worker, the need of industrial organization by the workers. Condemned to imprisonment in one of his travels, he fled to Treves, where he died Jan. 31, 1863. See Stegmann and Hugo's "Handbuch des Socialismus" for a full account.

GALVESTON IDEA, THE: The so-called Galveston idea is the government of a city by a small commission elected by the citizens. Tho already adopted in various cities of the United States, especially in the Southwest, it began in Galveston, Texas, in 1901 upon the crisis that arose in the city after the disastrous storm of Sept., 1900. The plight of the city was desperate: one sixth of the population was drowned; one third of the city property was destroyed, its streets and harbor ruined, its buildings wrecked, its credit gone, its bonds fallen to sixty, its population fleeing.

Origin

The existing government of a machine mayor, in contest with a divided body of aldermen, was helpless and cumbersome. No one trusted it. There was, however, a private committee of fifteen business men, the Deep-water Committee, formed to secure national appropriations for deepening the city's harbor. This committee faced the situation and adopted the commission idea, and formulated, asked, and received a charter for it. It said to the legislature, "It is a question with us of civic life or death."

There were hints for the idea in the commissions of Washington and Memphis, Tenn., and in the selectmen of New England townships. Citizens' committees have repeatedly been depended upon in times of civic crisis.

The new charter went into effect Sept., 1901. According to it the commission had five members, three, including the mayor, appointed by the governor of the state, and two elected by the people. The machine politicians opposed it, but nearly 80 per cent of the voters were for it. In 1903 the nomination of commissioners by the governor was declared illegal, and since then all the five commissioners have been elected by the people, the vote of the opposition being small and growing less.

The working and results of the commission is as follows, according to Mr. G. K. Turner, to whose article in *McClure's Magazine* (Oct., 1906) we are mainly indebted for our information: The commission consists of five men, including the mayor, who is presiding officer and general director, but who has no power beyond his vote as a commissioner, except in minor cases of emergency. The commissioners also come to the board for all power to act. The commission, at its first meeting, divides its departments among its members by vote, under these heads: commissioner of finance and revenue, police and fire commissioner, commissioner of streets and public

property, and water-works and sewerage commissioner. The mayor is elected specifically for his office, but the commissioners are not. The public are practically certain, when they cast their votes, of the office each man will assume. The elections to the board are at large, and the whole body is elected together every two years—the election taking place in May, a time as far removed as possible from the time of other elections.

Constitution

The commissioners are not superintendents, tho salaried men, the mayor receiving $2,000 and each commissioner $1,200 a year; they are governors or managers of departments. Each outlines the policy of his department, and all questions concerning it are referred to him for his opinion. All matters of the daily conduct of the departments are under the supervision of the responsible heads. Superintendents under them take the actual management of the departments. The commissioners advise and direct, and the commission is the responsible party.

The result has been brilliant. The commission found the city bankrupt, it has raised its credit to above par. It has saved Galveston one full third of her gross running expenses. The annual cost of the government of Galveston has averaged about $650,000. In the four and a half years of commission government ending Feb., 1906, a saving of at least $1,000,000—over $220,000 a year—has been made.

The commission has introduced great civic reforms, yet all with a slight decrease instead of increase of the taxation. A huge sea wall has been built, which, with the grade raising the city to the top of the wall, and other improvements, will cost $4,200,000. In this the United States Government, the state, and the county have cooperated, but the city has been bonded at par. The worst dance halls and dives have been closed; law is enforced; graft is not suggested; good streets, pavements, lighting, sewers have been introduced; hygiene has been attended to, and there are now no epidemics of yellow fever. Galveston is now the second city in the U. S. in value of exports. All this, of course, is not due to the commission idea alone, but this has made the result possible.

Results

The plan has been so successful that it has rapidly spread. Houston, Texas, early adopted it, and later Fort Worth, Dallas, El Paso, and Austin. Des Moines, Iowa, with 75,000 inhabitants, has adopted it, and many other cities are considering it.

REFERENCE: *Galveston, A Business Corporation*, article by G. K. Turner, *McClure's Magazine*, Oct., 1906.

GAMBLING (see also STOCK-GAMBLING) has become undoubtedly, in one form or another, one of the gigantic social evils of the present day. Josiah Flint, in a series of articles in the *Cosmopolitan* (April to June, 1907), estimates that $40,000,000 are bet annually over the telephones in New York City. Single pool-rooms in New York are said to have cleared $3,000,000 a year. G. K. Turner (*McClure's Magazine*, April, 1907) conservatively estimates the gross annual receipts of gambling in Chicago at $15,000,000. But this is from pool-selling only. Besides this are the enormous wagers lost and won on the various race-tracks of the United States, besides the collectively large amounts spent in bets on ball games, yachting and automobile racing, football, and other sports. One must add to this an unknown but fabulous amount made and lost in card and other games of chance, sometimes in large single amounts, more frequently in small but multitudinous sums in private parlors in Bridge, the fashionable game of the hour, by men and now very extensively by women both of the wealthy and of the middle classes. (See LUXURY.)

Extent

To all this the millions made and lost in stock-gambling (*q. v.*) should be added in the opinion of most.

In Great Britain conditions are said to be the same in the fashionable set (witness baccarat scandal), and if on the Continent it is less so, except in the gambling centers like Monte Carlo and certain fashionable capitals and watering-places, this is made up by the lotteries, conducted often by the national governments, and for which all classes, especially the lower middle classes, buy tickets.

Yet tho so wide-spread and, in the U. S., at least, so much on the increase in society, all social writers and authorities in jurisprudence consider it an evil.

Says Judge Catron, formerly of the Supreme Court of the U. S.:

"Gaming is a general evil, leads to vicious inclinations, destruction of morals, abandonment of industry and honest employments, a loss of self-control and respect."

The English courts for centuries have held that:

"A common gambling-house, kept for lucre or gain, is a common nuisance, as it tends to draw together idle and evil-disposed persons, to corrupt their morals and ruin their fortunes."

In New York State common law prevailed until 1815, when the legislature enacted a statute forbidding the act of betting or wagers upon future events. The New York Court of Appeals in 1848 said:

"The evident intention of the legislature was to discourage and repress gambling in all its forms, including bets and wagers and every species of wager contracts of hazard, as a great public mischief calling for effective measures of prevention and remedy" (Ruchman vs. Pitcher, 1 N. Y., 450).

Since then bills against gambling, pool-selling, etc., have been frequent in this and other states, tho pool-selling on enclosed grounds has been frequently legalized and then again forbidden. Yet the evil goes on.

One of the prime reasons for the continuance of pool-rooms, in spite of legislation and occasional raiding by the authorities, is the enormous financial interests in them which are willing and usually able to pay the largest amounts for immunity from and even protection by the police. The necessity also of the telegraph and telephone to the pool-room, to enable it to secure its news from the race-track, makes the income of the telegraph and telephone companies from this source so valuable that they are willing to go great lengths to maintain the service and protect the gamblers. Mr. Flint (see above) estimates that the Western Union Telegraph Company and the telephone companies received recently from five to ten million dollars annually from their race-track and pool-room

Money Interests Involved

service. Many people believe that if it were made impossible for pool-rooms to secure telegraphic service at least pool-room gambling, by far the greatest evil, would be cut off. Agitation, therefore, in New York, led largely by Dr. Slicer, tho criticized by many, has agreed not to attack betting on the race-course, for those who desire to go there and make wagers, but has secured the enactment of laws against pool-rooms, etc. Owing to the efforts of Captain F. Norton Goddard and the City Club, working through Mr. Jacob Schiff, one of the directors of the Western Union, and Helen Gould's influence upon the Gould interests, the Western Union Company was induced, May 21, 1904, nominally to give up its racing service. The evil, however, goes on. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company (formerly the American Bell Telephone Company) has taken up the service. Racing news is conveyed, says Mr. Flint, by secret channels from the race-grounds to telegraph and telephone offices outside the limits, transmitted as general news by the Western Union and telephone companies over the country, and conveyed to the pool-rooms by secret wires. "Johnny Pair," of Chicago, is said to have secured $15,000,000 annually by organizing such a racing-news service. Many persons, however (among them Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, of the International Reform Bureau of Washington, D. C.), believe that this effort to allow gambling on the race-tracks, but forbid it elsewhere, is the work largely of the New York Jockey Club, led by Mr. August Belmont, desiring to have a monopoly of race-gambling, and that the club, therefore, induced the "innocent reformers" to take the above-mentioned position. Says Dr. Crafts:

"In state after state shrewd efforts were made to induce the legislature to legalize race-gambling on tracks controlled by the New York Jockey Club, while making such gambling a felony everywhere else in the state. Their efforts in this direction had been very successful from a financial point of view in New York State, despite an anti-gambling provision in the constitution, but an effort to secure a similar law in the District of Columbia and in the State of Pennsylvania was defeated, also in Ohio and Missouri, while a seeming success in New Hampshire was thwarted by a decision of the Supreme Court. The movement, however, goes on and appears anew in nearly every session of state legislatures."

The companies and pool-rooms are, however, able often to violate law with impunity, or when raided in order to satisfy the public outcry, to receive warning beforehand, and afterward to reopen, by the purchase of the police (usually now through the "man higher up"). Mr. Flint estimates that each New York pool-room pays the police on an average $75 a week, which for 300 pool-rooms (estimate of existing number in New York) makes $1,170,000 a year for the police. For the perhaps 2,000 pool-rooms said to have existed before the recent raids, a proportional fabulous amount was received. This largely goes to the politicians and the higher officials. Prominent Tammany politicians like Big Tim Sullivan in New York, or others like McCarren in Brooklyn, are known to have extensive gambling interests, Sullivan being the head of a pool-room company. Yet little or nothing is done. The money is paid secretly to representatives of the police department in citizens' clothes; no written record is in evidence, and detection all but impossible.

The following account of the main forms of gambling, outside of ordinary card games and betting, is abridged from an article by Mr. H. C. Vrooman, in the *Arena* for Feb., 1895:

"The forms of gambling and speculation are almost endless. The older forms are with lotteries, faro, thimbles, dice, cards, and the like. Not to mention billiards and pool-playing for drinks, the raffles and chances at fairs—where under sometimes sacred auspices is fed the passion for gaining something for nothing—there is every grade of respectability and unrespectability. There is a very popular device, 'a nickel in the slot.' It consists of a contrivance into which a nickel is dropped, and in case the nickel touches a certain spring it throws out a little shelf containing a handful of nickels. Some of the machines are large and gorgeous, with the money shelves arranged in a circle which revolves like a wheel of fortune. It requires but five cents, and there is a chance of winning over $1. These machines are most common in saloons, but are not infrequently found in candy stores near schools, where the boys crowd at noon to take their initial lesson in gambling.

"Another interesting device that requires but a small sum to invest in is 'shooting craps.' It is played on a semi-circular table with dice. The point of the game is that certain relations of the dice point to numbers on the board. It is a favorite with those with very short purses, especially negroes.

"Horse-racing furnishes a very popular method of gambling on a larger scale. For those who cannot go to the tracks and do their betting there, there are popular resorts, known as 'pool-rooms,' where 'the odds' are posted and bets taken just as at the track. The popular name 'pool' is a survival from the old French mutual pool system, still in vogue in some places in the South. It is very similar to a 'blind pool.' That is, each player puts in a certain sum against some other player, and the book-maker or manager acts merely as a commis-

Pool-Rooms

sion agent. The old process was too slow for the ambitious American, and the method now in vogue gives the book-maker one side in every play, and is usually so arranged as to give 60 per cent odds in his favor. The 'book-maker' is the manager of the pool-room. He makes a schedule of the horses running and an estimate of the proportion of chances in favor of each, based on the horse's record, the weather, the jockey, etc. This schedule, 'the book'—most commonly called 'the odds'—is posted in the 'pool-room' twenty minutes before the race occurs, and betting continues until the telegraph announces, 'They're off.' The race may occur in New Orleans and the playing in Chicago. The telegraph enables the playing to proceed the same as at the race-track.

"The betting by the individuals is called 'playing the races.' The book-maker plays against the public. He arranges the odds on the basis of the patrons playing on a variety of the horses and balances his risks by their variety. The following is an illustration of 'the odds': Gallop, 7–5; Theodore, 3–2; Baby Bill, 8. This means that the book-maker will stake $7 against $5 on Gallop, $3 against $2 on Theodore, and $8 against $1 on Baby Bill. The option is open for the player to take any horse he wishes. The book-maker must either know public sentiment in regard to what bets will probably be taken, or he must start rumors afloat to create a sentiment that will turn bets to his advantage. If races were run honestly, a good judge of horses could often win; but often, at least, they are not. A book-maker 'stands in' with some jockey to prevent a fast horse winning, perhaps by tying a small silken thread around the hind ankle, which pulls the cords and cramps the leg. An electric battery has been carried by jockeys with wires connected with the spurs to partly paralyze a horse. A horse may be filled with water just before a race, having been previously liberally fed with salt. Sometimes a fast horse is entered under another name, etc.

"Next to the horse-racing ranks the 'clock' or 'tape game,' the 'bucket-shop,' the 'open board,' and the regular 'board of trade'—thence on to the subtleties and refinements of general speculative business, such as booming cities to sell real estate, watering stock,

Bucket-Shop

manipulating railroads to buy cheap and sell dear, etc. The 'clock game' and the 'bucket-shop' are based on the board-of-trade methods, only they are gambling pure and simple, never dealing in real commodities at all. The 'clock game' is especially barren of any semblance to real business in that the prices quoted do not follow the market, but are arbitrarily arranged by the management. There is a central office, where a scale of prices is made up every day on fictitious mining stocks and sent out, with the legitimate prices of wheat and corn and the regular board-of-trade articles, to the various gambling-rooms, where the little tickers record on the tape the rise and fall in price. These figures are placed as fast as they come in on a vast blackboard on one side of the room, and the crowd buy and sell the artificial margins in regular "Change' style. Some of them do not even go through the form of pretending to receive by telegraph the regular market prices. The manager makes up a schedule of prices purely from his imagination, adapted to trap the gambling public. This is made on a roll of tape, is unwound

right before the crowd, and the prices of stocks are recorded on the blackboard. The buying or selling of margins goes on, based on the last recorded figure on the board, looking for gain to the chance of a higher or lower figure on the tape.

"The 'bucket-shop' is similar to the above, except that the schedule of prices on which the gambling is based is supposed to follow the actual market as quoted in the board of trade. The 'open board' is a duplicate of the regular board of trade in form, but is an immense bucket-shop in character. The marked difference between the board of trade and the bucket-shop is that the speculations on the board of trade have to do with the actual market, and heavy buying or selling there is supposed to influence the price of the commodities, while speculation in the bucket-shop is gambling pure and simple on how the market is going to turn."

More recently new devices have been invented. In Chicago a steamboat, *The City of Traverse*, owned by professional gamblers, at times carries at night would-be gamblers on to Lake Michigan to where it is difficult to know where the state lines run and thus almost impossible to convict under any state law. "Dope shops," or places for the sale of falsified "tips" as to what horse will win, are among the lures and devices and yet attract many patrons.

REFERENCES: Articles by Josiah Flint in the *Cosmopolitan*, April to June, 1907; by Jacob Riis, *Century*, April, 1907; by G. K. Turner, *McClure's Magazine*, April, 1907; *Betting*. Report on the House of Lords Committee with evidence (1907). *Betting and Gambling a National Evil*, B. S. Rowntree (1905).

GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT, THE: A movement to organize in the country industrial communities where, with many of the advantages of the city, healthful and more or less model factories and other forms of business can be conducted, and where the workers and other residents can occupy inexpensive but attractive, hygienic, and comfortable homes, each with its little garden, and all to be surrounded, if possible, by a belt of agriculture, so as to combine as many as possible of the advantages of the city with those of the country. In 1898 Mr. Ebenezer Howard of London published a book, "Garden Cities of To-morrow," advocating these ideas in detail, and in 1899 a Garden City Association was formed in London to carry them out.

The fundamental principle of this association was "to begin at the beginning"; that is, to buy at the start a considerable tract of unimproved land, so that, even if it could only be developed a little at a time, all should be developed on a carefully thought-out and harmonious plan, taking into consideration convenience, health, and beauty for the whole tract. In this way, too, the large unearned increment that would, of necessity, arise from the development and population of a considerable area bought at the value of unimproved land could go to the community and not private speculators and investors. This, indeed, is the economic basis of the idea—that the land should be bought by a company acting as trustees, with capital invested in it, at profits to be limited to a cumulative 5 per cent, all profits beyond that amount from the sale or lease of land to be spent either in improvements of the estate, the erecting of public buildings, etc., and also to create a sinking-fund with which gradually to pay off the original investments, until the citizens finally would own the city and control their own civic life. Mr. Howard showed conclusively how, in this way, at rents much lower than in ordinary towns, with many more advantages in the way of parks, public buildings, libraries, baths, gymnasium, club-house, etc., attractive houses could yet be built and the investors be secure in their 5 per cent; and at the same time a sinking-fund could be maintained with which rapidly to pay off the investments.

Aided by the example of such model villages as BOURNEVILLE and PORT SUNLIGHT, the idea slowly spread, and in 1893 a Garden City Limited Company was formed with a nominal capital of £300,000, of which about £110,000 was paid in by 1,340 shareholders. A beautiful tract of 3,818 acres was bought near Hitchin, Hertfordshire, thirty-four miles north of London, at a price of about £40 per acre, including the land, timber, some cottages, and attractive ruins and picturesque old churches. An admirable plan was prepared by Parker Unwin, and operations commenced, the name Letchworth (Garden City) being given to the town. The town itself is to occupy only 1,200 acres, with many open spaces, 150 acres being reserved for factory sites. Provision is made for a population of 35,000, with nine per acre in the estate and twenty-three per acre in the town portion. An organ, *The Garden City*, is published; and in 1905 a Cheap Cottages Exposition was held. The effort was made to see how good a house could be put up for £150. The present rental of land varies from £10 to £25 per acre, and the annual ground-rent of a cottage in the town area, from *17s. 6d.* to £2. For the present the company is granting leases of not over ninety-nine years, the reversion falling to the company. Various cooperative building associations have undertaken to put up buildings and develop the land.

A factory area has been laid out so that every factory has its own siding in direct communication with the Great Northern Railway, which traverses the estate for two miles. Ten factories are at work, and other manufacturers have taken sites. A number of builders and builders' merchants are on the estate; shops have been erected; and between 300 and 400 houses and other buildings have been or are being built, with a capital value of £215,000. Sites for 120 more have been let. A post-office, telegraph, telephone, and two banks are established. The population is over 5,000.

The Garden City Association has undertaken also to develop an estate near Manchester, one at Warington, others elsewhere. The association has offices at 602 Birkbeck Bank Chambers, W. C., London. Its secretary is Ewart G. Culpin. *Address:* First Garden City, Ltd., 326 A, High Holborn, London, England, and at Letchworth, Hertfordshire, England.

The garden city movement has spread also to other lands. An active association has been formed in Germany, a small but enthusiastic one in France, and there are beginnings in Belgium, Holland, and elsewhere. In the United States a Garden City Association was formed in New York in November, 1906 (incorporated January, 1907), with W. D. P. Bliss as secretary. This association has made beginnings, but its chief purpose is to spread the Garden City idea and let this idea take shape in any form it will. Secretary's *address:* Metropolitan Building, New York.

GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD: American abolitionist; born at Newburyport, Mass., 1805; son of a sea captain. When only nine years old he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, afterward to a cabinet-maker, and at thirteen to the printer of the Newburyport *Herald*. At sixteen he began

to write unsigned articles for the papers, and soon became editor of the *Herald*. Removing to Boston, he worked as a journeyman printer, and in 1828 became editor of the *National Philanthropist*, the first American journal established to promote total abstinence. This he conducted for six months, and then went to Bennington, Vt., to establish the *Journal of the Times*.

While in Boston he met Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker philanthropist, editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, a magazine published in Baltimore. Lundy resolved to ask Garrison to aid him, and for that purpose *walked* from Baltimore to Bennington. Garrison determined to devote his life to this work. From 1829 the paper was published weekly by Lundy and Garrison—Lundy favoring gradual and Garrison immediate emancipation. Baltimore was one of the chief markets of the domestic slave-trade, and Garrison thundered denunciations at the traffic. The owner of a Newburyport vessel had allowed his vessel to carry a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans; and for denouncing this act Garrison was arrested and fined $50 and costs. In default of payment he was committed to jail. His imprisonment created much indignant comment. Arthur Tappan, a New York merchant, paid his fine, and he was set free. In order to speak more freely, he dissolved partnership with Lundy, and started a paper of his own in Boston. Before commencing, he privately interviewed some of the leading citizens; but they all excused themselves. He and his partner, Isaac Knapp, issued the first number of *The Liberator* on Jan. 1, 1831. It began without capital and without subscribers, its editors publishing their resolve to print it "as long as they could subsist on bread and water." Its motto was, "Our country is the world; our countrymen are mankind"; and Garrison, in his address to the public, uttered the historic words which embody the whole spirit and purpose of his life: "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard."

The paper lived long enough to publish the proclamation of emacipation and the extinction of slavery. Garrison and his partner met every opposition. Their office was a garret, their bed its floor, and their only helper a negro boy. The mail frequently brought letters to Garrison threatening him with assassination if he did not discontinue his journal; and the Legislature of Georgia offered $5,000 to any one who should arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute him. The first society organized to support his principles was the New England Anti-Slavery Society, formed January, 1832. In the spring of the same year Garrison published "Thoughts on African Colonization," proving by official documents that the American Colonization Society was organized in the interests of slavery. Garrison was soon after deputed to visit England and expose the true character of this colonization society. He was warmly received, becoming acquainted with Wilberforce, Clarkson, Brougham, O'Connell, Thompson, and others. Thompson came over to America to address meetings. Wherever he appeared it was the signal for riots and violence. In Boston "a mob of gentlemen of property and standing," when they heard that Thompson was about to address the Women's Anti-Slavery Society of that city, turned the streets into a bedlam. Garrison fell into their hands; and, throwing a rope around his body, they dragged him through the streets. In all probability he would have been hanged by the mob had he not been rescued and consigned to the jail for safety. These attempts to suppress the abolitionists by violence continued several years, but Garrison was never daunted. There was no schism in the body of abolitionists until 1839, when some of the adherents began to accuse Garrison of religious heterodoxy and to blame him for his severity on the churches for their moral stagnancy and complicity with slavery.

Garrison was a non-resistant, and believed in the use of moral rather than political means. Those who differed from him formed a new National Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, and gave rise to the Liberty Party in politics. Garrison's mind was never narrowed by its intensity, however; and he always esteemed and honored every earnest opponent of slavery, even tho their special modes of working differed. He was intolerant only of treachery. After long and painful consideration he realized that the proslavery clauses of the United States Constitution were immoral, and that it was wrong to take an oath for its support. "No union with slaveholders" was his motto; and he denounced the Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Arguments and exposures buttressed his denunciations. The blind and idolatrous reverence for the Constitution, which had been the political mainstay of the slaveholders, began to abate. The Fugitive Slave Law revealed to all the practical workings of the proslavery clauses. On the outbreak of the war, Garrison at once ceased advocating disunion, as he foresaw that in the struggle slavery would be abolished. During the war Lincoln recognized and honored his services; and the whole nation knew that if emancipation were secured, it would be due to his uncompromising spirit and heroic perseverance. In 1865, when liberty had been proclaimed, he declared that his career as an abolitionist was necessarily ended, discontinued *The Liberator*, and counseled the dissolution of the anti-slavery society. Garrison had revisited England in 1840 and 1846. In 1867 he again crossed the Atlantic, and was received with great honor in London, Edinburgh, and other cities. He made a fifth and final visit in 1877. On May 24, 1879, he died in New York, and was buried in Boston after a most impressive funeral service.

GAS WORKS. See LIGHTING.

GAUTIER, EMILE JEAN MARIE: French anarchist; born at Rennes 1853; educated at the lyceum of his native town; studied jurisprudence at Paris; admitted to the bar 1876. For a time he was on terms of friendship with Guesde, but later became his bitterest enemy. He organized clubs in Paris and other French cities, and lectured on the theory of anarchism. In 1883 he was arrested for making inflammatory speeches, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Pardoned in 1885, he joined the opportunists, and withdrew from active politics. He has written "Le Darwinisme Social" (1880); "Les Propos Anarchistes" (1885); "Le Monde des Prisons" (1888), etc.

GEDDES, PATRICK: Scottish botanist and author; born in 1854; educated at Perth Academy; Royal School of Mines; University College, London; the Sorbonne; and the universities of Edinburgh and Montpellier. He was demonstra-

tor of practical physiology at University College, London; of natural history at Aberdeen; and of botany at Edinburgh. He lectured on natural history at the Edinburgh School of Medicine. Since 1888 professor of botany at University College (St. Andrew's University), Dundee, Mr. Geddes has traveled extensively in Europe, the Orient, and North America. In addition to his professorship, he has been active in the organization of University Hall, Edinburgh, a student colony. Its "Outlook Tower" is partly devoted to biological, sociological and geographical instruction, partly to architecture, agriculture, etc.

Mr. Geddes is the author of numerous articles on botanical and zoological subjects, which appear in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" and in "Chambers's Encyclopedia." In collaboration with J. Arthur Thomson, he has written "Evolution of Sex"; and independently, "Chapters in Modern Botany," "City Development," etc. *Address*: University Hall, Edinburgh, Scotland.

GEORGE, HENRY: The great American advocate of the single tax; born in Philadelphia, Pa., 1839; began business life as an office boy; later went to sea and visited every part of the globe. Becoming a printer, he went to California and became compositor, reporter, then a successful journalist. In 1871 he joined with two others in founding the San Francisco *Post*; but his mind was now occupied with the social problem of the distribution of wealth. His first economic publication was "Our Land and Land Policy," which appeared in 1871. Four years later he retired from editorial work, but continued to write for the newspapers. His principal work, "Progress and Poverty" (commenced in 1877 and finished in 1879), attracted attention immediately upon its publication. Its main doctrine is that "nothing short of making land common property can permanently relieve poverty and check the tendency of wages to the starvation point," and that the best, easiest, and quickest way to make land common is not to do it technically, but to leave all land titles in individual ownership, and to tax the land ultimately to its full annual rental value; thus without revolutionary methods gradually appropriating to society for the good of all the full rental value of the soil. This, Mr. George believes, could be and should be a SINGLE TAX.

In 1880 the agitation of the land question in Ireland led Mr. George to publish a book on "The Irish Land Question," embodying his views, and in 1881 he went to Ireland as a newspaper correspondent to examine the actual condition of the peasantry, and was imprisoned for a time as a suspect, but afterward released with apologies. The Irish Nationalists as a class, however, did not embrace his ideas, and in 1883 Mr. George visited England and lectured in the principal cities, advocating the theory advanced in his book and eliciting universal attention.

Returning to the United States, Mr. George found his influence very much increased and his ideas widely spreading, particularly in New York City. In 1886 he was nominated Mayor of New York City by the United Labor Party, and after a campaign of intense popular excitement received the phenomenal vote of 68,110 ballots, being only defeated by the Democratic candidate. In this campaign he was enthusiastically supported by the Socialists; but when, in the state convention at Albany of the United Labor Party, which nominated him for governor in 1887, Mr. George declared distinctly against socialism and for a single tax, based largely on individualistic ideas, the Socialists opposed him. Meanwhile, the educational movement had been going on; but in the state election Mr. George polled but a small vote. At the beginning of the year he had started a weekly organ, the *Standard*, which attained a large circulation; and the coming out for his ideas of Father MCGLYNN, a popular Roman Catholic priest of a large New York City parish, in spite of the opposition of the archbishop, created great excitement, and a religious society, called the ANTIPOVERTY SOCIETY, was organized to develop the religious side of the question. Meanwhile, Mr. George lectured to immense audiences all over this country and in Canada, England, Scotland, and Australia, while his ideas penetrated Germany and France. He came to feel more and more, however, that to put his ideas into practical execution, the first thing necessary was to clear the ground by repealing other taxes, and, first of all, what he regarded as the great imposition of the tariff. He wrote, therefore, his book on "Free Trade," one of his ablest efforts, and worked henceforth with the Democratic Party, in the hope of inducing them eventually to stand for absolute free trade. He wrote, later, "The Condition of Labor," addrest to the Pope; "A Perplexed Philosopher," answering SPENCER; and "The Science of Political Economy" (1897). Nominated for Mayor of New York, he died during the campaign, Oct. 29, 1897.

GEORGE, HENRY: American journalist; advocate of the single-tax system; son of Henry George, the economist; born at Sacramento, Cal., 1862; educated in public schools; entered a printing-office at the age of sixteen; has been engaged in journalistic work since 1881. He was secretary to his father during the latter's tour of Great Britain in 1883. On his father's sudden death in New York, during the mayoralty campaign of 1897, he was nominated in his father's place by the Jeffersonian Democracy. He is the author of: "Life of Henry George," 1900, "The Menace of Plutocracy," 1905, and "The Romance of John Bainbridge," 1906. His political views are those of the Single Taxers and radical Jeffersonian Democrats. *Address*: 180 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City.

GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC, THE: An association founded July 10, 1895, by William R. George, at that time a young business man in New York City. It is located at Freeville, Tompkins County, N. Y. Its object is to instil habits of thrift and obedience to law, of self-reliance, self-control, good citizenship, and religion in its broadest sense into the lives of boys and girls from fourteen to twenty-one years of age, whose natural tendencies and environments would lead them into viciousness. In addition, some who have not bad inclinations have become members of the little community to their great advantage. Altho the system is universally regarded as being unique on account of its wide divergence from the customary systems of training, it is, nevertheless, a marvelously simple method. In point of fact it is no more nor less than any little village in the State of New York. The young people buy and sell, have little or much according to their earnings, live in either homes or hotels, live under and enforce the laws of New York State, plus a few special ones of their own, have

their own system of civil and criminal courts, a jail, police, bank, store, school, shops, paper, church, etc., etc., just the same as in the big republic; the only essential difference between their village and any other in the township is the fact that the inhabitants thereof become voting citizens at the age of fourteen instead of twenty-one.

The association owns or controls at the present a little over 300 acres of land, with about thirty buildings. There is a total population, including helpers, of about 190 people. Two citizens have already come from abroad. The citizens in general come from all parts of the United States. Many more citizens could be admitted if the board of trustees had greater accommodations. The work is supported by voluntary subscription, payment for board in certain cases, and sales of mission furniture, chocolate and ginger wafers, and some other things produced by the citizens.

"Republics" have been established in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and at Litchfield, Conn. More than 400 graduates are making their way in the world; several are in leading colleges at the present time, and but comparatively few of all the ex-citizens have proved a disappointment to their friends. ESTHER B. GEORGE.

GEORGE, WILLIAM REUBEN: Founder of the GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC; born at West Dryden, N. Y., 1866; educated in public schools; entered business in New York. He became interested in boys and girls of the poor by conducting (1890–94) parties of them into the country for vacations of two weeks, and in 1895 he founded the colony, or "republic," which bears his name. *Address*: Freeville, N. Y.

GERMAN EMPIRE: A federated empire of the German states and kingdoms, constituted April 16, 1871.

I. Statistics

Colonies and Dependencies.—Area, 1,027,820 sq. m.; population, 13,522,000. In Africa, 931,460; population, 13,047,000. In Asia and Oceanica, 96,360; population, 475,000. Imports from German colonies to Germany (1903), 7,535,000 marks; exports from Germany to colonies, 24,486,000 mk.

From 1816–55 the yearly average increase in the population of the empire was 0.96 per cent; from 1855–95 it was 1.04; from 1900–5, 1.5 per cent. The marriage rate in 1904 was 8 per 1,000 of population, the birth-rate 35.2 per 1,000, the death-rate 20.7 per 1,000. (See BIRTH-RATE; DEATH-RATE; MARRIAGE.) In 1900 there were 27,737,247 males and 28,629,931 females. Of the total population over the age of twenty-one there were 4,092,703 males unmarried and 3,572,578 females; there were 9,793,671 males married and 9,698,082 females; there were 840,410 males widowed, divorced, or separated and 2,413,659 females. There were 4,253 males married under the age of twenty-one, and 96,873 females; there were 107 males widowed, divorced, or separated under the age of twenty-one, and 1,008 females. There were (1900) 6,232,114 inhabited houses and 12,260,012 households; 54.3 per cent lived in towns of 2,000 inhabitants.

Vital Statistics

Emigration. — 1901 — 22,073; 1902 — 32,098; 1903 — 36,310; 1904 — 27,984; 1905 — 28,075. About 90 per cent went to the United States.

There were (1905) forty-two cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants—one with over a million; ten over 250,000; thirty-one over 100,000.

Principal Cities.—Berlin, 2,040,148; Hamburg, 802,793; Munich, 538,983; Dresden, 516,996; Leipzig, 503,672; Breslau, 470,904; Cologne, 428-

AREA AND POPULATION

STATES AND PROVINCES	Area in sq. m.	Population 1905	By CENSUS OF 1900				Deputies in Bundesrath	Deputies in Reichstag
			Population	Per sq. m.	Protestants	Catholics		
Kingdom of Prussia	134,603	37,278,820	34,472,509	256.1	21,817,577	12,113,670	17	236
Kingdom of Bavaria	29,282	6,512,824	6,176,057	210.7	1,749,206	4,363,178	6	48
Kingdom of Saxony	5,787	4,502,350	4,202,216	743.4	3,972,063	198,265	4	23
Kingdom of Württemberg	7,528	2,300,000	2,169,480	288.2	1,497,299	650,392	4	17
Grand Duchy of Baden	5,821	2,009,320	1,867,944	320.9	704,058	1,131,639	3	14
Grand Duchy of Hesse	2,965	1,210,104	1,119,893	377.7	746,201	341,570	3	9
Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin	5,135	624,881	607,770	118.3	597,268	8,182	2	6
Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar	1,388	387,892	362,873	260.8	347,144	14,158	1	3
Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1,131	103,251	102,602	90.7	100,568	1,612	1	1
Grand Duchy of Oldenburg	2,479	438,195	399,180	161.0	309,510	86,920	1	3
Duchy of Brunswick	1,424	485,655	464,333	326.0	436,976	24,175	2	3
Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen	953	268,859	250,731	263.0	244,810	4,170	1	2
Duchy of Saxe-Altenburg	511	206,500	194,914	380.1	189,885	4,723	1	1
Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	755	242,292	229,550	304.0	225,074	3,330	1	2
Duchy of Anhalt	906	328,007	316,085	.....	301,953	11,699	1	2
Principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	333	85,177	80,898	242.3	79,593	1,110	1	1
Principality of Rudolstadt	363	96,830	93,059	255.2	92,298	676	1	1
Principality of Waldeck	433	59,135	57,918	133.9	55,285	1,831	1	1
Principality of Reuss aelterer Linie	122	70,590	68,396	559.7	66,860	1,043	1	1
Principality of Reuss jüngerer Linie	319	144,570	139,210	435.7	135,958	2,579	1	1
Principality of Schaumburg-Lippe	131	44,992	43,132	329.3	41,908	785	1	1
Principality of Lippe	469	145,610	138,952	296.8	132,708	5,157	1	1
Free City of Lübeck	115	105,857	96,775	841.5	93,671	2,190	1	1
Free City of Bremen	99	263,426	224,882	2,269.6	208,815	13,506	1	1
Free City of Hamburg	158	875,090	768,349	4,862.9	712,338	30,903	1	3
Reichsland of Alsace-Lorraine	5,600	1,814,626	1,719,470	306.7	372,078	1,310,450	..	15
German Empire	208,830	60,605,183	56,367,178	269.9	35,231,104	20,327,913	58	397

722; Frankfort-on-the-Main, 334,978; Nuremberg, 294,426; Düsseldorf, 253,274; Hanover, 250,032; Stuttgart, 249,443; Chemnitz, 244,405.

Religion.—Germany enjoys liberty of conscience and freedom of religious worship. In 1900 there were 35,231,104 Protestants, or 62.5 per cent of the population; 20,327,913 Roman Catholics, or 36.1 per cent; 203,793 other Christians, or 0.4 per cent; 586,948 Jews, or 1.0 per cent; 17,535 unclassified or other religions, or 0.03 per cent.

Education

Education is well developed, being compulsory through the empire with a school age from six to fourteen. There were in 1902 or thereabouts, 59,384 elementary schools with 124,027 teachers and 8,924,779 pupils, besides 643 private schools, with 41,328 pupils. Secondary schools (1903); gymnasia (preparatory for university education), 468; pro-gymnasia (slightly lower), 100; real-gymnasia (without Greek, and with more "modern subjects"), 122; real progymnasia, 48; oberrealschulen (no classics), 64; realschulen, 265; normal schools, 185; other schools, 88; technical institutes, 9. Numerous *Gewerbeschulen* (technical schools), agricultural, brewing, mining, veterinary, architectural, forestry, art, 425 commercial schools, and 4 commercial universities; 100 schools, including universities, for textile work; 12 for metal work; 12 for wood-working; 4 for ceramic work; 19 for naval architecture and engineering; 19 for navigation; 7 public and many private music schools, military academies, etc.; universities, 21. Berlin (1904) has 6,096 students; München, 4,976; Leipzig, 3,575; Bonn, 2,818; Freiburg, 2,029; Breslau, 1,800; Halle, 1,780; Heidelberg, 1,655; Göttingen, 1,581; Tübingen, 1,581. (See EDUCATION.)

Justice is well administered on a uniform system with a uniform code. (See CRIME.)

Commerce has been rapidly developed in recent years. In shipping, Germany stands to-day second in the world. (For statistics, see COMMERCE; SHIPPING.)

There has been since 1888 a Zollverein or Customs League, which embraces the whole of the empire, with the exception of a few small districts, as well as Luxemburg. Import duties are levied, the country's policy being strongly protectionist since 1879.

Agriculture is the leading occupation according to the census of 1895 (the latest on this point). Of the total population, 18,068,663 were engaged in agriculture, 18,100,442 in various industries, 5,966,846 in commerce, 2,835,014 in the professions, 2,152,789 in metal work, 886,807 in domestic and personal service. Of these 22,913,683 were actually engaged in active service. Ninety-two per cent of the area is said to be productive. The main crops in 1904 were rye (6,099,270 hectares; hectar = 2.47 acres), hay (5,946,990), oats (4,189,681), potatoes (3,287,861), wheat (1,917,513). Forestry is very important. (See FORESTRY.)

Industries

Mining is important, the main districts being Westphalia, Rhenish Prussia, Silesia, and Lorraine for coal and iron, the Harz Mountains for silver and copper, Saxony for coal, iron, and silver. The coal mined in 1904 was 120,815,500 metric tons; lignite, 48,632,800; iron ore, 22,047,100. The total value of the minerals was 1,364,000,000 marks. There are about 100 iron foundries which produced 10,058,273 metric tons in 1904. There were (1903) 1,657 works producing finished iron. The total value of the product of the foundries of all kinds was (1903) 761,538,000 mk.

In 1895 there were engaged in the iron manufacturing 524,707 persons; machinery and instruments, 582,672; textiles, 993,257; woodenware, 598,496; leather and India rubber, 160,343. Iron is chiefly manufactured in Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, Bavaria, and Saxony; steel in Rhenish Prussia; textiles in Saxony; linen in Westphalia and Silesia; cotton goods in Alsace-Lorraine, Württemberg, Baden, and Bavaria; glass and earthenware in Silesia, Thuringia, and Saxony; clocks and underwear in Württemberg and Bavaria; beer in Bavaria and Prussia. Beetroot is an important product. (See AGRICULTURE.)

II. Constitution and Government

The present German Empire, a federation of Germanic kingdoms, principalities, and free cities, dates from Jan. 18, 1871, when William I., King of Prussia, was elected emperor on motion of the King of Bavaria, by the North German Confederation and representatives of all the German states and crowned in Versailles. The old Germanic Holy Roman Empire, dating from the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome, 800, and at the head of which the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria had stood for over 500 years, was overthrown by Napoleon and ended in 1806. The succession of the empire is hereditary by right of primogeniture (male line) in the Hohenzollern house. The present emperor is William II., born 1859; emperor 1888.

Constitution

The constitution of the empire dates from April 16, 1871. The states of Germany form, according to its terms, "an eternal union for the protection of the realm and the welfare of the German people." The emperor represents Germany internationally, and has the right to declare war, make peace, and enter into relations with other nations, if not otherwise provided by the constitution. Offensive war can be declared by the emperor only with the approval of the *Bundesrath* and the *Reichstag*. Legislative power rests in these two bodies. The *Bundesrath*, presided over by the chancellor, is an upper federal council, and represents the individual states of Germany. It is composed of 58 members—17 from Prussia, 6 Bavaria, 4 Saxony, 4 Württemburg, 3 Baden, etc. —appointed by the governments of the different states. The *Reichstag* has 397 members—about one for each 131,600 inhabitants—and represents the people. Since May 21, 1906, the members of the Reichstag receive $750 for the session with

MEMBERS ELECTED AND VOTES CAST FOR THE REICHSTAG IN 1903 AND 1907

	Votes, 1903	Members elected	Votes, 1907	Members elected
Conservative	948,448	73	1,070,658	80
Liberal-Union	243,230	11	343,369	21
National Liberal	1,317,401	50	1,654,738	55
Social Democrats	3,010,771	82	3,258,961	43
Agrarians and Anti-Semites	91,217	18	147,933	29
German Nationals	333,403	15	447,308	25
Center (Roman Catholic)	1,857,273	100	2,183,381	105
Poles	538,206	16	743,582	20
Guelfs, Danes, Alsatians	210,724	9	172,078	9
Independent	474,477	32	260,513	10

$5 reduction for each day's absence. During session, and one week previous and after, the members travel free over German railways. They are elected for five years by universal (male) suffrage.

The number of enrolled voters in 1903 was 12,531,200 and 9,533,800 voted. In 1907 10,282,508 votes were cast largely through an organized effort to defeat the Social Democrats, who, however, increased their vote by nearly a quarter of a million. They, however, lost 39 seats partly by the combination of forces against them in certain constituencies and partly because the representation of the different states and cities, determined by the constitution of the empire, tells largely against the cities and industrial sections, where the population latterly has largely grown, and where the Socialists have their main strength. The result is that in 1907 the Socialists with 3,258,961 votes won only 43 seats, while the Center (Roman Catholic) with 2,183,381 votes won 105 seats and the Conservatives with 1,070,658 votes won 80 seats, together having 185 seats to the Socialists' 43, for a smaller combined vote. (See SOCIALISM.)

The Bundesrath and Reichstag both meet annually, convoked by the emperor, who has the right to prorogue and dissolve the Reichstag on vote of the Bundesrath, tho the Reichstag cannot be prorogued for over thirty days without its own consent, and in case of dissolution must be reelected in sixty and convoked in ninety days. All laws for the empire must have a majority in both houses, and the emperor can veto no laws passed by them.

The administration of the empire is carried on under fifteen ministers of state, who, however, do not form a cabinet: 1. Chancellor of the Empire, at present Fürst von Bülow. 2. Ministry for Foreign Affairs. 3. Imperial Home Office and "Representative of the Chancellor." 4. Imperial Admiralty. 5. Imperial Ministry of Justice. 6. Imperial Treasury. 7. Imperial Postoffice. 8. Secretary for the Colonies. 9. Imperial Railways. 10. Imperial Exchequer. 11. Imperial Invalid Fund. 12. Imperial Bank. 13. Imperial Debt Commission. 14. Administration of Railways. 15. Imperial Court-martial.

These act independently of each other, but under the general supervision of the chancellor. Local government in the empire varies very largely between the different states. Each state has its own constitution, government, legislature (usually bicameral), and laws. The suffrage, too, in the states varies very materially, and in general is much more limited than for the empire. The Prussian suffrage, for example, is divided into three classes, according to the amount of taxes they pay, very much favoring the upper classes. (See SUFFRAGE.)

Internal Communication

Germany had (1905) 39,052 post-offices and 32,312 telegraph-offices with 278,061 employees. The united postal, telegraphic, and telephonic service yielded a revenue of 72,097,950 marks—receipts, 596,177,563; expenditure, 524,079,613. The railroads (see RAILROADS) are nearly all owned by the states, only 3,257 miles out of a total of 34,669 being private. They were valued (1904) at 14,325,729,000 mk.; receipts, 2,278,479,000; expenditure, 1,441,435,000; net revenue, 837,044,000—being 5.84 per cent earnings on the capital.

Finance

The common expenses of the empire are met by the revenues yielded from customs, excises, and posts, telegraphs, and railways. In case of a deficit the individual states are assessed in proportion to population. The total receipts for 1906 were 2,395,130,000; expenses, 2,387,271,000 mk.; for 1905, 2,253,782,000 and 2,247,363,000 respectively. The largest item in the expense account was the army with 705,754,000 mk. in 1905 and 743,035,000 in 1906. The respective figures for the navy were 248,184,000 and 265,402,000 mk.

Army and Navy

Germany has a large and well-trained army, the peace strength being 24,687 officers, 589,676 rank and file, and 109,527 horses. Service is universal and compulsory for all able-bodied men. The navy is increasing in numbers and efficiency. Its peace strength is 33,500 officers and men, 18 modern battle-ships, 27 protected cruisers, 70 destroyers, 47 torpedo boats, besides a number of older and smaller ships, and others building. (For details, see MILITARISM.)

III. Social Reform

Social reform in Germany, as elsewhere, is affected by the past. Germany was too full of the spirit of local freedom to develop a centralized government, as in France or England. It developed separate kingdoms and states, only loosely federated into an empire, coming down from Charlemagne. Its great free cities developed art and education. Germany led in the battles of the emperors against the Pope and in the Protestant Reformation. She became the home of theology, philosophy, science, and letters. Her social spirit developed the Peasants' War (*q. v.*), and also the mystic communism (*q. v.*, see also ANABAPTISTS) which has given America many German communities.

Modern German social reform may be said to begin with Hegel's socialistic philosophy and Fichte's socialistic turning of an individualistic philosophy (see FICHTE and HEGEL), but this was in accord with the German medieval conception of the Christian paternal State. (See BISMARCK.)

Nevertheless, in the early part of the nineteenth century, German statesmen and economists drew their ideas mainly from England and the orthodox political economy of Adam Smith. Particularly was this true of the Stein-Hardenberg legislation of Prussia. Germany more than most countries of Europe, perhaps because of the lack of a strong centralized power to break the power of the old gilds and free cities, was in the control of innumerable special privileges, rights, and monopolies, granted to the old gilds and cities. This mass of special privileges and imposts had to be done away with. There were, however, some early voices for socialism. (See GALL; HUBER; RODBERTUS; WEITLING.)

Beginnings

Such was the condition of things when the revolutions of 1848 awoke Europe. In Prussia the demand in 1848 was for constitutional government, freedom of religion and the press, the right of coalition, etc., with demands here and there by the proletariat for the organization of labor, State employment of the unemployed, etc. Blood was shed. The king, Frederick William IV., promised reforms and the reorganization of Germany. The National Assembly was called at Frankfort, where Bismarck won his first laurels in gaining the leadership for Prussia.

The only industrial organizations effected immediately after the revolution were various clubs, mainly under the patronage of the Liberal Party, and the cooperative land banks and societies, organized by Schulze-Delitzsch (*q. v.*). In Berlin, however, Lassalle (*q. v.*) was growing more radical, and on April 12, 1862—sometimes called the birthday of German socialism—being invited to lecture before a workingman's club, he argued that the Revolution of 1848 had politically freed the Fourth Estate, even as the French Revolution

freed the Third Estate, and that henceforth working men must organize for industrial freedom. He was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment, later commuted to a fine. A central committee of working men's clubs in Leipsic wrote him, calling on him to outline a policy; and he did so in an open letter, which has been called the charter of German socialism.

Meanwhile Marx and Engels had published from Brussels in 1848 their Socialist manifesto, and in 1864 the International Workmen's Association was founded. It was from these various elements and movements (for details, see LASSALLE; MARX; INTERNATIONAL) that in 1869 the Social Democratic Working Men's Party was formed at Eisenach, the main leaders being Liebknecht and Bebel. (See their names.) In 1870 Liebknecht and Bebel and Hepner were arrested for the publication of treasonable writings.

Socialism

In 1874, however, ten members of the Social Democratic Party were returned to the Reichstag by 450,000 votes. Bebel and Liebknecht, tho still in prison, were elected. The government determined to be more stringent. House searches were made, and the Working Men's Association was declared by the police to be dissolved in Prussia. The Social Democratic Working Men's Party shared the same fate. Misfortune brought the two rival parties together, and a congress held at Gotha in May, 1875, completed the union. The program then adopted became the basis of the great Socialist agitation which followed in all parts of Germany.

On May 11, 1878, the emperor was shot at in Berlin by a young man called Hödel, an ignorant man of low character. He was declared to be a Socialist because photographs of Socialists were found in his pocket. Immediately an anti-Socialist bill was introduced into the Reichstag, which that body, however, refused to pass. Another attempt was made upon the life of the aged sovereign by Dr. Karl Nobiling, who, on June 2, 1878, fired at the emperor from an upper window in the Linden and severely wounded him. The cry for repressive measures against the Socialists now became general.

Repression

A "Law against the publicly dangerous endeavors of social democracy" was passed, tho the Progressist leader, Richter, said, "I fear social democracy more under this law than without it."

The law prohibited the formation or existence of organizations which seek by social democratic, socialistic, or communistic movements to subvert the present State and society.

Henceforth the socialistic propaganda was carried on in secret, but more successfully than ever; in the Reichstag at least the Socialists were free. The publication of parliamentary reports being privileged, journals with socialistic tendencies were able to reproduce in full the speeches in which Bebel, Liebknecht, and their fellows preached the principles of a movement which the government had just been given a commission to suppress.

Bismarck therefore tried other tactics. Through a movement for a so-called State socialism, he undertook to take the wind out of the sails of the Social Democrats, and also favoring Stöcker's so-called Christian socialism (*q. v.*) and the academic *Katheder Sozialisten*. (See SOCIALISM OF THE CHAIR.) As early as 1847 Bismarck had spoken in favor of State railroads, but did not definitely, or at least publicly, adopt the principles of State socialism till 1878. His first step, however, was to reverse the taxation policy of the State and establish protection. His next step was to try and introduce various state monopolies, such as a tobacco monopoly. He did not succeed in getting these efforts at first supported by the Reichstag, yet from that date the government has moved in this direction till to-day most German railways are State roads (see RAILWAYS), and German legislation is notoriously paternal. A fuller State socialism has been reached in the various State insurance laws. In 1881 came the first word from the government upon the subject. The Sickness Insurance Law was passed in 1883, the Accident Insurance Law in 1884, and the Old Age Law in 1889. (See INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.)

State Socialism

By all this, however, the Social Democrats have no more been diverted from their purpose than they could be suppress. In 1881, however, occurred the Niederwald plot against the imperial family. Arrests were made, and two avowed anarchists were (1884) sentenced to death.

In 1884 another general election took place, and in Berlin two out of the six places fell to Socialists, and in Hamburg and Breslau two out of three. The Socialist vote polled was 549,990.

Repression was made more vigorous than ever. The year 1889 was marked by the largest strike Germany had ever known, which took place in the coal-mines of Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces, and threatened to spread, and did spread, more or less, through the empire, the emperor himself taking an interest in hearing the complaints of the miners, ordering an investigation leading to further legislation.

In 1890 the emperor accepted Bismarck's resignation as chancellor, partly upon Bismarck's insistence that the Anti-Socialist Law be renewed, a step which the young emperor did not favor, and on its expiration (Sept. 30, 1890) it was not renewed. The banished Socialists came back in great numbers. Liebknecht assumed the editorship of the *Volksblatt*, and activity went on more rapidly than ever, especially in Berlin, Hamburg, and the industrial centers. Since then the growth of the party has been steady. Its annual congresses have had large and enthusiastic attendance. Strong and wise leaders and organizers have appeared. (See AUER; BEBEL; BERNSTEIN; KAUTSKY; SINGER; VON VOLMAR.) A wing of the party led by Bernstein, while faithful to the Socialist ideals and movement, have favored since 1899 a more opportunist political course (see BERNSTEIN; also REVISIONISTS), and this has been hotly opposed (see KAUTSKY), but it has not divided the party, and wise leadership has prevented a secession. The party has developed a large newspaper and tract literature, the sales of which, together with the dues and gifts to the party, give it a firm financial basis. In 1907, tho unusual efforts were made to defeat it, the party increased its vote by over a quarter of a million, polling 3,258,961 votes and only losing seats because of unjust distribution of representation (see above; also SOCIALISM). The party thus far has not largely reached the agricultural classes, tho it is working for this. (For statistics, see SOCIALISM.)

Socialist Gains

Christian socialism in Germany must be

sharply distinguished from the Social Democratic movement, and stands indeed for more than one movement. Roman Catholic Christian socialism came first, in the utterances of Bishop von Ketteler of Mayence (1850) and the Catholic working men's clubs, begun by Father Koeping in Bavaria in 1847, and organized into a national movement led by Canon Monfany, about 1870. In 1872 these clubs had 72,000 members, mainly in Bavaria and Westphalia. (For details, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; also ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.)

Christian Socialism

This movement has become permanent, largely the result of Bismarck's *Culturkampf* (or contest with Rome and the expulsion of the Jesuits, 1872). The Roman Church, deprived of State influence, at least in northern Germany, appealed to the people, especially to the agricultural peasantry and the smaller landowners. Developing social clubs for mutual aid of many kinds, under the patronage and guidance of the Church, she has built up a powerful movement, especially in Bavaria—so much so that in some places little social effort can be successfully attempted without the cooperation of the parish priest. Well-attended congresses have been held, literature and papers circulated, till to-day the Romish political influence in the empire casts 2,183,381 votes (1907), has 105 seats in the Reichstag (the Center, with a strong aristocratic wing), a group the government is compelled to recognize and on which it often must depend to obtain a working majority for government measures. The Catholic labor-unions, 1905, numbered 1,600 locals, with 260,000 members. Protestant Christian socialism has had a more checkered career. Passing by earlier individual utterances (see HUBER TODT), the movement began as an organized force in 1877 with Stöcker, at that time the brilliant court preacher in Berlin. (For details, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; also STÖCKER.) Favored by the government (see above), for political reasons, it took a political form and tried to rally the working men and others on "a Christian constitutional monarchical basis." This government support and political bias temporarily aided the movement, but eventually killed it. Stöcker himself became largely interested in the anti-Semitic movement, and tried to unite this with his Christian Socialist politics. After considerable success, the government for political reasons withdrew its support, and the movement became divided. Stöcker with more persistency than wisdom persisted in a lessening political movement. Todt, and later Naumann (*q. v.*), favored a more purely evangelical form. Paul Göhre led a radical wing favoring cooperation with the Social Democrats. Agitation resulted, considerable literature was developed, and numerous congresses and conferences were held. But the movement never had unity from the start, and became finally completely divided, each element working in its separate way, without large numerical following. In 1896, under the leadership of Pastor Naumann, a *National Social Party* was formed at Erfurt, standing for a strong support of the government, the endeavor to help the cause of labor by evolutionary legislation, and the Christian religion as the basis of all moral life. This movement grew somewhat, polling 30,500 votes in 1903, but was voluntarily dissolved the same year, and its forces scattered among different parties. Göhre himself has joined the Social Democrats.

In 1894, however, commenced a movement which has been more permanent. The miners in the Rhine-Westphalia coal-fields, who did not favor the antireligious bias of the Social Democrats, and also favored trade-unions patterned on the English model, started some so-called "Christian Unions" (*Christliche Gewerkschaften*), and the movement grew till in 1902 they had 35 chief organizations with 175,069 members and, in 1906, 2,333 local unions with 215,884 members. These unions are not connected with any religious body, and are technically neither Roman Catholic nor Evangelical (tho by that fact Protestant rather than Catholic), but are broadly religious in their tendency. Politically opposed to the Social Democrats, they have thereby an unavowed connection with the Center (Roman Catholic), but confine themselves mainly to trade-union efforts. (See TRADE-UNIONS.) An avowed "Evangelical Labor-Union" connection has (1905) 72,000 members. German trade-unionism is a somewhat divided movement, tho the tendency at present is toward unity and a strong development. The oldest national union is that of the printers and type-founders (1848); reformed 1867. The unions, now loosely connected with the Social Democrats ("free *Gewerkschaften*") began to be formed about 1865, independently of and for a time even hostile to the Social Democrats. They grew very slowly till 1895, but after that with rapidity and increasingly, tho vaguely connected with the Social Democrats. As the Social Democrats become less theoretical and more practical in advocating immediate measures, these unions tend more to coalesce with them, tho not technically committed to any party.

Trade-Unions

In 1868 another trade-union movement began, led by Drs. Hirsch (*q. v.*) and Duncker (*q. v.*), founders of the Progressive Party in the Reichstag. The Hirsch-Duncker union grew rapidly; came to grief over an unsuccessful strike of the miners, but then began to grow steadily. They are formed avowedly on the English model and (since 1876) exclude Social Democrats from their ranks. Politically they are eclectic and support those parties which most favor immediate progressive labor measures. In 1905 there were 2,158 Hirsch-Duncker unions with 111,887 members. The total trade-union movement of Germany is as follows:

Social Democratic unions....	9,525	with 1,372,539	members
Christian trade-unions.....	2,333	" 188,106	"
Hirsch-Duncker unions.....	2,158	" 117,097	"
Independent unions.....	812[1]	" 144,601	"
	14,828	1,822,343	

[1] Not completely listed.

Quite separate for the most part from either the trade-union or the Social Democrat movement is the German cooperative movement. Beginning with the Schulze-Delitzsch (*q. v.*) loan associations in 1848, and the Raiffeisen (*q. v.*) cooperative banks, which, tho begun in 1849, were little known till 1874, cooperation, first in loan associations and more recently in other forms, has assumed large proportions. (See COOPERATION.)

More characteristic of Germany is the aid in various forms which the government has extended to the labor movement. Of the important government industrial insurance system we have already spoken (see INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE for details, statistics, etc.). Beginning in

1887 with sickness insurance, by 1904 60,000,000 persons (the sick, the injured by accident, invalids, and their relatives) had received $1,000,000,000 as indemnity, the working men having raised only the smaller part of this sum in the form of contributions, and receiving an indemnity which was by $375,000,000 larger than what they had paid in.

Of the accumulated amount of $375,000,000, nearly $100,000,000 had been applied to the erection of working men's houses, hospitals, and sanitariums, to places of cure, people's baths, and similar institutions.

Legislative Action

A considerable industrial legislative code has also been enacted (see FACTORY LEGISLATION; Digest of Section GERMANY), stimulated somewhat by the International Government Labor Conference, which met, invited by the Kaiser, in Berlin, March 15, 1890.

Almost as important are the action of the German municipalities on municipal housing, pawn-shops, etc.; but for this, see especial articles, MUNICIPALITIES, GERMAN; HOUSING; PAWNSHOP. Characteristic especially of this action, as of all of German State proceedings, is the cooperation of voluntary individual action with State aid and under State supervision.

Public Employment Bureaus

This is particularly true of the important movement for public employment bureaus in Germany. Leipsic early began a municipal employment bureau, and Stuttgart a non-municipal but public (not commercial) bureau as early as 1865, and these two types were slowly copied till a social congress, held in Berlin, 1893, gave a great impetus to the movement, and to-day public employment bureaus exist in every important German town, a number of them being municipal. In Prussia alone there were 226 such public bureaus in 1904, and it is estimated that in the year ending March, 1904, situations were found for 600,000 persons (for the empire). Almost invariable features of them is that they are controlled by boards composed of equal numbers of employers and employees, a consideration regarded as vital to their success; and that if not municipal are under strict municipal control. (See PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS.) Connected with these practically if not organically is the German system of colonies and relief stations for the unemployed. The German Labor Colonies (see LABOR COLONIES), beginning in 1881 with Wilhelmsdorf, near Bielefeld (*q. v.*), started by Pastor von Bodelschwingh (*q. v.*), have multiplied till there are now thirty-three in the empire, which received in 1904 10,009 homeless wanderers. Their permanent effect is questioned by some—they shelter an admittedly weak body of men—but they have at least developed some into efficiency, and are said to have almost relieved Germany of the tramp which previously infested the empire. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Correlated with these are the relief stations (*Verpflegungstationen*) and the home shelters (*Herbergen zur Heimath*) now scattered throughout the empire. The relief stations are stations established usually by the public authorities where working men traveling in search of work can apply for situations, be directed where to go, and provided with a meal or lodging overnight in exchange for a little work. These stations are over 1,000 in number, within walking distance of each other, and connected by telephone, so that a workingman can traverse the whole empire (or large portions of it) and hear of the possibilities of employment. Each man, however, who applies must have or purchase a labor passport with a certificate of past employment, civil papers, etc., and this must be shown and stamped at each station he visits. The home shelters are institutions conducted by private philanthropy and usually on a religious basis, which provide unemployed working men a longer shelter than the relief stations, with which, however, they are sometimes combined. The first home shelter was instituted at Bonn in 1854, and grew slowly in numbers, tho recently much more rapidly. There were reported 461 of the home shelters in 1905. The center of this movement is now the Herbergen zur Heimath at Bielefeld. Pastor von Bodelschwingh has united the movement under a German Travelers' Home Society. (See RELIEF STATIONS.)

Home Shelters

Important evangelical social work is done by the Inner Mission commenced by Wichern in the Rauhe Haus at Hamburg in 1848, and developed to-day into very large and ramified charities and social work. (See INNER MISSION.) For the numerous German charities and relief institutions, conducted partly by the State and partly by private philanthropy under State control, see PAUPERISM AND THE RELIEF OF. This work assumes in Germany a more scientific and combined form than in most countries, and numerous national societies have arisen for the study and prosecution of social reform work. (See also SOCIAL INSTITUTES; MUSEUMS OF SECURITY; PROSTITUTION; TEMPERANCE; WOMAN'S MOVEMENTS.) Among the more important national social reform societies are:

Reichs-Versicherungsamt, Berlin W., Königin Augusta str. 25, 26. (State Industrial Insurance Office.)

Centralstelle für Arbeiter-Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen, Berlin S. W., Dessauerstr. 14 (Prof. Dr. Albrecht). (Industrial Betterment.)

Bureau für Sozialpolitik, Berlin W., Nollendorfstr. 29, 30 (Prof. Dr. Ernst Francke).

Institut für Gemeinwohl, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Kettenhofweg 27.

Soziales Museum, Munich.

Soziales Museum, Frankfort-on-the-Main.

Bergischer Verein für Gemeinwohl, Barmen.

Centralverein für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen. Sekretär, E. Rüdiger, Schöneberg, Stubenrauchstr. 8. (For the benefit of the working classes.)

Verein für Sozialpolitik. (Meets every two years for important conferences.)

Internationales Institut für Sozialbibliographie, Berlin W., 50, Spichernstr. 17.

Deutscher Sparkassen-Verband. (Savings.)

Deutscher Verein für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege. (Health and Hygiene.)

Deutscher Verein gegen den Missbrauch geistiger Getränke, Charlottenburg, Fasanenstr. 59. (Temperance.)

Verband deutscher Arbeitsnachweise, Berlin C., Gormannstr. 13. (Labor bureaus.)

Charitasverband für das *katholische* Deutschland (1897), Freiburg in Breisgau (Geistl. Rat Dr. Lorenz Werthmann). (Charitable Association of the German Catholics.)

Centralausschuss für die innere Mission der deutschen *evangelischen Kirche*. Berlin W., Genthinerstr. 38. (Central Committee for the Inner Mission.)

Centralkomitee der deutschen Vereine vom Roten Kreuz. Berlin W., Wilhelmstr. 73. (Red Cross.)

Gesamtverband deutscher Verpflegungsstationen, Behtel bei Bielefeld. (Relief stations.)

Deutscher Herbergs-Verein, Bethel by Bielefeld (Pastor Mörchen). (Home shelters.)

Centralvorstand deutscher Arbeiterkolonien (Geheimrat von Massor, Potsdam, Lennéstr. 12). (Labor colonies.)

Deutscher Verein für Armenflege und Wohlthätigkeit (1880).

REFERENCES: *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Handbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Das Staatsrecht des Deut-*

schen Reiches, by A. Arndt (1900); *Germany and the Germans*, by W. H. Dawson (2 vols., 1894); *Central Europe*, by J. Partsch (1903); *Imperial Germany*, by Sidney Whitman (1901); *Germany (A World Power)*, by Wolf von Schierbrand (1902); *Bismarck and the Foundation of the German Empire*, by J. W. Headlam (1899); *German Life in Town and Country*, by W. H. Dawson (1901); *The German Workingman*, by W. H. Dawson (1900); *Industrial Education and Industrial Conditions in Germany*, by U. S. Consul Meyer (Special Consular Report, xxxiii., 1905).

GERMAN MUNICIPALITIES. See MUNICIPALITIES, GERMAN.

GERRYMANDERING: In United States politics, an arrangement of political divisions in disregard of natural boundaries, as indicated by geography or position, so as to give one party an unfair political advantage. It is done sometimes by throwing the greatest possible number of hostile voters into a district which is certain to be hostile, sometimes by adding to a district where parties are equally divided some place in which the majority of friendly voters is sufficient to turn the scale.

The word is derived from Elbridge Gerry, a leading Democratic politician in Massachusetts (a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and in 1812 elected Vice-President of the U. S.), who, when Massachusetts was being redistricted, contrived a scheme which gave one of the districts a shape like that of a lizard. An artist, seeing a map of the district in an editor's office, remarked, "Why, this looks like a salamander." "Say rather a Gerrymander," replied the editor; and the name remained.

GHENT, WILLIAM JAMES: American author and Socialist; born at Frankfort, Ind., 1866; educated in the public schools. Learning the printer's trade, he worked as a compositor in various parts of the country, and later as a reporter and editor on several New York City periodicals. He has contributed to many papers and magazines, particularly *The Independent*. He was one of the founders of the Social Reform Club of New York (1894). An independent Socialist from 1893 to 1904, when he joined the Socialist Party. Since 1906, secretary of Rand School of Social Science. He has written: "Our Benevolent Feudalism," 1902; "Mass and Class," 1904. *Address*: 260 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York City.

GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN HENRY: Professor of sociology; born at Sherman, Conn., 1855. After preparatory studies at Great Barrington he entered Union College in 1873, received the degrees A.B. and A.M. Entering journalism, he was connected with the *Daily Union and Republican* of Springfield, Mass. In 1885 he made an investigation of cooperation and profit-sharing for the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, the results being published in its seventh annual report. In 1888 was appointed resident lecturer and in 1891 associate professor of political science at Bryn Mawr College. In 1891, without leaving Bryn Mawr, he was appointed lecturer on sociology in the School of Political Sciences at Columbia University, and in 1894 professor of sociology in that university, leaving Bryn Mawr. Professor Giddings has been chairman of the Publication Committee of the American Economic Association, and vice-president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. His contributions to economic journals have been almost constant, and since 1891 mainly concerned with the province and contents of sociology, in which department Professor Giddings has come to be an acknowledged leader. His views have often caused him to be classed as an independent Socialist and radical. Author: "The Theory of Socialization"; "The Elements of Sociology"; "Democracy and Empire"; "Inductive Sociology." *Address*: 150 West Seventy-ninth Street, New York City.

GIDE, CHARLES: French political economist; born at Uzès, France, 1847. From 1874–80 he was professor of jurisprudence at Bordeaux, and since 1880 has held the chair of political economy at Montpellier. He is editor of the *Revue d'Économie Politique*. His chief work is his "Princeps d'Économie Politique" (1883), which has been translated into English. He is even better known by his valuable reviews and magazine articles as one of the leaders in the revolt against the classic French economists, and also for his active interest in the French Protestant movement toward Christian Socialism.

GIFFEN, SIR ROBERT: British statistician; born at Lanark, Scotland, 1837; educated at Glasgow University (LL.D., 1884). He was successively engaged as a solicitor's clerk and as a journalist, being connected in an editorial capacity with the *Globe* and with the *Economist*. From 1870 to 1876 he edited the trade and finance articles for the *Daily News*, and in the latter year was appointed chief of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade. In 1882 he was appointed controller-general of the departments of commerce, labor, and statistics, retaining this office till 1897. From 1882 to 1884 he was president of the Statistical Society. He has written: "The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half-Century," 1884; "The Growth of Capital," 1890; "Economic Inquiries and Studies," 1904, etc. *Address*: Haywards Heath, Sussex, England.

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS: The year 1906 was remarkable owing to large gifts to public institutions by private individuals both in the United States and in Great Britain. According to records kept and published by various papers, particularly *The Chicago Tribune* and *The World Almanac*, the benefactions of 1906 in the U. S., not including small donations, amounted to $106,338,063, and according to *Whitaker's Almanack* in Great Britain to £4,486,440. The record from 1901–6 in the U. S. is:

BEQUESTS AND GIFTS FOR

1893–1900	$330,000,000
1901	107,000,000
1902	94,000,000
1903	77,000,000
1904	88,000,000
1905	104,586,422
1906	106,338,063
Total 1901–6	$576,924,485
Total 1893–1906	906,924,485

In Great Britain:

1901	£1,926,850
1902	4,443,200
1903	1,577,140
1904	1,370,750
1905	1,704,100
1906	4,486,440
Total 1901	15,514,480

GILD OF ST. MATTHEW, THE: A Christian Socialist society founded in 1877 by some of the young men and women of Bethnal Green who had come under the influence of the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, curate of the parish church. It was the outcome of the belief that the atheistic secularism of Mr. Bradlaugh and the Hall of Science was the result of the secular work of Christ and His Church having been neglected by churchmen. When Mr. Headlam had to leave Bethnal Green, the gild, with Mr. Fred. Verender as its secretary, extended its work and sent lecturers far and wide to secular halls, working men's clubs, etc. Besides the warden and secretary, Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Carson, Mr. W. E. Morris, Mr. Dearmer, Mr. Moll, and Mr. Merson were priests who took an active part in the gild work.

The gild's study of social and political questions has made it a society of Socialists, sacerdotalists, and sacramentalists. It took an active part in the reception of Mr. Henry George, and the propagation of his principles, with which in England the name of Mr. Verender will always be connected. *The Church Reformer* was for ten years its organ, and the future church historian will find the columns of this publication replete with valuable information. The gild is mainly responsible for the Christian Socialist movement begun by Maurice and Kingsley having spread and fructified among "High Churchmen"; it has always been a small body—generally about 100 priests and about 150 laymen. Besides its general socialistic propaganda, and its insistence on the necessity of getting the mass restored to its proper unique place in the Church worship, it has worked for the abolition of the patron and the establishment of the parish in his place; for the State confining its educational function to secular schooling, and has strongly opposed municipal Puritanism. During the Easter of 1906 it organized a clerical address of congratulation to the thirty Labor members of Parliament. It also in that year undertook the circulation of a dozen little books of the Faith and Freedom Press designed to save the clergy, Sunday-school teachers, and others from spreading crude and false notions of the Christian faith which are the notions which skeptics so easily attack.

The chief work of the gild is now done by the members in their various parishes, and by the circulation of literature. The books on which they specially rely for this work are: The Rev. Thomas Hancock's "Pulpit and the Press," "The Banner of Christ in the Hands of the Socialists," and "God as Our Schoolmaster is Always in All Schools"; the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam's "Laws of Eternal Life," being lessons on the church catechism, "The Meaning of the Mass," "Secular Schools," "Priestcraft and Progress," "Municipal Puritanism," and "Christian Socialism"; Rev. Conrad Noel's "Day of the Sun." Also Mr. G. Shea's "What It Is and Who Should Join It," "The Church and the Polling Booth," "Disorders in the Church" (maintaining that they are social and industrial, not ritual), and many other leaflets. These can all be obtained from Mr. Fred. Verender, 376 Strand, London, W. C., England.

STEWART D. HEADLAM.

GILDS: The various trade- and labor-unions, as well as friendly societies, etc., are treated in separate articles. Under this head are considered only the ancient labor-unions and the medieval gilds.

I. Ancient Labor-Unions

That labor-unions have existed all through history has long been known, but only recently have they been carefully studied. Particularly has Mr. C. Osborne Ward investigated the subject, and his "The Ancient Lowly," altho he reaches conclusions by no means accepted by all scholars, contains a fund of valuable information. According to Mr. Ward, the gild grew from the family. When the paterfamilias died the oldest son usually took his place; but some of the younger sons, being of the same blood as the head of the family, would rebel at this. Out of this division, according to Mr. Ward, came classes—the aristocrats, or heads of families, and the dispossest freemen who were not slaves. These developed the artizan classes and, when these united, the first labor-unions. These unions were connected with a religious cult. As the aristocrats worshiped the shades of their ancestors, and made that worship the center of the family, so the labor-unions found their patron gods.

History

The date of the earliest labor organization cannot be fixt; but it must have been very early. As early as 1180 B.C., according to Plutarch's "Theseus," one Menestheus rose against the aristocrats at Athens to demand for the people the right to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. There must have been at least some understanding between working men at this time, and one of their first grievances was that they were excluded from the aristocratic religious rites, the aristocrats teaching that working men had no souls. A fragment from the age of Solon shows that in his time (about 600 B.C.) trade-unions were common (Granier's "Histoire des Classes Ouvrières," pp. 283–287). The celebrated Roman Law of the Twelve Tables specified the manner of organization of working men, and is declared by some (Gaius's "Digest"; Plutarch's "Numa") to be a translation from the Greek law of Solon; and the law of Solon is said to be a paraphrase of the still more ancient law of Amasis, King of Egypt. References are found by some to trade-unions in the Bible, in the time of Joshua (1537–1427), and certainly in the time of Solomon. Hiram of Tyre, who is said to have been the architect of the Temple at Jerusalem, brought with him from Tyre 3,200 foremen and 40,000 free artificers—not a large number, when it took the immortal Phideas, Callicrates, the chief architect Ictinus, and probably 50,000 unionist craftsmen ten years to design and complete the Parthenon—the perfection of architectural art.

By the time of Numa Pompilius we find unions fully developed and recognized by law. (See Plutarch's "Numa.") Mommsen ("De Coll. and Sodal Rom.," p. 78) says: "The relics of innumerable communal associations of ancient times are seen scattered all through Italy, as found among the inscriptions of the Italian towns." Down to B.C. 58 of the times of the emperors, the right of working men in Rome to organize was unabridged. Numa divided the unions into eight great classes, a clear witness to their number.

Later, the unions became innumerable. Ward describes a great number both Greek and Roman. The source of our knowledge of these is mainly from inscriptions, tablets, columns, and mutilated manuscripts. Most of the historians were too aristocratic to notice labor organizations, and, according to Ward, the references they did make to uprisings of slaves and laborers were mutilated by aristocrats.

The early Greek unions were called *thiasotai* (or disciples of mutual love), *sussitoi* (or those who eat at a common table), *omotaphoi* (or burial societies). According to Ward, the *hetaroi* and *hetæræ* were male and female associates of labor societies, and only later was the latter term used for prostitutes, because laborers were despised. Ward mentions especially the Greek *thiasoi* and *eranoi* as general names for Greek gilds. Of the Roman organizations we have fuller information.

Names

The *Fabri navalium*, or ship carpenters and boat-makers of the Tiber; the *collegium vascularíorum* (metal vessel makers); the *collegium pistorum* (millers); the *collegium incendarium* (firemen); the *collegium vinariorum* (wine dealers); even the *collegium lupanariorum* (brothel keepers); the *collegium bisellariorum* (makers of chairs for the gods); the *collegium centonariorum* (ragpickers or junkmen); the *collegium soliarium baxiarum* (shoemakers); the *fullonum sodalicum* (fullers); the *corpus nemesiacorum* (fortune-tellers); the *collegium armariorum* (gladiators); the *communionis mimirum* (actors); the *collegium castrênsiariorum* (sutlers); the *collegium vinatorum* (planters); the *collegium farrariorum* (mowers), and a long list of others too numerous to mention.

These *collegia* seem to have been scattered all over the Roman Empire, in Asia Minor, the Greek islands, Spain, and Gaul, as well as in Greece and Rome. Mr. Ward says they were established in England by the Romans, and gave rise to the medieval gilds, especially in Kent, whence "the men of Kent" brought the Labor movement to America.

All these unions were more or less combinations of religious societies, burial societies, convivial societies, and friendly societies, with dues and benefits. Each organization took some patron god and celebrated his worship. They had banners and processions and days of worship. This was partly to cover their meeting for other purposes. They had occasional or regular convivial meetings, and suppers in common, and their dues were sometimes simply exacted to meet the expense of these. Almost invariably they were burial societies with dues to meet the expense of the burial, of which the ancients made much. Sometimes they were trade-unions and friendly societies in the modern sense. They had fixt prayers and a ritual for the conduct of their meetings. Their officers were presiding officers (of both sexes), a "president of finance," a stewardess or housewife, a manager or trustee, a recording secretary or scribe, lawyers to defend the members, priests to conduct the religious rites.

Organization

Some of the inscriptions give the best picture of their organization. One written in plain Attic Greek (translated in the *Revue Archéologique*) reads: "Because of rulable and just administration of the common fund of money of the community of *eranistai*, and having ever conducted himself with kindness and with honesty; and because he has righteously husbanded the funds successively paid by the *eranistai* themselves, as well as the annual subscription, according to the law of the *eranas*, and in view of the fact that in everything else he still continues to show integrity to the oath which he swore to the *eranistai*, therefore hail Alcmeon. The community of the *eranistai* rejoice to praise Alcmeon, son of Thon, a stranger who has been naturalized—their president of finance—and do crown him with a chaplet of foliage because of his faithfulness and good-will to them. They are, moreover, rejoiced, and praise the trustees, and also the priests (chaplains) of Jupiter the Savior, and of Hercules, and of the Savior of the Gods. And they crown each of them with the wreath of honor because of their virtue, and their lively interest in the community of the *eranistai*."

The stone is broken and the date is gone, but it seems to be of the Aristotelian period.

That these unions were very much like modern trade-unions, and even in advance of many present unions, is seen by the following inscription, discovered at Pompeii, showing that they endeavored to influence politics, and that they honored women (Ward's translation):

1. "The members of the Fishermen's Union nominate Popedius Rufus for member of the Board of Public Works."
2. "The International Gold Workers' Association of the City of Pompeii demand for Member of the Board of Public Works Cuspis Pansa."
3. "Verna, the home-born, with her pupils in all right, put Mrs. Capella to the front for a seat on the Board of Magistrates."

To these unions Ward ascribes great influence in ancient times. Socrates, he says, was a member of them; and his last words as he lay dying was to remind his disciples that they (the *thiasotai* or brethren) owed their cook for a chicken on which they had banqueted. Southern Italy had a great many of these unions, and here Plato found a system of communisms supposed to have been founded by Pythagoras. Jesus Christ, Ward believes to have belonged to such a union, and to simply have proclaimed successfully to the world the brotherhood and equality which the unions had long preached and striven for in private. The early Christian churches, he says, were first developed where these unions were strong, as at Pergamus, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Hierapolis ("the seven churches"), Antioch, Rhodes, and elsewhere. Many of these unions doubtless became corrupt; their feasts became feasts of revelry and dissipation; but originally, according to Ward, the Bacchic festivities, the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia, were not licentious.

These unions were almost exclusively of free working men, tho occasionally slaves were admitted. But the condition of the slaves was terrible in the extreme. At Sparta, Lycurgus instituted a communism, but it rested on slavery of the helots. There were common tables, but they were waited upon by nearly naked slaves. The slaves were State slaves, and were flogged once a day. The young *ephori* were taught to hunt for the helots and kill them as they toiled in the fields, in order to keep the helot class in subjection. Two thousand helots are known to have been killed in the fields at one time. At Athens slaves worked the State mines at Laurium and elsewhere, both sexes working naked in the mines under the lash, and loaded with chains. In Rome they were made to fight each other and wild beasts in the arena. In Sicily they were housed in dungeons, compelled to work naked in the fields, beaten, tortured, crucified. Hence arose great slave strikes.

Slaves

Slave Revolts

The earliest slave strike in Greece was probably a rising of the Spartan helots, which was put down in cold blood in the time of Agis I. (about 1055 B.C.). During the Peloponnesian wars there was a great strike of the 20,000 Athenian slaves at Sunium, who went over in a body to the enemy, Sparta (413 B.C.). Another strike seems to have occurred at the same place, B.C. 133, when 1,000 slave miners killed their overseers and rushed into the town and temple for security, but were finally overpowered. According to Livy ("Annales," lib. iv., 45), the slaves rose in Rome 407 B.C., and tried to fire the city, but were betrayed and the ringleaders crucified. B.C. 194, the slaves rose in Latium and gained the city, but were again betrayed to forces marching from Rome, and some 2,000 were slaughtered (Livy, xxxii., "Epitomy"). B.C. 196, a great strike seems to have taken place in Etruria, and another in Apulia, B.C. 185–184 (Livy, xxxix.). In the island of Chios the slaves rose at an uncertain date, and, under Drimakos, a soothsayer, escaped to the mountains and maintained independence there under their slave king. But finally, according to the story, the *Chiots* offering a great reward for Drimakos's head, the old man called a boy friend to him and had him cut off his head to get the reward, which the youth did, a temple afterward being built to Drimakos. In Sicily, under Eunus, 143–133 B.C., the slaves rose and conquered their masters and chose Eunus king, and finally had a force of 200,000 men, defeating army after army sent against them from Rome during a period of six years. In Pergamus, in Asia Minor (B.C. 130), King Attalus willed his empire to Rome; but Aristonicus, a natural brother, roused the slaves, and offered them their freedom if they would support him. He, with his *eranoi*, defied Rome and defeated her consular armies, till finally overthrown by M. Paperna (B.C. 104). Another great slave rising took place in Sicily under Athenion, who united with the free workmen and defeated Rome in six great battles. The rising of the gladiators under Spartacus is better known. Spartacus at Capua plotted his escape with 200 gladiators, 74 B.C. Gaining weapons, they attracted slaves and working men to them till they had ultimately an army of 300,000 men. He defeated army after army of the Romans by shrewd tactics and desperate valor, but finally was conquered by Crassus, Spartacus himself perishing in the battle; 60,000 workmen fell in the battle, and 6,000 were crucified by the Romans along the road from Capua to Rome.

II. Medieval Gilds

The medieval gild in one sense doubtless sprang from the ancient labor-unions, but in an important sense it did not. Medieval life sprang from Germanic life, adapted to and molded by the Roman civilization it overran. Wherever the Germanic tribes went, in Germany, England, France, Italy, or Spain, they found labor-unions, and, as it were, inherited them. Yet is the medieval gild essentially German and not Roman.

The Roman gilds were mainly of slaves or of the despised. The medieval gilds were composed essentially of freemen. They were not simply trade-unions.

Origin

Some have argued that the medieval gilds sprang from the early common banquets of the Gothic tribes. They more probably sprang from a variety of causes. The name "gild" is probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *gylden* or *gildan*, "to pay," since a distinctive feature of all the gilds was the common contribution or assessment. The word at first seems to have been used for any association for any purpose that had contributions to a common fund. "The early gilds," says Professor Seligman, "had no connection with trade or industry." They were largely social, often protective, sometimes political, almost always with a religious spirit. Says Gierke ("Deutsches Genossenschafts-Recht," p. 227): "The old Germanic gild embraced the whole man and was intended to satisfy all human purposes; it was a union such as exists to-day only in our towns or states; it answered at the same time religious, moral, social, economical, and political purposes."

An important variety of these gilds were the *frith*, or *peace gilds*, sworn communities for the protection of right and the preservation of liberty. Many gilds were formed by and often composed of the clergy. A still larger class were purely social and charitable. There were said to have been as many as 909 gilds in the county of Norfolk alone. Contributions to the common treasury, masses for the living, and funeral rites for the deceased brethren, observance of a mutual charity, and the bathing, feeding, and clothing of 100 poor men, are among the obligations of most of the gilds whose members promised to conduct themselves as righteously as possible, and be of "one heart and of one soul."

These gilds, of one kind or another, extended all over Germanic Europe and endured in most countries till the time of the Reformation, and in a few instances to the nineteenth century. In England, Henry VIII. sequestered the property of the religious gilds. In Denmark and North Germany their property was devoted to the public service. The most important, however, of all medieval gilds were the *gilds-merchant* and the *craft gilds*. The former came first and grew to great power, becoming often the real municipal corporation of the towns. Gradually, however, the craft gilds gained upon them, and finally replaced them.

III. Gilds-Merchant

The gilds-merchant in all European countries seem to have been developed about the same time. In England, they are mentioned first in "Doomsday Book," both knighton-gild and gild-merchant existing at Nottingham. Lincoln is said to have had one during the Danish supremacy, and soon after *Doomsday* they are frequently mentioned in town charters. The drapers' company of Hamburg dates from 1153, and that of the shoemakers of Magdeburg from 1157. Similar associations existed in Milan about the same time. They were common in France in the reign of Louis IX. By the close of the twelfth century they were general throughout Europe. The Hanseatic League, which was practically a league of North German gilds-merchant, and which came to have such power, dates from the thirteenth century. Their charters were essentially monopoly licenses to sell. With the license also went certain privileges and exemptions. Says Professor Seligman, from whose "Two Chapters on the Medieval Gilds of England" we derive much information:

Development

"It was essential for the merchant traveling from town to town, or even trading within the burgh, to be freed from these burdens, and we find accordingly immunities of this kind in almost every case. . . .

"Another privilege that is often mentioned is the *hansa*. What this was is not very clear. The magnificence of the Hanseatic League and its branches in medieval England are well known, and the Steelyard of the hanse-merchants or Easterlings, who were already protected by Æthelstan, became a renowned institution of London. . . . But the term is much older, and occurs frequently in the English charters, probably at first having reference to the privileges of merchants when away from home. For the English had their gilds in foreign ports also. Its meaning, however, soon became equivalent to gild, or the rights of a gild, and in this generic signification it is used all through the later documents. The 'hanse of the gild' thus became a collective name, which included all the usual attributes of a trading corporation."

The constitution of the gilds shows their character. Seligman tells us that "at the head stood the alderman or master, who probably paid something for his position, and at his side were the wardens or stewards, and occasionally other officers, such as seneschals, ushers, clerks, deans, and chaplains. Membership was obtained by heredity, purchase, or gift, and frequent mention is made of the seats of the associates, which probably referred to their position at the feasts or the arrangement of the booths in fair-time. The alienation of the seats, whether by sale or gift, was forbidden, and while the sons and sometimes the nephews and daughters of members were admitted free of all charges, others were obliged to pay an entrance fee and produce two sureties. In the oath that was administered on initiation, the new member pledged himself to conform to the ordinances, to be subject to the same burdens as his fellows, to inform the officials and inhabitants if he discovered any merchant in town who was not a member, and to obey the command of the mayor as well as to maintain the good usages of the city. Peace and good-will between the members were enjoined; provisions of a charitable character, such as alms to the impoverished and visits to the imprisoned, are occasionally found; the morning speeches and periodical banquets were not omitted, and the members were admonished not to forget to drink their gild-merchant, on which festive occasions the officers availed themselves of the opportunity to collect the taxes."

Constitution

The gild-merchant was then at the outset a mere company of traders; but the term merchant, which by no means conveyed the same ideas as at present, included not only those that carried on foreign commerce, but petty traders of all kinds, even artizans. The gild, however, in course of time lost its character as a purely private society, and became closely connected with the municipal organization, altho never identical with it. When the towns and boroughs obtained charters, they took care to have it included that the men of the place should also have their gild-merchant. "Gild law" often became the law of the town. But in England and the north of Europe the gilds-merchant, having grown rich and tyrannical, excluded the landless men of the handicrafts; these then uniting among themselves, there arose everywhere by the side of the gilds-merchant the craft gilds, which gained the upper hand on the Continent in the struggle for liberty in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In England these companies usually existed side by side with the old town or merchant-gild; until at length their increasing importance caused the decay of the old gilds, and the adoption of these crafts as part of the constitution of the towns (thirteenth to fifteenth century).

In the great cities like London and Florence the gilds-merchant, if organized, never seem to have taken deep hold. The craft gilds seem to have been early organized.

IV. Craft Gilds

The origin of these craft gilds is more disputed than that of the gilds-merchant. There are three main views. Brentano, in his "Gilds and Trade-Unions," argues that they were associations of craftsmen to protect themselves from "the abuse of power on the part of the lords of the town, who tried to reduce the free to the dependence of the unfree." There seems, however, little to support this view. Dr. Cunningham ("History of Industry and Commerce," vol. i., p. 310) says

Origin

they were "called into being not out of antagonism to existing authorities, but as new institutions, to which special parts of their own duties were delegated by the burgh officers or the local gild-merchant." Professor Ashley ("Introduction to Economic History and Theory") takes the middle ground that they were self-governing bodies of craftsmen, more or less under municipal control. They are, however, in no case to be identified with modern trade-unions, and tho Brentano and Mr. George Howell following him have held that modern trade-unions are descended from them, there seems to be no proof of this. The prototype of the modern trade-union is to be sought rather in the journeymen associations that sprang up later, as the craft gilds grow aristocratic and wealthy. The craft gilds were rather gilds of employers. As the gilds-merchant were monopolies in traffic, so the craft gilds were monopolies in production.

The early charters, says Professor Seligman, all contain as a cardinal point the provision that no one should venture to carry on the trade either in the city or suburbs unless a member.

The crafts could thus not be initiated without permission. The towns often assumed the right of recognizing the formation of gilds, which was regarded as a perfectly legitimate exercise of municipal powers. The regulations of the craft were subject to the periodical approval of the municipal officers, and the gilds were formed and recognized as welcome auxiliaries to the means for the enforcement of the market laws. Care, indeed, must be taken not to exaggerate the involuntary character of the unions, for the early rights of the craft gilds were probably, in part at least, the growth of self-assertion. But, above all, the ordinances were the outgrowth of a general medieval policy.

Their constitution resembled that of the gilds-merchant. The unions known by the names of mystery, faculty, trade, fellowship, or (from the fact of possessing particular costumes) livery company, were divided into two or three categories. At the side of the alderman or master, the chief officer, stood four or six wardens or searchers who possest the general authority to inspect work and rectify abuses. As in all gilds, the social gatherings, processions, and annual feasts played a great rôle, and we find here and there provisions for the common welfare, assistance to the needy, and the maintenance of a chaplain. But these few ordinances of a charitable character played an exceedingly insignificant part in the constitution of the craft gilds. The true significance of the crafts was economic, not social.

Constitution

Membership in the gild in the period of their prosperity depended on full citizenship. Non-citizens, whether aliens or simple strangers, enjoyed but a precarious position. The qualification of freeman was necessarily relaxed in the case of women, who were also admitted as members, for certain occupations were almost exclusively conducted by them.

But participation in the franchise was not enough. A perfect acquaintance with the details of the trade and the ability to produce good work were in all cases preliminary requisites. In fact, the main provisions of the craft, the very soul of its constitution, were the regulations intended to insure the excellence of the products and the capacity of the workman. The ordinances almost invariably commence with a recital of the various subterfuges employed by knavish artificers to deceive the public.

The whole character of the craft gild is seen by these regulations to be due to the compulsion of the city authorities rather than to any philanthropic anxiety on the part of the trades. Carefully ascertained rules as to the exact proportion and quality of the raw materials were prescribed with great minuteness; the mixing of good and bad wares was strictly prohibited, and the greatest care was exercised in the selection of proper tools.

Similar considerations led to the prohibition of night-work or sales by candle-light. Said an edict: "The spurriers shall not work after curfew, 'by reason that no man can work so neatly by night as by day,' and especially because many persons 'compass how to practise deception in their work,' and introduce false and cracked iron for tin and put gilt on false copper."

It was imperative on the craftsman to furnish an adequate guaranty of his fitness to join the gild and produce good work. This guaranty consisted in the fact of a previous apprenticeship and the evidence of a good moral character. The apprenticeship continued as a rule for seven years, when, in Germany at least, the apprentice was given an opportunity to travel (Wanderjahre) and study his craft in other cities. On his return home he was expected to produce some masterpiece to show his skill, and only then was he admitted into the gild of his trade.

These regulations were but a part of the whole medieval system. The Middle Ages were a period of customary, not of competitive prices, and the idea of permitting agreements to be decided by the "higgling of the market" was an impossibility, because the laws of the market were not left to the free arbitrament of the contracting parties. The severance of occupations was imposed upon the trades, not spontaneously adopted by them, and the medieval statutes teem with provisions of this nature, as, for instance, that shoemakers shall not be tanners, brewers not be coopers, cordwainers not be curriers, butchers not be cooks, drapers not be "litsters," while a statute of 1363 admonishes all artificers and handicraft people to use only one mystery or occupation.

Trade System

But the subordination of the gilds to the general laws of the realm constitutes only one half of the explanation. The other half must be sought in the commanding influence of the towns in economic life. All powers of market and social police were from the first massed in the hands of the urban authorities. The gilds developed and were developed by this life. They aided, too, in art and religion.

All medieval gilds, as has been said, were largely religious; and Gierke says in his "Deutsches Genossenschafts-Recht" (p. 227): "As a religious community, as a union for worship, which probably the name signifies, every gild had a patron saint, whose name it bore, and by whom its members swore, and an altar of its own, which it maintained. The erection of benevolent institutions, perpetual masses, and similar gifts to the Church, the giving of alms and the assistance of pilgrims, the maintenance of altar lights, and other pious acts were matters of the union and among its purposes."

Says Mr. J. Bleecker Miller: "That was a time when the *Cathedral* system was the religious or-

ganization of a great city, with its centralized government under one head, its chapter of priests who attended to the religious wants of the city as a whole, and with the citizens divided according to their trades and professions into smaller religious and political communities, called gilds."

The gilds did much for charity. A brother of the craft would give house and lands to better the annual feast, which the craft always held; or he might found a school, a hospital, or an almshouse, and after defining the amount of his benefaction, would leave the surplus, if any, to the discretion of the gild. Or he would make the gild the trustees of the fund, from which the mass priest should receive his stipend for spiritual offices, the residue being left to the gild as remuneration for management. Occasionally the corporations bargained for the amount of the spiritual service, and refused to agree to a proposal which might be too costly for the fund to bear. They exacted fees for apprenticeship, for taking up freedom by inheritance or servitude, and more lately for admission into the gild by purchase. Like prudent men, who might be liable to occasional charges, they saved and invested these funds, as also gifts for lending without usury to poorer citizens, for apprenticing poor boys or girls, or for marriage portions, or for widows' pensions, or for the relief of the destitute members of the craft, the first and the most enduring duty of the gild. The gild estates, the chest of the company, its revenues and rents, were, like the endowments of an academical college, at once the support of the fraternity and the means by which the discipline of the order or craft was maintained.

Of their life Seligman says:

> But there was no monopoly or exaggerated exclusiveness. Any one could become apprentice, and the number was limited only by the ability of the master to support them or by considerations of a police nature. The apprentice formed a member of the master's family. For the principles of the law of parent and child were made applicable to a certain extent, and all responsibility for purchases of the apprentices as well as for their behavior were imposed on the masters by city ordinance. From one of the indentures that have been preserved we can obtain a clear view of his position. The apprentice is to keep his master's secrets, do him no injury, nor commit excessive waste of his goods. He is not to frequent taverns, commit fornication or adultery with the housemaids or in town, nor betroth himself without his master's permission. He is not to wear certain garments, play at dice, checkers, or any other unlawful game, but is to conduct himself soberly and piously as a good and faithful servant, or in default to serve double time. The master, on the other hand, agrees to find him in all necessaries, food, clothing, bed, and so on, for four years. In the fifth year he finds himself, but receives 20*s.* and the tools of the trade; and in the sixth year he gets 40*s.*, but finds his own tools. The master agrees on his side to teach him the craft without any concealment. . . .
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> The condition of the workmen proper was essentially similar. They were known by the various names of varlet, sergeant, yeoman, garson, bachelor, allowe, and journeyman, and were taken for any stipulated period, although probably at first engaged by the day, as the last term implies. Restrictions were rarely placed on their number; but the necessities of a small household would in general preclude the master from employing more than a limited number. . . .
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> All possible disputes were settled primarily by the wardens, some of whom were in certain crafts chosen from the ranks of the journeymen themselves. If the master refused to give the stipulated wages, the wardens forbade him to work until the obligation should be fulfilled. The journeyman was likewise protected against other exactions on the part of unscrupulous masters, such as attempts to compel him to serve beyond his time or against his will, while a stimulus was given to loyal fidelity by prescribing assistance out of the gild funds in case of illness or misfortune. . . .
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> But a conflict of interests was in general unknown. The journeyman always looked forward to the period when he would be admitted to the freedom of the trade. This was a rule not difficult for an expert workman to attain. No insuperable obstacle was thrown in his path. In fact, there was no superabundance of skilled labor at this time. It was a period of supremacy of labor over capital, and the master worked beside the artizan.

V. Journeymen's Associations

Naturally, however, there were sporadic cases of disaffection on the part of workmen against imagined or real maltreatment by the master. Out of them came the journeymen's associations. Thus in 1303, in one of the earliest craft ordinances that we possess, the journeymen cordwainers of London are forbidden to assemble or make any provisions prejudicial to their masters or to the public. But altho this, as well as the similar case of the journeymen weavers in 1362, resembles to a certain degree our modern strike and boycott, it is not indicative of any general banding together of the men against the employers.

At first these associations were simple fraternities of a social character. They were considered harmless and in most cases freely permitted. Sometimes, however, they were prohibited, as tending to weaken the paternal authority of the craftsmen. The "congregations" of the journeymen cordwainers above mentioned were doubtless of this class, and continued, for over three quarters of a century later they are again charged with making an illegal fraternity, for which they sought a confirmation from the Pope. The general proclamation of 1383 was, however, not directed especially against such associations, as has been represented. For this forbade conspiracies and combinations of all kinds, and did not mention the workmen at all. Probably the regulation was designed to prevent the recurrence of such riots as had taken place during Wat Tyler's uprising in 1381. The character of the early journeymen's gilds is shown by their fraternities in Coventry, where the journeymen or young people of various trades, "observing what merry meetings and feasts their masters had, themselves wanted the like pleasure, and did therefore of their own accord assemble together, and for their better conjunction make choice of a master with clerks and officers." But as this was found to be to "the prejudice of the other gilds and disturbance of the city," the mayor and citizens petitioned the king, in 1425, to abolish them.

The journeymen's associations which later seem to have been quite common (for a statute of 1402 speaks of "fraternities or gilds of servants" in general) were thus mere social brotherhoods, formed by the young "desirous of merry meetings and feasts." It is not permissible to cite them as proving any conflict between labor and capital at this period. The unions were everywhere confined to the youths, who in turn gradually became masters and were enrolled as full members of the craft gild proper. But gradually this changed. The gilds became too rich and strong, and were hated. Says Professor James, in a chapter written for McNeill's "Labor Movement":

> **Downfall**
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> The complaints about the heartless policy of the gilds began as early as the fifteenth century, and did not die out until the gilds themselves died. During the fifteenth century the abolition of the gilds was demanded on this ground. When Henry III., of France, in 1581, extended the provisions of the gilds to all branches of mechanical industry in France, the Parliament refused at first to register the edict. In 1614, the third estate in France moved the abolition of the gilds; in 1624, a party in the city council of Bremen; in 1669, the Elector of Brandenburg, in the German Parliament, made the same motion. In Prussia, beginning with 1688, a series of laws was adopted looking toward the reformation of the gilds in the direction of greater freedom, and in the interest of a growing industry. But the chief attack upon the old gild system came on its theoretical side from Adam Smith and the French Physiocrats.

God, said the physiocratic school of economists, made the right to labor the property of every person by giving to every one wants and referring him to labor as a means of satisfying them. This property is the first in order of time, the most holy and the most inalienable. Owing to the restrictions on labor maintained by the gilds, the poor are condemned to protract a precarious existence under the control of the masters, to linger in poverty or to betake themselves and their industry to foreign lands. Just as the whole existing system of law had proceeded from the selfish efforts of privileged classes, who resisted every reform, so in making the regulations in regard to organization of the system of apprentices and journeymen the councilors of the government had always been the employers. They served merely to secure to the masters the labor of the apprentice for a long time at a very low rate of wages or for no wages at all; to keep down the wages of the journeyman and to diminish competition by limiting the number of masters. It is one of the first duties of justice to free those whose only property consists in the skill and strength of their hands from the limitations placed upon them by the gilds.

Justice and economic expediency thus united in demanding the freedom of labor. The same demand for freedom of industry and of contract was made by those interested in the large industry which was now beginning to rise in England. The gild system was in the interest of the small employer, but opposed to the interest of the large employer. The mere requirement that a man should have passed through an apprenticeship, and, on the Continent, a journeymanship also, stood in the way of those who wished to utilize their capital.

Thus theory and pecuniary interest united in demanding the abolition of the old system. In France, the old system was abolished on the memorable night of Aug. 4, 1789. In Germany, Prussia, in 1810, was the first to do away with the old system completely. England, under the control of the large capitalists, abolished the apprentice law of 1562 in 1814.

The prohibitions of coalitions of laborers were, however, left on the statute-books. The prohibitions in England were abolished by the law of 1824. In France they were not abolished until 1864; for all Germany not until 1871; for Austria in 1870. Nevertheless, many traces of the mediæval gilds still remain, especially in England. (See LONDON.)

In Scotland, the companies of merchant freemen still exercise great power, and the magistrate next in rank to the mayor (provost) is the dean of the gild. But all these modern city gilds are mainly mere inherited monopolies.

REFERENCES: *The Ancient Lowly*, by C. Osborn Ward, 1886; *On the History and Development of Guilds*, by L. Brentano, 1870; *Ten Chapters on the Mediæval Guilds of England*, by G. R. A. Seligman, 1887.

GILL, ALFRED HENRY: English Labor Member of Parliament; born at Rochdale, 1856; commenced work at seven by selling newspapers; and at ten was employed as half-timer in a cotton-mill. At the age of twenty-three he went to Oldham, where he worked as a cotton-spinner. In 1886 he became chairman of the Crompton cooperative society, and ten years later was appointed general secretary of the Bolton Operative Spinners' Association. In 1899 he became a justice of the peace. Elected to Parliament in 1906 for the District of Bolton, he was chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades-Union Congress for 1906–7. *Address*: 61 Hampden Street, Bolton, England.

GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS (formerly MRS. STETSON): American author and lecturer; born in Hartford, Conn., 1860. She early took an active interest in social matters, and in 1890 began lecturing in California for the Nationalists; since then she has lectured in all parts of the United States and in England. She has been identified with the Socialist Party, the People's Party, and, especially, the Woman's Movement. For nine months (1895–96) she was engaged in settlement work in Chicago. Mrs. Gilman is a liberal Socialist. She advocates the economic independence of women; and she believes that social life is organic, that industries are the organic functions of society, and that human work is not proportioned according to individual desire but to the social energy previously supplied to the individual. Hence she maintains that property rights inhere in the consumer's needs, because only when these needs are met can society secure his best product. Among her works may be mentioned: "In This Our World," a volume of verse, 1898; "Women and Economics," 1898; "Concerning Children," 1900; "The Home," 1903; "Human Work," 1904. *Address*: 179 West Seventy-sixth Street, New York City.

GILMAN, NICHOLAS PAINE: American clergyman and sociologist; born in Quincy, Ill., 1849. His early education was obtained in the public schools and academies of Maine and New Hampshire, and at the Harvard Divinity School, from which he was graduated in 1871. From 1872–84, with the exception of 1878–81, when he was professor in Antioch College, he was pastor of Unitarian churches in Scituate, Bolton, and Wayland, Mass. Mr. Gilman was associate editor of the *Unitarian Review* of Boston, 1885–90; editor of the *Literary World* of Boston, 1888–96; and editor of *The New World*, 1892–1900. From 1892 to 1896 he was secretary of the Association for the Promotion of Profit Sharing, and editor of *Employer and Employed*. In 1895 he became professor of sociology in Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pa. In addition to numerous articles on religious and theological subjects, he has written: "Profit Sharing between Employer and Employee," 1889; "Laws of Daily Conduct," 1891; "Socialism and the American Spirit," 1893; "A Dividend to Labor," 1899; "Methods of Industrial Peace," 1904. *Address*: Meadville, Pa.

GIOJA, MELCHIORRE: Italian economist; born in Piacenza, Italy, 1767. Receiving priest's orders, he welcomed the entry of the French into Italy, and argued for the establishment of an Italian republic. Made State historian, he lost this position by a work he wrote on divorce (1803), and being afterward placed in charge of the Italian statistics, he lost this office by his criticism of State officials. He was in prison for eight months in 1820 on a charge of conspiring with the Carbonari. Gioja was among the foremost Italian economists of his day, a leader in statistical science, and a critical student of all economical schools. He largely favored State interference. Among his works are: "Nuovo Prospetto delle Scienze Economiche," 1815–19; and "Filosofia della Statistica," 1826. He died in 1829.

GIRLS' FRIENDLY SOCIETY, THE: A society organized in England for women of all ages and of all ranks of society in all parts of the world for mutual help. Its aim is declared to be to set before its members a high ideal of purity of thought, word, and deed; to help them to be true to that ideal; to be a standing witness to the possibility of purity of life and conduct for every

woman and girl in the land; to guard the hundreds of thousands of girls who are growing up to womanhood from acknowledged dangers, and to extend to them the boon of loving Christian fellowship and of fellowship in Christian work.

The various departments include help for sick members, the care of workhouse children, registry work, protection in emigration and in traveling, the provision of lodges and recreation rooms, industrial training, and the encouragement of temperance and thrift. There are 1,442 branches and 164,174 members. The patroness of the English society is the queen and the society enrolls some 300,000. *Secretary*: Miss Ethel Smith. Central office: 39, Victoria Street, Westminster, S. W.

The Girls' Friendly Society in America was organized 1877. It has 487 branches and 5,848 associates and 23,714 members and probationers in the United States. *General Secretary*: Miss Eve Alexander, 659 West Lexington Street, Baltimore, Md. Central office: Church Mission House, New York City.

GLADDEN, WASHINGTON: American author and clergyman; born at Pottsgrove, Pa., 1836; was graduated from Williams College in 1859 (D.D., LL.D.). He entered the Congregational ministry and held several pastorates; since 1882 that of the First Congregational Church at Columbus, Ohio. He has been a voluminous writer of books and articles, particularly on Christian social problems and work. He represents the progressive, tho not radical, Christian Social thought, favoring many socialist proposals and principles; yet he is not a Socialist. Recently he attained particular prominence by urging that the Congregational Missionary Society should return a large gift from Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, on the ground that it was "tainted money." Among his works may be mentioned: "Working Men and Their Employers," 1876; "Applied Christianity," 1887; "Tools and the Man," 1893; and "Christianity and Socialism," 1905. *Address*: Columbus, Ohio.

GLASGOW: Among the cities of the world Glasgow has a preeminent reputation for the boldness of its municipal enterprise. It is, however, seriously handicapped, as compared with many European towns, by the fact that it has been built almost entirely on privately owned land, a circumstance which renders every improvement scheme highly expensive. The local habit, too, of building the dwellings in tenement blocks of four flats or stories, with one outer entrance and inner staircase common to them all, and in which, as a rule, some twelve families reside, causes a great crowding of the population. Except in the outskirts of the city, there are no gardens or front plots whatever, each tenement block being provided with an asphalted back court with a common wash-house and ash-pit. It takes a vast deal of municipal improvement to give a favorable aspect to a city so closely built as this, with the children compelled to pass their outdoor life on the streets. The streets themselves, however, are wide and excellently made; and in the center of the city there are numerous handsome warehouses, shops, and public buildings. Next to London, Glasgow has the largest population of any British town. Within the municipal boundaries it has 800,000 inhabitants; with suburbs included there are about 1,000,000 (1906). About one fifth of the people are of Irish birth or descent. The chief industries are engineering, iron-founding, ship-building, and textile manufactures. Its shipping is the greatest in the world, and its warehouse accommodation and general commercial trade is unrivaled for a town of its size. Its university and its other educational institutions are of a high rank. Lord Kelvin, the famous physicist, was professor in the university for some forty years.

Municipal Enterprises

The era of municipal enterprise in Glasgow began with its water scheme in 1860, the first great undertaking of the kind in Britain. Previous to that time the city had been poorly supplied with water by a private company, a number of old wells, and the muddy water of the river Clyde. The municipality boldly launched out on a scheme to bring the water from Loch Katrine, thirty-seven miles away, at an initial cost of $10,000,000. Since then additional culverts have been laid, until the total capital invested in the enterprise amounts to more than $20,000,000. The charge for water is rated as low as fivepence in the pound, as compared with one shilling and twopence (nearly treble the price) charged by the old, private company. Nevertheless, after allowing for all expenditures, including sinking-fund and interest on capital, a clear profit of some $21,000 is carried forward every year. Glasgow was also one of the first cities to municipalize its gas supply (1869) at an initial cost of over $2,500,000, since increased by extensions of the system to $10,500,000. Again, notwithstanding that the rate charged per thousand cubic feet has been reduced from 4*s.* 7*d.* to 2*s.* 1*d.*, and after allowing for all expenditures, including sinking-fund and interest on capital, a net profit of $250,000 is available every year toward paying off the debt. The city also owns its electric supply, from which it derives considerable profit; and it was the first British town to adopt a municipal telephone service in competition with the private National Telephone Company, reducing the charges by one half, and again making a profit. This service was sold at cost price in 1906 to the Government Postal Department, which intends taking over the entire telephone systems of the country.

City Improvement Trust

Another great scheme adopted by Glasgow was that of the City Improvement Trust (1866), which, together with subsequent improvements and housing schemes, has quite remodeled the central part of the city. Slums have been swept away, streets widened, and artizans' dwellings erected; so that the old "salt market," "High Street," and other quarters made famous by Sir Walter Scott's novels have been modernized beyond all recognition. These improvements have not, however, been accomplished without contingent drawbacks. The squalid and criminal classes have been dispersed among the more reputable working class population, where their depraved habits have had a contaminating effect. Thus it is said that drunkenness has been spreading among the working girls and women, and that the children's manners have suffered. "Hooliganism," too, is unfortunately wide-spread, chiefly, it is said, among the Irish laboring class. Perhaps the most doubtful of Glasgow's schemes is that of the Municipal Model Lodging Houses. There are some seven establishments of this kind, accom-

modating altogether (in 1905) 2,166 men and 248 women. Each person has a separate sleeping cubicle for which a charge of three and a half to four and a half pence a night is made; a common dining-room is provided; food is cooked free of further charge; and there are baths and recreation halls attached.

There are many social reformers who incline to the opinion that these Model Lodging Houses tend to lower the standard of living among the laboring class, and to discourage civic responsibility, home life, and regular habits. As a makeshift, however, they are a great improvement upon the dens formerly provided by private lodging-house keepers for that class of people. A notable experiment was made in 1896 by the establishment of a "family home" at a cost of $85,000. Its use is restricted to widowers with families. There are 160 bedrooms, each capable of accommodating one adult and three children, a common dining-room, kitchen with steam cooking boilers, a nursery, recreation hall, and baths. The rent is for a widower and one child $1 a week, and with three children $1.25. Board, consisting of breakfast, dinner, and tea, is at the rate of twenty-four cents per day for adults, forty-four cents a week for one child, and $1 a week for three children. Children of school age are sent to the public schools, and those under school age are nursed and cared for during the day. At present the home just about clears its expenses.

Glasgow is the pioneer of municipal trolleys, and the remarkable success of its system has led other towns in Britain to follow its example.

Street-Cars

Perhaps, too, the fame of its profitable enterprise in this direction has been one of the chief incentives in the great movement in favor of municipal socialism in Britain. It is also worthy of note that the demand for the municipalization of the trolley service in Glasgow was chiefly due to the propaganda of the Socialists in the Trades Council and among the electorate of the city. The cars were taken over from the existing private company in 1892. Since then the municipality has electrified and greatly extended the system. The economic results have been most striking. The wages of the men, which formerly ranged from as low as 16*s*. a week, are now fixt at a minimum of 25*s*., and at the same time the hours of work have been shortened from an average of thirteen or fourteen to ten hours a day. The minimum fare has been lowered from one penny to half a penny, and fares for long distances have been so much reduced that it has been calculated that in fares alone the community now saves over $1,000,000 a year. In addition to this there is a net profit, after paying interest on capital and allowing for a sinking-fund, etc., of about $1,000,000 a year, of which about $850,000 is retained for depreciation and a reserve fund, and about $150,000 is contributed to the rates. The system now extends to neighboring towns seven or eight miles east and west from the center of the city, and the municipality manufactures some of its own cars.

Sewage Disposal

At enormous cost Glasgow has recently been engaged in disposing of its sewage so as to avoid polluting the river. Two great underground conduits have now been made on the north side of the river by which the sewage is collected and treated by chemical precipitation and filtration, the solid matter being afterward pressed into cakes and sold as a manure. Another conduit is being made on the south side, and when this is completed the entire sewage of the city will be disposed of by this method. In 1868 Glasgow decided to establish a Cleansing Department, and now the whole work of scavengering is done by its own staff. The refuse is sifted, a portion being sent to the destructors and a portion being sold to farmers, for which purpose the Cleansing Department owns nearly 1,000 railway wagons. The wharves and docks and the navigation of the river are under the management of a public trust on which the City Council is represented.

The city owns six large public halls in several of which municipal concerts and organ recitals are given every Saturday afternoon during the greater part of the year for a nominal charge. Band performances are also given in the public parks. There are eight splendid municipal bathing establishments, and free libraries are established in every district. The city owns half a dozen great public parks, as well as a fine suburban estate recently gifted to it. A unique possession is a large mountain headland, some ten miles long and one to three miles broad, situated between two beautiful arms of the Firth of Clyde, about thirty miles from the city, which by the terms of the gift must forever be retained as a holiday ground for the people. The city also owns a small island and several farms upon which experiments with the unemployed are being made.

The further municipal undertakings must be briefly summarized. There are public markets, abattoirs, technical colleges, boarding-schools, children's gymnasia, art-galleries, a People's Recreation Palace, bowling-greens, wash-houses, lunatic asylums, hospitals for infectious diseases, fire-brigades, etc. The City Council is also agitating strongly to obtain powers from Parliament to tax land values, and the more advanced section of its members are pressing proposals for municipal fire-insurance, coal-supply, milk-depots, and bakeries.

The Corporation of Glasgow consists of the Lord Provost, bailies, and town councilors, the latter being elected for a term of three years. The councilors in turn elect from among themselves

City Government

the bailies who act as magistrates in the police courts, but, unlike aldermen in England, have no extended term of office. The Lord Provost is chosen annually by the Council. Until the advent of the Labor Party (about 1890) the Council elections were not fought on political or party lines; each candidate stood solely upon his own record or program. There is now, however, a tendency for candidates to come forward as nominees of sections such as the Ratepayers or Anti-Municipalization Party, the Temperance Party, and the Labor Party. The last named numbers about a dozen in a council, which is composed of about eighty representatives, but the majority of the members are usually favorable to progressive enterprises.

Recently an attempt has been made to lessen the drunkenness of the city by the restriction of licenses and the closing of public houses (which open at 8 A.M.) at 10 P.M., an hour earlier than formerly. In Glasgow, as in all Scottish towns, public houses are completely closed on Sundays. It is noticeable that in recent years the strict religious observance of Sunday has disappeared, Sunday concerts and political meetings and all

manner of pleasure-seeking being now quite common in the city.

J. Bruce Glasier.

GLASIER, J. BRUCE: Scotch Socialist and editor; born in Glasgow, 1859. As a boy he herded sheep in the county of Ayr, and later was apprenticed to an architect, and afterwards engaged in designing art metal work. One of the first avowed Socialists in the modern movement in Britain, as far back as 1879 and 1880 he advocated Socialist views in Glasgow. He took an active part in the Henry George, Crofter, and Irish Land League agitations. Together with a few other Socialists he founded the Social Democratic Federation in Scotland, but seceded from that body when the Socialist League was formed in 1884. Glasier was for many years the most active apostle of socialism in Scotland, writing locally but contributing also articles to Morris's *Commonweal*. He joined the Independent Labor Party on its formation in 1893, and in the same year married the young Socialist speaker Katherine St. John Conway; since then both have devoted their lives to the Socialist agitation. Glasier was elected chairman of the Independent Labor Party in succession to Keir Hardie; and at the general election in 1906 he contested the Bordesley division of Birmingham as a Socialist. He is now (1907) editor of the *Labor Leader*, which, under his management, has become the chief organ of the Socialist and the Labor movements in Great Britain. Author of numerous socialist pamphlets and songs. *Address*: Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire, England.

GLENN, JOHN M.: Secretary of the Sage Endowment (*q. v.*); born Baltimore, 1858; graduated at Washington and Lee University; was admitted to the Maryland bar 1881, and actively practised law ten years. Increasingly interested in practical philanthropies, he has since devoted his time wholly to philanthropic work. He became chairman of the joint executive committee of the Federated Charities of Baltimore, secretary of the State Tuberculosis Commission, lecturer on social work at Johns Hopkins University, president of the National Conferences of Charities and Corrections (1901); since 1904 president of the Supervisors of City Charities. In 1907 he was chosen first director of the Sage Endowment. His wife, Mrs. Mary W. B. Glenn, has been his active associate, as also secretary of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society. *Address*: 30 Broad Street, New York City.

GLOVER, THOMAS: English Labor Member of Parliament; born at Prescot, Lancashire, 1852; worked in the coal mines at the age of nine; and in 1867 was appointed secretary of a local branch of the Miners' Union. In 1880 he was instrumental in founding the St. Helens District Miners' Association; and he also helped to found the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. He has been treasurer of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation since 1905, and in 1906 was returned to Parliament from St. Helens. *Address*: 56 Bickerstaffe Street, St. Helens, Lancaster, England.

GOBLET, RENÉ MARIE: French Socialist; born at Aire, Pas-de-Calais, 1828; entered the legal profession, then journalism, and, later, politics. In 1870 he was procureur-général at Amiens; and in 1871 a representative for La Somme, being a Republican of the Left, and tho at first a supporter of the government, he gradually became more and more independent. From January to August, 1882, he held the portfolio of the Interior in the Freycinet Cabinet; and from April, 1885, to December, 1886, that of Public Instruction under Brisson. From 1886–87 he was President of the Council; and from April, 1888, to April, 1889, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is considered a leading Socialist in French Government circles. In 1891 he was elected a senator for the Department of the Seine, and in 1893 a deputy from the first arrondissement of Paris. Failing of reelection in 1898 he retired to private life. Besides numerous essays, etc., he has published: "La Revision de la Constitution," 1893.

GODIN, JEAN BAPTISTE ANDRÉ: French politician; founder of the *Familistère* at Guise; born at Esquehéries, Aisne, 1817. Early engaging in industry, in 1847 he moved his works to Guise, and became interested in cooperation as a disciple of Fourier. In 1859 he commenced his famous *Familistère*, or communal home, and rapidly developed it. In 1870 he was elected Mayor of Guise, and in 1871 representative for Aisne. In 1871 he published his "Solutions Sociales," an account of his *Familistère*. He fully established profit-sharing in 1876, and in 1886 made the *Familistère de Guise* a cooperative society, associating in his firm thirty-two clerks or workmen. From 1876–88 the average sales were 3,935,600 francs, with a gross profit of 735,000 frs., which were distributed among the workmen, the capital, the common fund, the educational fund, and the sinking-fund. The *Familistère* is organized like a great family. It has its buildings for habitation, baking-house, steward's office, nursery, schools, pension bank, and insurance office. In 1888 the corporation had 13 *associés*, 67 *sociétaires*, and 52 *participants*, out of 1,237 employees. The industry carried on is the making of stoves, ovens, and smaller hardware. There are three big buildings with 1,800 inhabitants, each family having two or three rooms. Each building encloses an interior court, covered with a glass roof and paved with cement. The building is four stories high. The stores of the association on the lowest story of the central portion of the building contain whatever is necessary for ordinary need and comfort, without reference to luxuries. The social palace can accommodate 1,500 persons, who can do their marketing and shopping under covered galleries, without traversing more than 200 yards. Much attention is given to education. Babies can be left by their mothers in a *crèche* from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M. There is considerable social life. Godin died in 1888.

GODWIN, MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT: English educational reformer; born at Hoxton, a district of London, 1759. Forced early to earn her own living, she became governess in the family of Lord Kingsborough, in Ireland. She soon resolved to devote herself altogether to literary work, and began to translate from the French. In 1792 appeared her best known work, "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman." Her book was mainly a plea for equality of education, for State education, and for the joint education of the sexes. It was a strong protest against the assumption that woman was only the plaything of man; and

she asserted that intellectual companionship was the chief and lasting happiness of marriage. She daringly dealt with dangerous questions, incidentally upheld greater freedom of divorce, and denied the eternity of the torments of hell. Having great sympathy with the ideas back of the French Revolution, she went to Paris and remained there during the Reign of Terror. In 1796 she was married to William Godwin, and died in giving birth to a daughter, who became the wife of the poet Shelley.

GODWIN, WILLIAM: English clergyman and writer; born at Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, 1756; son of a Nonconformist minister. Educated for his father's profession, he was at first more Calvinistic than his teachers, becoming a Sandemanian, of which sect he says that they were the followers of "a celebrated north-country apostle, who, after Calvin had damned ninety-nine in a hundred of mankind, has contrived a scheme for damning ninety-nine in a hundred of the followers of Calvin."

Acquaintance with French revolutionary thought led Godwin to exchange the pulpit for the pen, and he removed to London to engage in literature. His first work, "Historical Sketches," met with no success, and he was reduced to penury and despair; but through his work he became acquainted with Fox, Sheridan, and other Whig leaders, and he turned his attention to politics. The American Revolution, closely followed by that of France, excited the public mind, and in 1793 Godwin wrote his "Inquiry Concerning Political Justice." This was followed by "The Adventures of Caleb Williams," a remarkable novel, intended to illustrate his political views.

In 1796 Godwin married Mary Wollstonecraft. Since both held the same views regarding the slavery of marriage, and since they only married at all for the sake of possible offspring, the marriage was concealed for some time, and the happiness of the avowed married life was very brief. Mrs. Godwin died in giving birth to a daughter, afterward the second wife of Percy Bysshe Shelley. The cares of a family led him to contract a second marriage with Mrs. Clairmont in 1800.

Godwin wrote school-books; an admirable "Life of Chaucer" (1801); "Fleetwood," a novel (3 vols., 1803); "Mandeville" (1817); a "Treatise on Population," a refutation of Malthus (1820); a "History of the Republic of England" (4 vols., 1824–28); "Cloudesley" (1830); "Thoughts on Man" (1833). As he grew old, he modified his opinions on politics and society, and especially on marriage, which he warmly commends in some of his later works. He was appointed to a government position, but continued to write, "Deloraine," a novel, and "Lives of the Necromancers" being among his latest works. Many of his books were translated into foreign languages. He died in London in 1836.

Godwin was an intense individualist, holding that all control of man by man was wrong, and that government must disappear. But all was to be done by discussion, and matured change resulting from discussion. His "Political Justice" almost created the English radicalism of the early part of the century, and led to the milder liberalism of to-day. In it he maintained that natural relationship had no claim on man, nor was gratitude to parents or benefactors any part of justice or virtue. Property was to belong to him who most wants it; accumulated property was a monstrous injustice. Hence marriage, which is law, is the worst of all laws, and property the worst of all properties. His life was published in 1876 in two volumes, under the title "William Godwin, His Friends and Contemporaries."

GOEHRE, PAUL: Socialist writer; born April 18, 1864, at Wurzen, Saxony; studied theology at Leipsic, 1885–88; became assistant pastor at Schönbach and Löbau; was at the same time associate editor of the *Christliche Welt*. Deeply interested in social and industrial conditions, he entered a factory at Chemnitz as a common laborer in the spring of 1890. He later described his experiences in a book, "Drei Monate Fabrickarbeiter und Handwerksbursche" (Three Months in a Factory), 1891; he went then to Berlin to study political economy, and became (1891) general secretary of the Evangelical Social Congress, and while in this office he conducted an inquiry into the condition of agricultural laborers. In 1894 he became pastor of a church in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where he had mostly working men in his congregation. He resigned in 1897, and was with Naumann (*q. v.*) one of the founders of the National-Sozialen Party (*q. v.*), but disagreed with its tendency, and joined the Social Democrats in 1899. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1903, but resigned owing to attacks made on him by some of the members of the party. Author: "The Evangelical Social Movement: Its History and Aims," 1896; "How a Clergyman Became a Socialist," 1900; "Socialism and Liberalism," 1902; "Recollections of a Workingman," 1903.

GOLD AND SILVER: The color, luster, and power of resisting oxidation possessed by gold have caused it to be considered a precious metal from the earliest times. Allusions to gold are frequent in the Jewish Scriptures and in classical writings. Jewelry and vessels found in Egyptian, Greek, and Trojan tombs show the perfection attained in working gold, while the value attached to it is shown by its being used in religious worship and in its being chosen by the poets to describe the glory of the gods.

I. Supply of Gold

The ancient supply of gold seems to have come from Eastern Africa, and around the sources of the Indus. In the times of the Romans gold does not seem to have been so abundant, tho gold was worked near Apulia and in Spain. After the discovery of America it was brought in large quantities from Mexico, Brazil, and other South American countries. Between 1829 and 1838 it was found in Siberia and largely exported. The great gold-fields of California were discovered in 1848, by accident, by a Mr. Marshall, who found particles of gold-dust in a mill-race on the estate of a Captain Sutter. It led to intense excitement.

In Feb., 1851, the gold-fields of Australia were discovered near Bathurst by a Mr. Hargraves, and this led to a series of discoveries, and a rush to Australia (*q. v.*). Gold was discovered in South Africa in 1867, but the great gold-mines of the Transvaal were not actively worked till the early eighties, since when they have grown into a leading position. The most famous gold-mines of

Europe are those of Hungary and Transylvania. The great Alaskan discoveries and the rush to the Klondike began in 1897.

The greater part of the gold of the world is obtained by washing from detrital deposits along the beds of rivers; a smaller quantity is obtained by crushing and washing quartz.

II. Silver

Silver, like gold, has been known and prized from the earliest ages. Phidon, King of Ægina, is said to have struck coins in silver B.C. 869. Silver currency was adopted by the Romans in 269 B.C. It was largely used by Greek and Roman artists. The silver-mines of Mexico were, however, until quite recently, by far the richest known to exist. Until the remarkable discoveries of silver ore in Nevada and adjoining states in 1859 and 1860, Chile and Peru had long stood next to Mexico in their yield. Bolivia is also rich in silver. Of European countries, Spain is the most productive.

The great silver-mining industry of the U. S. had no existence before 1860. The prospectors and pioneers who traversed Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, seeking for gold, in the years between 1850 and 1860, fell upon silver unexpectedly. The greatest silver-mine ever known was discovered in this way in 1858–59, on the eastern foot-hills of the Sierra Nevada. This was the celebrated "Comstock" mine, which was found by James Shinney and Henry Comstock, who parted with their interests for a trifle, not knowing its value. A portion of the mine was worked in 1860–61, and by 1865 it had yielded the value of $30,000,000; and a city of 20,000 inhabitants was planted on its site. Idaho and Montana became silver-bearing territory. Up to 1879 the value of the silver yield of Colorado was about only $16,000,000. Two years later the mines of Leadville, alone, not discovered till 1877, yielded as much.

III. Statistics

All the statistics, except as stated, are from the report of the Director of the U. S. Mint (1906):

In the calendar year 1905 the world produced 18,243,911 fine ounces of gold of the value of $377,135,100, exceeding 1904 by 1,453,560 fine ounces, or $30,047,800, equivalent to 8.6 + per cent.

The greatest increase, 1,326,212 fine ounces, was in Africa, which was followed by the U. S. and Mexico, with 373,262 and 169,400 fine ounces, respectively. The largest decrease was in Russia.

The great producing countries were Africa, 5,482,296 ounces; the U. S., 4,265,742 ounces; Australasia, 4,156,692 ounces; Russia, 1,078,356 ounces; Mexico, 779,181 ounces; Canada, 700,800 ounces; and British India, 563,817 ounces. The British Empire leads with over 11,000,000 ounces, or about 60 per cent of the total. The U. S. produced 23 + per cent.

The world's product of silver in 1905 amounted to 167,727,934 fine ounces, of the commercial value, at 61 cents per ounce—the average price in New York in that year—of $102,314,000, an increase in production of 3,391,526 fine ounces over 1904, and an increase in value, owing to the rise in price of 3 cents per ounce, of $6,998,900.

Mexico held the first place with 65,040,865 fine ounces; the U. S. following with 56,101,600 ounces. The remaining large producers were Australasia, 12,561,600 ounces; Canada, 5,974,875 ounces; Germany, 5,820,947 ounces, and Peru, 5,169,659 ounces.

The commercial value of the world's production of the precious metals in 1905 was $479,449,100, an increase as compared with the value of the yield of 1904 of $34,890,600.

1. Production of Gold and Silver in the U. S., 1905

State or Territory	Gold	Silver	Total value (silver at commercial value)
	Value	Commercial value	
Alabama	$41,500	$183	$41,683
Alaska	14,925,600	103,212	15,028,812
Arizona	2,691,300	1,589,477	4,280,777
California	19,197,100	660,020	19,857,120
Colorado	25,701,100	7,895,108	33,596,208
Georgia	94,800	549	95,349
Idaho	1,075,600	4,956,616	6,032,216
Maryland	16,900	61	16,961
Michigan	.....	154,330	154,330
Missouri	.....	7,869	7,869
Montana	4,889,300	8,207,367	13,096,667
Nevada	5,359,100	3,576,735	8,935,835
New Mexico	265,800	216,489	482,289
North Carolina	123,900	8,052	131,952
Oregon	1,244,900	54,229	1,299,129
South Carolina	95,100	122	95,222
South Dakota	6,913,900	109,190	7,023,090
Tennessee	3,300	58,194	61,494
Texas	1,900	254,492	256,392
Utah	5,140,900	6,295,078	11,435,978
Virginia	5,000	122	5,122
Washington	370,000	72,834	442,834
Wyoming	23,700	1,647	25,347
Total	$88,180,700	$34,221,976	$122,402,676

2. Coinage of the United States since 1873

Fiscal Year	Gold	Silver	
	Value	Dollars coined	Subsidiary coined
1873	$35,249,337.00	$977,150	$1,968,645.50
1874	50,442,690.00	3,588,900	2,394,701.39
1875	33,553,965.00	5,697,500	4,372,868.00
1876	38,178,963.00	6,132,050	12,994,452.50
1877	44,078,199.00	9,162,900	19,387,035.00
1878	52,798,980.00	19,951,510	8,339,311.50
1879	40,986,912.00	27,227,500	382.50
1880	56,157,735.00	27,933,750	8,687.50
1881	78,733,864.00	27,637,955	12,011.75
1882	89,413,447.00	27,772,075	11,313.75
1883	35,936,928.00	28,111,119	724,351.15
1884	27,932,824.00	28,099,930	673,457.80
1885	24,861,123.00	28,528,552	320,407.65
1886	34,077,380.00	29,838,905	183,442.95
1887	22,393,279.00	33,266,831	1,099,652.75
1888	28,364,171.00	32,718,673	1,417,422.25
1889	25,543,910.00	33,793,860	721,686.40
1890	22,021,748.00	35,923,816	892,020.70
1891	24,172,203.00	36,232,802	2,039,218.35
1892	35,506,987.00	8,329,467	6,659,811.60
1893	30,038,140.00	5,343,715	7,217,220.90
1894	99,474,913.00	758	6,024,140.30
1895	43,933,475.00	3,956,011	5,113,469.60
1896	58,878,490.00	7,500,822	3,939,819.20
1897	71,646,705.00	21,203,701	3,124,085.65
1898	64,634,865.00	10,002,780	6,482,804.00
1899	108,177,180.00	18,254,709	9,466,877.65
1900	107,937,110.00	18,294,984	12,876,849.15
1901	99,065,715.00	24,298,850	10,966,648.50
1902	61,980,572.00	19,402,800	10,713,569.45
1903	45,721,773.00	17,972,785	8,023,751.25
1904	208,618,642.00	10,101,650	7,719,231.00
1905	79,983,692.00	310	9,123,660.60
1906	53,002,097.50	.....	4,016,368.10
Total	$1,933,498,014.50	$607,259,120	$169,029,376.34

3. Production of Gold and Silver in the World

(From 1493 to 1885 is from a table of averages for certain periods, compiled by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer; for the years 1886 to 1905 the production is the annual estimate of the Bureau of the Mint.)

Period	Gold		Silver	
	Annual average for period		Annual average for period	
	Fine ounces	Value	Fine ounces	Coining value
1493–1520	186,470	$3,855,000	1,511,050	$1,954,000
1521–44	230,194	4,759,000	2,899,930	3,740,000
1545–60	273,596	5,656,000	10,017,940	12,952,000
1561–80	219,906	4,546,000	9,628,925	12,450,000
1581–1600	237,267	4,905,000	13,467,635	17,413,000
1601–20	273,918	5,662,000	13,596,235	17,579,000
1621–40	266,845	5,516,000	12,654,240	16,361,000
1641–60	281,955	5,828,000	11,776,545	15,226,000
1661–80	297,709	6,154,000	10,834,550	14,008,000
1681–1700	346,095	7,154,000	10,992,085	14,212,000
1701–20	412,163	8,520,000	11,432,540	14,781,000
1721–40	613,422	12,681,000	13,803,080	17,924,000
1741–60	791,211	16,356,000	17,140,612	22,162,000
1761–80	665,666	13,761,000	20,985,591	27,133,000
1781–1800	571,948	11,823,000	28,261,779	36,540,000
1801–10	571,563	11,815,000	28,746,922	37,168,000
1811–20	367,957	7,606,000	17,385,755	22,479,000
1821–30	457,044	9,448,000	14,807,004	19,144,000
1831–40	652,291	13,484,000	19,175,867	24,793,000
1841–50	1,760,502	36,393,000	25,090,342	32,440,000
1851–55	6,410,324	132,513,000	28,488,597	36,824,000
1856–60	6,486,262	134,083,000	29,095,428	37,618,000
1861–65	5,949,582	122,989,000	35,401,972	45,772,000
1866–70	6,270,086	129,614,000	43,051,583	55,663,000
1871–75	5,591,014	115,577,000	63,317,014	81,864,000
1876–80	5,543,110	114,586,000	78,775,602	101,851,000
1881–85	4,794,755	99,116,000	92,003,944	118,955,000
1886–90	5,461,282	112,895,000	108,911,431	140,815,000
1891–95	7,882,565	162,947,000	157,581,331	203,742,000
1896–1900	12,446,939	257,301,100	165,693,304	214,229,700
1901–5	15,579,746	322,061,900	165,028,092	213,369,700
Total for periods	564,857,380	$11,676,640,100	9,653,671,507	$12,481,514,700

4. Bullion Value of the Silver Dollar [371¼ Grains of Pure Silver] at the Annual Average Price of Silver each Year from 1837

Year	Value	Year	Value
1837	$1.009	1872	$1.022
1838	1.008	1873	1.00368
1839	1.023	1874	.98909
1840	1.023	1875	.96086
1841	1.018	1876	.90039
1842	1.007	1877	.92958
1843	1.003	1878	.89222
1844	1.008	1879	.86928
1845	1.004	1880	.88564
1846	1.005	1881	.87575
1847	1.011	1882	.87833
1848	1.008	1883	.85754
1849	1.013	1884	.85904
1850	1.018	1885	.82379
1851	1.034	1886	.76931
1852	1.025	1887	.75755
1853	1.042	1888	.72683
1854	1.042	1889	.72325
1855	1.039	1890	.80927
1856	1.039	1891	.76416
1857	1.046	1892	.67401
1858	1.039	1893	.60351
1859	1.052	1894	.49097
1860	1.045	1895	.50587
1861	1.031	1896	.52257
1862	1.041	1897	.46745
1863	1.040	1898	.45640
1864	1.040	1899	.46525
1865	1.035	1900	.47958
1866	1.036	1901	.46093
1867	1.027	1902	.40835
1868	1.025	1903	.41960
1869	1.024	1904	.44763
1870	1.027	1905	.47200
1871	1.025		

5. Coinage of Nations of the World

Calendar Year	Gold	Silver
1903	$240,499,547	$211,795,829
1904	455,427,085	176,508,646
1905	245,954,257	103,880,205

IV. Ratio of Gold to Silver

The columns showing the amount of silver produced to one unit of gold in dollars and in ounces were prepared by Mr. George B. Waldron, down to 1894.

For purposes of comparison are added Dr. Soetbeer's estimates of the commercial ratio of gold to silver down to 1832, the estimates of Pixley and Abell from 1833–78, and those of the Director of the Mint from 1879–94. Variations between the highest and lowest ratios of each period are given in the next column from 1687–1894, based on daily London quotations beginning with 1833.

The question of the relative value of gold and silver and the currency problems arising from this have long been among the burning economic questions of modern times. We give here only tabular statements of the facts for all discussion of them, referring the reader to articles: Bimetallism; Currency; Contraction and Expansion of Currency; Money.

The facts seem to be as shown in the following tables.

For the ratio since 1904 see tables 3, 4 and 5.

Calendar Years	Silver produced to one of gold: Ounces	Commercial value of silver to one of gold: Average ratio	Commercial value of silver to one of gold: Variation between highest and lowest ratio	Significant historical events
1493–1520	8.10	11.30	.....	1492. Discovery of America
1521–1540	12.60	11.20	.....	1521. Cortez completes the conquest of Mexico.
1541–1560	36.62	11.50	.....	
1561–1580	43.79	11.50	.....	
1581–1600	56.76	11.90	.....	
1601–1620	49.64	13.00	.....	
1621–1640	47.44	13.40	.....	
1641–1660	41.77	13.80	.....	
1661–1680	36.39	14.70	.....	
1681–1700	31.76	14.97	.93	
1701–1720	27.74	15.21	.48	
1721–1740	22.60	15.09	.60	
1741–1760	21.66	14.75	1.12	
1761–1780	31.53	14.73	.73	
1781–1800	49.41	15.09	1.32	1792. U. S. Mint established. Ratio 15 to 1.
1801–1810	50.30	15.61	.82	
1811–1820	47.25	15.49	1.14	1816. England demonetizes silver.
1821–1830	32.40	15.80	.25	
1831–1840	29.40	15.76	.53	1834. U. S. Mint ratio changed to 16 to 1.
1841–1848	14.25	15.85	.40	1847. Gold discovered in
1849.....	16.85	15.78	.20	California. Panic.
1850.....	14.03	15.70	.55	
1851.....	9.46	15.46	.42	1851. Gold discovered in
1852.....	4.89	15.59	.51	Australia.
1853.....	4.18	15.33	.42	
1854.....	5.09	15.33	.24	
1855.....	4.81	15.38	.45	1858. Gold discovered in
1856.....	4.40	15.38	.44	Queensland.
1857.....	4.88	15.27	.34	
1858.....	5.21	15.38	.28	
1859.....	5.22	15.19	.24	1859. Discovery of silver
1860.....	5.48	15.29	.28	in Nevada.
1861.....	6.28	15.50	.41	1861. Opening of American Civil War.
1862....	6.71	15.35	.28	1862. Gold and silver at a
1863.....	7.36	15.37	.19	premium in the U. S.
1864.....	7.31	15.37	.46	
1865.....	6.91	15.44	.35	1865. End of American
1866.....	6.70	15.43	.53	Civil War.
1867.....	8.32	15.57	.23	
1868.....	7.32	15.59	.25	1868. Valuable silver-mines opened in Colorado.
1869.....	7.15	15.60	.26	
1870.....	7.72	15.57	.44	1870–71. Franco-Prussian War.
1871.....	9.12	15.59	.21	1871–73. Germany demonetizes silver.
1872.....	10.47	15.63	.49	1872. Scandinavian Union formed on a gold basis.
1873.....	13.59	15.92	.56	1873. Silver demonetized in the U. S. Panic.
1874.....	12.60	16.17	.62	1874. Silver demonetized by the Latin Union.
1875.....	13.17	16.59	.63	1875. Holland suspends the coinage of silver.
1876.....	13.51	17.88	4.05	1876. Russia suspends the coinage of silver.
1877.....	11.36	17.22	1.52	1877. Finland adopts the gold standard.
1878.....	12.76	17.94	1.98	1878. U. S. returns to limited remonetization of silver.
1879.....	14.08	18.40	1.76	1879. Resumption of specie
1880.....	14.55	18.05	.41	payments in the U. S.
1881.....	15.83	18.16	.69	
1882.....	17.53	18.20	.86	1882. War with Egypt.
1883.....	19.32	18.64	.42	
1884.....	16.59	18.57	.70	
1885.....	17.48	19.41	1.26	1885. Single gold standard
1886.....	18.19	20.78	2.39	introduced in Egypt.
1887.....	18.79	21.13	1.79	
1888.....	20.41	21.99	1.51	
1889.....	20.12	22.10	1.27	
1890.....	21.93	19.76	4.39	1890. Silver purchasing
1891.....	21.70	20.92	2.33	act in the U. S.
1892.....	21.63	23.72	3.34	1892. Gold standard replaces silver standard in Austria-Hungary.
1893.....	21.27	26.49	6.58	1893. Suspension of silver coinage in India and repeal of purchasing clause of act of 1890 in the U. S.
1894.....	18.89	32.59	5.22	
1493–1600	30.25	11.48	.70	
1601–1700	40.81	13.97	2.20	
1701–1800	30.02	14.97	1.60	
1801–1848	28.98	15.69	1.14	
1849–1873	6.88	15.48	1.26	
1874–1894	17.52	20.22	18.97	
1806–1894	13.94	16.65	19.88	
1493–1894	19.34	13.95	23.72	

The commercial ratio of gold to silver, from the time of Herodotus (born 484 B.C.) down to the year 1717, is shown in the following from the letter of Lord Liverpool to the King of England (see "Coinage Laws of the U. S.," 1894, p. 435):

In Persia, according to Herodotus..... 1 to 11⅓
In Greece at same period..... 1 to 13
In Greece in the time of Plato..... 1 to 12
In Greece it is stated by Xenophon at..... 1 to 10
After the plunder of gold from the Temple of Apollo, according to Menander, it was..... 1 to 10
In the reign of Alexander the Great it was.... 1 to 10
In Rome, according to Pliny the Elder..... 1 to 10⅓
In Rome, after the tribute from the Etolians.. 1 to 10
The plunder of gold from the Gauls by Julius Cæsar reduced the proportions to..... 1 to 7½
In the reign of Claudius, Tacitus states it at... 1 to 12½
Until the reign of Alexander Servius it contained 1 to 12½
In the reign of Constantine the Great..... 1 to 01½
The disorders in the Roman Empire under Arcadus and Honorius raised it to..... 1 to 14⅔
From which it appears that gold, unless when deprest by sudden and unusual occurrences, or enhanced by a dread of public insecurity, may be stated to have been for upward of 900 years in the proportion of..... 1 to 10 or 12
England, under Henry III., 1216 to 1272..... 1 to 9½
England, under Edward III., 1330 to 1377.... 1 to 12½
In England, in the reign of Henry IV., 1400 to 1412..... 1 to 10½
In England, in the reign of Edward IV., 1461 to 1477..... 1 to 11⅓
In England, in the reign of Henry VIII., 1510 to 1547..... 1 to 11.10
In England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1560..... 1 to 11
In England, in the reign of King James I., 1604..... 1 to 12⅛
In England, in the reign of King James I., 1611..... 1 to 13½
In England, in the reign of Charles II., 1665... 1 to 14½
In England, in the reign of George I., 1717.... 1 to 15½
Relative proportions in China, according to Humboldt..... 1 to 12½
Relative proportions in Japan, according to Humboldt..... 1 to 8½
Relative proportions in Bengal, according to bullion report..... 1 to 14.86
Relative proportions in Madras, according to bullion report..... 1 to 13⅞
Relative proportions in Bombay according to bullion report..... 1 to 15
In the China Diaries it is stated at 16 taels of silver to 1 tael of gold of 100 touch of pure gold. If it is meant to be of pure silver also, the proportion would be 1 to 16; but it is believed to be the average fineness of silver in dollars, which would be..... 1 to 14.296

References: See Currency.

GOLDMAN, EMMA: Communist Anarchist; born 1869, near Kovno, Russia; educated in St. Petersburg and Königsberg (Prussia). She became acquainted with modern revolutionary ideas at an early age, in Russia, and joined the ranks of Communist Anarchists in America. She has been an active anarchist for about twenty years. She served one year in prison at Blackwell's Island, N. Y., for addressing an outdoor meeting of the New York unemployed, in 1893, and was arrested in Chicago, in 1901, together with a number of other anarchists, on the charge of conspiracy with Czolgosz, but discharged in the police court. Delegate from America to the International Anarchist Congress at Paris, 1900, and to the Amsterdam (Holland) Congress, 1907. Publisher of a monthly magazine devoted to social science and literature, *Mother Earth*. *Address*: 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York City.

GOLDSTEIN, MISS VIDA: Australian woman suffragist; born in Portland, Victoria. She is president of the Woman's Political Association of Victoria, secretary of the United Council for Woman's Suffrage, and a member of the executive committees of the National Council of Women of Victoria, of the Criminology Society, and of the Royal Victorian Trained Nurses' Association. She has spoken on woman suffrage before the United States House of Representatives and Senate committees, and was the representative for Australia and New Zealand at the International Woman's Suffrage Conference held in Washington in 1902. Miss Goldstein was the first woman candidate for Parliament in the British Dominions (December, 1903). She is the editor and proprietor of *Woman's Sphere*. *Address*: Oxford Chambers, Bourke Street, Melbourne, Victoria.

GOMPERS, SAMUEL: American labor leader; president of the American Federation of Labor; born in London, England, 1850; apprenticed to a shoemaker at the age of ten; obtained his education after working-hours. He later became a cigarmaker and came to the United States in 1863. Joining the cigarmakers' union he soon became prominent in its councils and served as president of Union 144 for six years, during which time he was repeatedly elected delegate to the conventions of the Cigar Workers' International Union, the constitution and development of which are largely the results of his efforts. He was one of the founders of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, was elected its first president, 1882, and has been reelected every year since except in 1895, when he was defeated because of his opposition to the endeavors of the Socialist Party to capture the federation.

Mr. Gompers has repeatedly declined election or appointment to important and remunerative political and other offices, and has devoted his every energy to upbuilding the trade-union movement. For this he has worked unremittedly, traveling over the whole country. During the first six years of his official duty he received no salary nor any other emolument. In the eight-hour struggle of 1886 he paid his entire expenses and worked night and day for many weeks. He is not opposed to the aims of socialism, tho not committed to its views, and he believes in political action on the part of Labor, but holds that the main hope of Labor is in the trade-union movement and that to commit that movement to any political party or endeavor would be to disrupt it and hurt it irremediably. Mr. Gompers has been editor of the federation's organ for thirteen years, is vice-president of the National Civic Federation, and has written numerous tracts and magazine articles on labor subjects. *Address*: 423 G Street, Washington, D. C.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS: The establishment of "good government clubs," the object of which is explained by their name, began with the formation of the City Club in New York, April 13, 1892.

The failure of the Municipal League to elect its candidate to the mayoralty in 1891 occasioned profound discouragement among those desirous of obtaining good city government. It seemed to indicate that mere popular indignation or enthusiasm could not be counted upon when pitted against an organized political machine. It became clear, therefore, that if the work of improving city government was to be undertaken at all, it must be undertaken upon a permanent plan—a fact which suggested the organization of a social club which would serve to bring together and to keep together all those interested in good government. The City Club was established, largely owing to the efforts of Mr. Edward Kelly. One of its chief activities was to establish other local clubs, which were called good government clubs, and have been very successful. More recently, however, the name "Good Government Club" has been less used. (See MUNICIPAL REFORM.)

GOOD TEMPLARS, INDEPENDENT ORDER OF: The Independent (International) Order of Good Templars originated in Utica, N. Y., in 1851. Its platform is total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State. It was the first secular organization in the world to admit woman upon equal terms with man, and its attitude in this respect has been a very material help to all movements looking to the advancement of woman. For the first seventeen years of its existence the order was confined to the United States and Canada. It spread all over North America, numbering hundreds of thousands of members; and many of the laws dealing with the liquor traffic in the different states and provinces are the result of its work. The order has also been largely instrumental in originating other movements, such as the Woman's Crusade, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Prohibition Party.

In 1868 Good Templarism was introduced into England and Scotland, and somewhat later into Ireland and Wales. There are very strong bodies in these countries; and in the British Isles, as in North America, the order has had a great influence in shaping legislation. Rather more than a quarter of a century ago the Good Templar Order was carried to Scandinavia, where it immediately took root, and has made the most astonishing progress. The grand lodge of Sweden is now the largest organization in the world, having about 125,000 members. Norway and Denmark have also large grand lodges in proportion to their population. In Iceland about one in seven of the population is a member of the order.

Within about fifteen years after its foundation, the order reached Germany, where it is rapidly becoming a tremendous power, already counting a membership of about 40,000. It publishes several newspapers, and owns a number of halls, hotels, and restaurants. Smaller organizations

exist in Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland; and, quite recently, beginnings have been made in Hungary and Rumania. For many years Good Templar grand lodges have been maintained in all the Australian states and in New Zealand. Four grand lodges, each having several thousand members, are to be found in South Africa. A remarkable work is going on among the natives on the Gold Coast and in other parts of Africa. There are three grand lodges in India, where some of the work is carried on in the vernacular, and there are lodges, some of them using the Spanish language, in different parts of South America and the West Indies.

A feature of the order's work is that carried on among the soldiers and sailors of Great Britain. A large proportion of the British war-ships have lodges on board, holding regular meetings; and a majority of the regiments of the British army have also their Good Templar organizations. Wherever the order has gone it has enrolled children as well as adults, and it now has a juvenile membership of about a quarter of a million. The number of grand lodges in the world is now 70, with a total membership of 407,645. *International Secretary*, Col. B. F. Packer, Milwaukee, Wis.

GORKI, MAXIM (pen-name of **Aleksei Maksimovich Pyeshkov**): Russian social writer and novelist; born 1868 at Nijni-Novgorod. He was successively a shoemaker's apprentice, scullery-boy, baker, ship's cook, porter, gardener, painter of ikons, lawyer's clerk, tramp, and finally writer. As a tramp he journeyed over large portions of the empire, and his idealistic yet realistic novels are largely based on his experiences with the working and vagrant classes, whose thoughts and social conditions he has brilliantly interpreted. His novel "Makar Choudra" (1892) was the first of a large number among which "Foma Gordye'eff" is probably the best known outside of Russia. Other works are "Chelkash"; "Song of the Falcon"; "Song of the Petrel"; "The Orloff Couple and Mava"; "Troye"; "About the Devil"; "More About the Devil"; "The Reader"; "The Outcasts" (1902); "Three Men" (1902). Gorki has visited other countries (the United States in 1906), writing and lecturing, largely on social themes, and voicing the socialistic radicalism of the Russian and other working classes. *Address*: Arsemas, Nijni-Novgorod, Russia.

GOSMAN, ALEXANDER: Australian clergyman; born at Crail, Fife County, Scotland, 1829; educated in public schools and at the University of Glasgow; degree of D.D. conferred upon him by St. Andrew's University in 1904. In 1864 he was appointed professor of theology in the Congregational College of Victoria, and in 1876 became its principal. Since 1879 he has been minister of the Augustine Congregational Church at Hawthorn, near Melbourne, Victoria. Mr. Gosman is chairman of the Victorian Congregational Union, and was a delegate to the first and second International Congregational Councils, London, 1891, and Boston, 1899. He was chairman of the Wages Board and president of the Antisweating League from 1895 to 1902. *Address*: Burwood Road, Hawthorn, Victoria.

GOTHENBURG. See NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM.

GOUGH, JOHN BARTHOLOMEW: American temperance lecturer; born at Sandgate, Kent, England, 1817; son of a pensioner of the Peninsular War and a village schoolmistress. At the age of twelve he went to America and worked on a farm in Oneida County, N. Y. In 1831 he went to New York City, where he found employment in the binding department of the Methodist book establishment; but habits of dissipation lost him this employment, and reduced him to that of giving recitations and singing comic songs at low grog-shops. He was married in 1839; but his drunken habits reduced him to poverty, and probably caused the death of his wife and child. A benevolent Quaker induced him to take the pledge; and he attended temperance meetings and related his experience with such effect as to influence many others.

Gough later became a prominent advocate of the temperance cause. After ten years of great success as a temperance lecturer he went to England in 1853 and carried on a remarkable work there. He returned to the United States in August, 1860, and soon began to lecture on "Street Life in London." Other subjects were added to his list, and in all he retained his great popularity. In 1873 he announced that he would retire from the lecture field, but he was afterward prevailed upon to appear on special occasions. In 1878 he again visited England. In 1869 he issued his "Autobiography and Personal Recollections," and in 1880 "Sunshine and Shadow," being chiefly passages from his lectures. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., 1886.

GOULD, ELGIN RALSTON LOVELL: American economist and banker; born at Oshawa, Ontario, 1860; educated at home, at Victoria University, Coburg (now at Toronto), and at Johns Hopkins University. From 1884 to 1887 he was instructor in the Department of History and Political Economy in the Washington (D. C.) High School; in 1885 he conducted an official inquiry in Belgium and Germany for the Department of Labor, and in 1887 he became permanently connected with that department as a statistical expert. In 1887–88 he was reader in social statistics at the Johns Hopkins University, and in 1892 became resident lecturer there. He has represented the United States Government at various international congresses, and is a member of economic and statistical societies at home and abroad. In 1894 he became professor of statistics at the University of Chicago. Mr. Gould became president of the City and Suburban Homes Company (New York) in 1896, the purpose of this enterprise being to provide model homes and tenements for wage-earners. He is also president of the Thirty-fourth Street National Bank in New York.

Mr. Gould believes thoroughly in the application of the historical method and of statistics to economics, but does not accept the opportunism of some of the historical school. He believes in the gradual reduction of the tariff and in international bimetallism; he does not believe in the nationalization of natural monopolies, but thinks the municipalization of some of them might be carefully tried. Among his works may be mentioned: "Housing of Working People," "Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic," "The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic," and "The Social Condition of Labor." *Address*: 301 West Seventy-seventh Street, New York City.

GOURNAY, JEAN CLAUDE MARIE VINCENT, SEIGNEUR DE: French economist; born at

Saint Malo, 1712. Traveling as a merchant in Spain, Holland, and England, he published in France on his return a report on the economic and financial condition of these countries. Appointed *intendant du commerce* in 1851, his observation convinced him that the lack of development in French manufacturing was due to the various governmental restrictions, and he came thus largely tho not wholly to embrace the views of the PHYSIOCRATS, and became the author of the famous phrase, *Laissez-faire, laissez-passer.* He died in 1759.

GOVERNMENT: This term, which is derived from the Latin *gubernare* (to steer, direct, govern), denotes the power vested in the State by which its affairs are conducted. Government may be of any form—monarchical, despotic, autocratic, aristocratic, plutocratic, democratic; it may be local, municipal, state, or national. (For the principles involved and the various forms of government, see ANARCHISM; DEMOCRATIC PARTY; FEDERATIONS; INDIVIDUALISM; REPUBLICAN PARTY; SOCIALISM; STATE; VOLUNTARYISM, etc.).

Says Hamilton (*Federalist*, No. 15), "Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice without constraint." (For a discussion of this, see ANARCHISM; SOCIALISM; STATE.)

GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD

COUNTRIES AND GOVERNMENT	Areas	Populations
Republican:		
North America:		
United States	3,622,933	80,590,000
Latin Republics	1,045,600	22,500,000
South America (except Guiana)	7,405,000	37,514,000
Europe:		
France	207,054	38,961,945
Switzerland	15,976	3,315,443
San Marino	38	11,002
Africa:		
Liberia	35,000	2,060,000
Total Republican	12,331,601	184,952,000
Constitutional:		
North America:		
British Colonies	3,782,554	5,591,564
Europe (except France, Switzerland, San Marino, Russia, and Turkey)	1,384,734	238,350,628
Africa:		
Cape Colony and Natal	313,165	3,358,118
Asia:		
Japan	161,200	47,564,000
Oceania:		
Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand	3,077,377	4,548,992
Total Constitutional	8,719,030	299,413,302
Colonies without Self-Government, or Dependencies:		
India	1,087,404	231,898,807
Anglo-Egypt and Sudan	1,350,000	11,734,000
Other British Colonies and Dependencies	3,135,294	106,666,074
Congo (Belgian)	900,000	30,002,000
Dutch Colonies and Dependencies	782,863	36,122,785
Danish Colonies and Dependencies	86,634	120,890
French Colonies and Dependencies	4,089,076	53,412,340
German Colonies and Dependencies	1,027,820	13,508,000
Italian Colonies and Dependencies	188,000	850,000
Portuguese Colonies and Dependencies	809,952	9,158,952
Spanish Colonies and Dependencies	253,580	273,709
United States Dependencies	125,885	7,944,617
Total Colonial without Self-Government	13,836,208	501,692,174
Autocratic:		
Russian Empire, Europe and Asia	8,660,395	129,004,514
Turkish Empire, Europe and Asia	1,184,880	26,232,240
Chinese Empire	4,277,170	426,047,000
Siam	220,000	5,000,000
Persia	628,000	9,500,000
Korea	82,000	12,000,000
Afghanistan	215,400	4,000,000
Bhutan, Nepal, and Oman	152,800	5,525,000
Abyssinia	150,000	3,500,000
Morocco	219,000	5,000,000
Total Autocratic	15,789,645	625,798,754

Republican government embraces 24.3 per cent of the area of the habitable world, and 11.4 per cent of the world's population. Constitutional government (not republican) embraces 17.2 per cent of the area, and 18.5 per cent of the population. Colonies or dependencies without self-government embrace 27.3 per cent of the area, and 31.4 per cent of the population. Autocracy embraces 31.1 per cent of the area, and 38.8 per cent of the population.

GRANGERS: An association of American agriculturists commonly known by this name, tho formerly called Patrons of Husbandry.

Soon after the close of the Civil War, President Johnson sent O. H. Kelly, an employee of the Department of Agriculture, as an agent into the Southern States to investigate the condition of the farmers in that section of the country and to report the result of his observations. He was so seriously imprest with what he saw that he proposed a national association of farmers, with branches in all sections of the country. On Dec. 4, 1867, the National Grange was organized with Mr. Kelly as secretary.

It was to be divided into national, state, and subordinate assemblies or "granges." Women were to be admitted to membership on equal standing with men. The purposes of the order were two—the industrial benefit and the social improvement of its members. The discussion of any political question was strictly forbidden. This was found difficult, but its leaders have been successful in the main in keeping it out of politics, and it is different in this respect from the other farmers' organizations. (See FARMERS' ALLIANCE.)

Up to the close of 1871 there were but about 200 granges organized, while the national grange contained only its seven original members. From this time forward its progress was rapid. The farming population began to perceive the advantages of the association, and grew as enthusiastic as they had been lethargic. At the close of 1875 there were about 30,000 granges in existence, said to average about forty members each, the order being strongest in the West and Northwest and well represented in the South. By this time, however, its climax of prosperity had been reached. Jealousy arose between the subordinate and the national granges, and parties with no interest in agriculture beyond that of selling goods to the farmers made their way into the order. So far was this carried that one grange was organized on Broadway, New York City, with forty-five members, representing capital of perhaps as many millions, and composed of bank presidents, wholesale dealers, sewing-machine manufacturers, and speculators. The result of all this was a great

depression of the order. Nevertheless, the order endured, and has had no little influence. It is said to have organized 30,000 subordinate groups in forty-four states and territories. It claims to have prevented the renewals of patents on sewing-machines; to have taught transportation companies that the creator is greater than the creature; to have passed and enforced oleomargarine laws, laws restricting alien landlords and corporations, the interstate commerce law, ballot reform laws, the making the Secretary of Agriculture a cabinet officer, establishing agricultural colleges and stations, arbor days, public schools, numerous local institutions.

Cooperation has been much favored by the Grange, and numerous experiments have been tried, but without great success. (See COOPERATION.)

The following legislation, according to the *World Almanac*, 1907, is favored by the National Grange:

1. Free delivery of mails in the rural districts be placed upon the same permanent footing as the delivery of mails in the cities and the appropriations to be commensurate with the demands and the benefits of the service. 2. Postal savings-banks. 3. Election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. 4. An amendment to the Constitution granting the power to Congress to regulate and control all corporations and combinations. 5. Enlargement of the powers and duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission, giving it authority to determine what changes shall be made or what practises are discriminative or unreasonable, and their findings to be immediately operative and so to continue until overruled by the courts. 6. Regulation of the use of shoddy. 7. Pure food laws. 8. Extension of the markets for farm products equally with manufactured articles. 9. An antitrust law, clearly defining what acts on the part of any corporation would be detrimental to public welfare. 10. The speedy construction of a ship canal connecting the Mississippi River with the Great Lakes and the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean. 11. Revision of the fees and salaries of all federal officers, and placing them on a basis of similar service in private business. 12. Parcels post, telephone and telegraph in the mail service. 13. National and state aid to improve the public highways.

Master, N. J. Bachelder, Concord, N. H.; *Secretary*, C. M. Freeman, Tippecanoe City, Ohio.

GRAYSON, VICTOR: Member of Parliament for Colne Valley, division of Yorkshire, July, 1907; the first man in the United Kingdom elected simply as a Socialist; born 1881 at Liverpool; became an engineer's apprentice, and studied life as a stowaway and tramp; he matriculated at the Liverpool and Manchester universities with a view to entering the Unitarian ministry, but abandoned this, went to live in a Manchester slum, and earned his living as a journalist and lecturer. Gaining popularity among the workers in the Colne Valley, he was selected as candidate for Parliament, and adopted by the Independent Labor Party (*q. v.*), but not by the Labor Party (*q. v.*). He defeated Philip Bright (Liberal—son of John Bright) by 153 votes, and a Conservative by 421. The fact that a Socialist could defeat both the old parties without the formal support of the Labor Party, created a great sensation throughout the United Kingdom.

GREAT BRITAIN (see also BRITISH EMPIRE; IRELAND; SCOTLAND): In this article we simply outline British social reform to bring out the continuity, referring for all statistics and details to special articles.

The story of social reform in England begins with Alfred's efforts at establishing justice and promoting learning, if not with Augustine and with Aidan. The early English Church and some of England's kings struggled to put down slavery. Englishmen like Anselm and Theobald withstood Norman oppression. In 1215 the knights at Runnymede, led by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, won from King John the Great Charter, with its fundamental rights, freedom from imprisonment without trial, and from taxation without consent of the council of the nation. In 1265 Earl Simon of Montfort, for Henry III., summoned the burgesses to Parliament, and under Edward I. they came, reasserting the old rights of the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot.

As early as 1360 did John Ball (*q. v.*), "the mad priest of Kent," preach a medieval Christian socialism, asking in the name of the common folk by what right men called lords were greater folk than they, and declaring that the lords held their estates by the toil of the villeins. The Peasants' Revolt (*q. v.*) resulted and was put down, yet serfdom was conquered and the spirit engendered has never wholly died away. One finds it alike in the rough poetry of Langland's "Piers Plowman" (1377) and in the courtly words of More's "Utopia" (1516). It enters in milder form into Erasmus's "Christian Prince," and again in Harrington's "Oceana" (1656). It is voiced in Beller's proposed "College of Industry" (1695), and in Spence's land nationalization of 1775. (See these names.) England, freed from serfdom, enjoyed what some called the "Golden Age" of Merrie England.

Beginnings

But after the Golden Age came the Iron. In the sixteenth century the nobles, impoverished by the long French wars and the wars of the Roses, drove out many of their humble folk, and turned their fields into sheep walks for the raising of wool for the Flemish market, and at the same time fenced in many of the commons, calling forth continual protest, including Latimer's sermons. This robbery of the land by those who were its rulers but not its owners, together with the confiscation of the monasteries and other causes, produced the landless class (see LAND), and made necessary the poor-laws (*q. v.*). These laws, altho turned by remorseless magistrates into a means of the degradation of England's poor, contained, nevertheless, the socialistic claim of the right of every man to receive opportunity for life and work from the State.

The contest with Charles, the Puritan Commonwealth, the English Revolution, were not movements of the industrial classes, but they laid the foundation of England's political democracy and made possible the England of to-day. (See LEVELERS.)

When, in the eighteenth century, the discovery of steam-power and machine production developed modern industrial England, it caused an economic revolution. Under the *laissez-faire* teachings of Adam Smith, trade threw off restraint; manufacturers robbed cottages of their women and cradles of their children to employ them in factories utterly without sanitation, coining their blood into profits. Employees were worked like slaves and housed more poorly than the beasts, the whispers of Malthusianism quieting any stirrings of the conscience. It was necessary that men be killed, it was said; there was not room for all. It was these conditions that led to modern industrial legislation.

In 1795 Dr. Aikin, a Manchester physician, published a statement concerning the evil condition of the children working in the mills. In 1796 a committee was formed in Manchester to inquire into the health of the poor. In 1802 the elder Peel brought in and passed the

first bill for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and of others employed in cotton and other factories. It immediately accomplished nothing, being fatally defective; but it established the principle. Other bills introduced did little more. In 1824 a bill was passed, mainly owing to the efforts of Francis Place, outside of Parliament, and Joseph Hume within, giving trade-unions, which had secretly existed since about 1700, the right to partially organize. In 1830 Richard Oastler, speaking for the antislavery movement, discovered that there was "white slavery" in England, and from that date gave his time and strength in poverty, and even when imprisoned for debt, to exposing the facts of factory evils, and agitating for legislation. He accomplished little, however, till Lord Ashley, afterward the Earl of Shaftesbury, took up his cause. T. Sadler, in 1831, had moved a ten hours' bill, but to no effect. A select committee was appointed in the matter in 1832, but only to gain time and prevent action. Lord Ashley, however, now taking hold, brought in a ten hours' bill for women and children, which was read a second time in 1833. It was violently opposed, especially by individualist Liberals like Cobden and John Bright. Finally, Lord Althorp brought in for the government and carried a compromise bill, which was better than nothing. Oastler, however, continued his agitation. Children's Employment Commissions of 1842 and 1843 published terrible revelations. A factory act was passed in 1844, and finally the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847.

Early Factory Legislation

Meanwhile Robert Owen (*q. v.*), at his mills in New Lanark, had been putting in practise various reforms, and in the year 1817 laid a scheme of a socialistic community before the House of Commons. This act is sometimes considered the beginning of socialism in England; but it was not socialism as we understand the word to-day. Owen's utopianism and evolutionary social democracy in industry have little in common. In 1825 Owen purchased New Harmony in the U. S. and started a short-lived community. In 1835 he founded an association of all classes of all nations; and during the discussions which arose over this, the words "socialism" and "Socialist" seem first to have been used.

The passage of the Reform Bill in 1832 had abolished the "pocket boroughs" and given England a taste of democracy. Slavery (*q. v.*) was abolished in the British colonies in 1834. The poor laws were reformed. The middle classes were now indeed enfranchised, but these reforms did little for the workmen. These Owen reached. The Owenite press, the *Crisis*, the *Pioneer*, the *Herald of the Rights of Industry*, and other papers, created a wide-spread movement. Within a few weeks half a million members are said to have joined Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trade-Union, including tens of thousands of farm laborers and women. The object was to put an end to all competition. The wealthier classes were alarmed. In 1834 six Dorchester laborers were sentenced to seven years' transportation for the mere act of administering an oath. (See Conspiracy Laws.) Monster labor congresses were held; 30,000 persons took part in a procession in London protesting against the judgment; over 250,000 signed a petition. Strikes were numerous. They generally failed, however. A levy of 18*d.* per member hurt the Grand National. It was too hurriedly organized, and did not endure. The trade-unions all suffered. Led by William Cobbett, William Lovett, and others, working men began to turn to political methods.

The Owenite Period

In 1838 a representative meeting of workmen drew up a program of political reforms which they held to be necessary. Speaking to the representatives, the Irish orator O'Connell called it their charter, and in all the subsequent agitation this program was called the "People's Charter," and its supporters "Chartists." (See Chartism.) The charter called for the famous "six points"—manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, abolition of property qualification for members of the House of Commons, and payment of members of Parliament for their services. Enormous meetings were held. Orators, writers, editors, poets were developed—O'Connor, Lovett, Cleave, Hetherington, and O'Brien being among the leaders. Every center had its Chartist journal. But there soon developed a division as to the means to be adopted. Some favored an appeal to force; many—probably most—advocated constitutional methods. In June, 1839, a petition signed by nearly 1,300,000 persons was presented to the House of Commons, "bound in iron hoops, four men bearing it," asking that the charter be considered. By a large majority the House of Commons refused. Relations between the government and the people became strained; public meetings were forbidden; riots were of frequent occurrence. Agitation continued more or less vigorously until 1848, the year of revolutions. A meeting was called on Kennington Common for April 10th, at which it was expected that half a million workers would be present. Great alarm prevailed; the military under the Duke of Wellington was called out; cannon were planted to cover the meeting-place and the exits, and nearly 200,000 civilians were enrolled as special constables. After all these threatenings the gathering on the common was not as large as had been anticipated, a heavy storm interfering. Not 100,000 were present. This was the end of Chartism. The movement collapsed when apparently at its highest. During all the ten years of the agitation it had been largely an economic change that was desired. Political change was only sought in order to secure economic changes. Every constitutional means had been tried and had failed, and now the government had shown that if an appeal were to be made to force, it would use all its strength to crush the appeal, and would yield no quarter. Just while men were pondering the alternatives, a new door of escape was opened—gold was discovered in America, and New Zealand and Australia were calling for colonists.

Chartism

The repeal of the corn laws in 1846, after the long free-trade agitation of Cobden and Bright, and the passage of the Ten Hours' Bill in 1847, also gave hope of relief.

The close of the Chartist agitation witnessed the birth of organized Christian Socialism (*q. v.*). Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice, clergymen of the Church of England, with E. Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, J. M. Ludlow (see these names), organized a society under the avowed name of Christian Socialism. They published pamphlets and two

Christian Socialism

papers, and started some cooperative stores. Their papers were soon discontinued; their stores either failed or were swallowed up in the larger Rochdale cooperative movement; but their thought lived. Kingsley's bold denunciation of the soulless Manchester school of political economy and the deeper philosophy of Maurice are potent to-day.

From 1850–80 English trade-unionism was taking form and growing, with many ups and downs. The Rochdale cooperative movement, beginning in 1844, during this period made its phenomenal advance. The writings of Carlyle and of Ruskin struck strong blows against the orthodox political economy. In 1848 Mill published his "Political Economy." Henceforth political economy was no longer a dismal science of theories, but a discussion of how to meet practical industrial problems. Mill himself, in his "Autobiography," came to announce himself a Socialist. There were other radical forces at work. From 1849 to his death in 1883 Marx resided in London. In London, also, was Mazzini. Opposed to socialism, as it was presented to him, he really preached its deepest and most ethical ideas. As early as 1847 Marx and Engels, corresponding with a London society, turned this society into a communist league; and the following year published from Brussels the manifesto of the communist party. In 1862 a party of French working men visited the International Exhibition in London, getting into communication with English trade-unionists; on Sept. 28, 1864, the famous "International" (*q. v.*) was founded at St. Martin's Hall, London. It was not at first a socialistic organization. Its simple aim was to unite the working men of all countries. Naturally it took a different coloring with different nations. In England it meant little more than an attempt at international trade-unionism, and took no deep root.

Socialism

Little as he intended it, the lectures in England of Henry George (*q. v.*), individualist as he proclaimed himself, seem to have been the occasion for the first crystallization in England of modern Socialist thought. According to Sidney Webb ("Socialism in England"), the coercive measures introduced by Mr. Gladstone's ministry against the Irish Land League had alienated many of the earnest Radicals from the Liberal Party. It became evident that Liberalism was not inconsistent with shameless international aggression in the interests of the officers and the bondholders. The neglect of English social questions became more and more pressingly felt. The "Democratic Federation" was founded in 1881, by H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows, Miss Helen Taylor (stepdaughter of John Stuart Mill), and some others. The only distinctively Socialist proposal explicitly set forth in the first program of this organization was "nationalization of the land," placed ninth in the list; but it was from the first essentially a Socialist body, and it changed its name in 1884 to the "Social Democratic Federation" (*q. v.*). Men joined like William Morris, Tom Mann, John Burns, and others.

At the end of 1884, however, William Morris (*q. v.*) withdrew from the Federation, and with others formed the Socialist League. The grounds of secession were mainly personal, but the new society soon developed a policy of its own, standing for a more communistic and less governmental conception of socialism. Publishing the *Commonweal* (1885), to which Mr. Morris gave brilliant contributions, it exerted no small influence. About 1892, however, the organization and the *Commonweal* came under anarchist control; Mr. Morris withdrew, and the league virtually died, the Social Democratic Federation keeping on.

A more potent and unique organization of English Socialists is the Fabian Society (*q. v.*), founded in 1883, and to-day still adding to its strength. Commenced mainly as an educational and propagandist center, it includes members of other societies. In one year its members have given thousands of lectures and distributed still more thousands of Socialist essays and tracts. It has influenced political parties, economic literature, and trade-union thought. It may almost be said to have created the London County Council (*q. v.*), and to have changed the thought of the working men's clubs of London. Leaders in it like Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and others have had most respectful hearing, and many of its members have been elected to Parliament. (See FABIAN SOCIETY.)

These various societies, taking advantage of industrial depressions and discontent, have largely captured the English trade-unions for socialism. A "New Trade-Unionism" grew steadily till 1895. The agitation in behalf of the unemployed in 1886, resulting in the prosecution at the Old Bailey of Messrs. Hyndman, Burns, Champion, and Williams, led, altho they were acquitted, to making socialism somewhat popular among the London masses. The great dock strike of 1889 saw a turning of the tide. Ben Tillett, Tom Mann, and John Burns organized the dock laborers and won. It led to the organization of other trades thus far unorganized. These new unions followed the new leaders, and the movement began to grow in the rank and file of even the old unions. By 1890 the new unionism was in the majority in the trade congresses, and in 1894 voted to support only collectivist candidates. The defeat of the Liberal Party in 1894, however, to which many of the old trade-unionists were allied, led to the older trade-unions securing a change in representation, giving the newer trade-unions less power, and thus defeating the new trade-unionism at the Congress of 1895. Some of the new trade-unions, too, did not endure.

New Trade-Unionism

Labor representatives began to be elected to Parliament as Liberals or as miners' members. In 1873–74 no fewer than thirteen "labor candidates" went to the polls; and Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt (*q. v.*), two leading officials of the miners' national unions, were elected the first "labor members" of the House.

However, altho largely enfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1867, English workmen in their trades congresses even rejected amendments in favor of manhood suffrage as late as 1882 and 1883. In order to win legal recognition at all for their trade-unions, the leaders had had to plant themselves wholly on the middle-class ground of the individual freedom of each man to sell his labor as he pleased, collectively or not. Even after trade-unions were themselves in 1871 fully legalized, even when "in restraint of trade," their members were still so liable to prosecution under vague combination laws, that the unions were engaged in a battle for mere existence down to 1875. At this date, however, the Liberal Par-

ty having been defeated largely by the division of the labor vote, a Conservative government wiped away the last vestige of the combination laws. But this long struggle for life had so indoctrinated the trade-unions with the individualist economy, that, save for a few leaders like Allan of the Engineers and Applegarth of the Carpenters, the average trade-unionist cared nothing for parliamentary action. Even when free to act, their very successes made the trade-unions conservative. Men, like Mr. Broadhurst, actually opposed eight-hour legislation; a motion in support of it was defeated by a large majority at a trade-union congress as late as 1889.

The collectivist policy, however, became so popular that, weary of the vast promises and slight fulfilment of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, there was organized (Jan., 1893), mainly under the lead of Keir Hardie, elected M. P., an Independent Labor Party, its object being, as stated, "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange." Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England," emphasizing the principles of the party, about this time is estimated to have reached 2,000,000 readers.

Municipalism of various kinds was long, however, the main practical form of English socialism. The formation of the county councils, and particularly of the London County Council, to bring together under one control the numberless boards and vestries that had power in various ways in London, was another step toward socialism.

Later, attention was directed to some extent from social problems by the Boer War and discussions arising from it, and under its influence the Conservatives gained a new lapse of life. Gradually, however, the majority of the trade-unions, while not committing themselves to avowed socialism, came to favor political action directly in their own interests, on largely socialistic lines and independent of any political party.

Labor Politics

A Labor Representation Committee was organized composed mainly of representatives of such unions, and of a few other organizations, like the Fabian Society, willing to cooperate on those lines, to manage the campaigns of candidates indorsed by the committee, and create a fund for the payment of the elected members. (See LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE.) This movement had growing success, till in the general election on Jan., 1906, the Labor forces astonished themselves and all England by electing to Parliament twenty-nine candidates indorsed by the Labor Representation Committee, which with eleven "miners' members" and fourteen Liberals, but also Labor members, made fifty-four Labor members (twenty-nine independent of other parties). The committee therefore adopted, 1906, the name of the Labor Party (*q. v.*), with Keir Hardie as its head. The independent, aggressive, and yet, on the whole, constructive and practical position of the party's representatives in Parliament has been the social reform political interest of the year, while by-elections have added three to their number (including one elected as a Socialist), making some eighty members all largely socialistic in their policies.

Meanwhile other phases of social reform have recently rapidly advanced. Distributive cooperation has grown steadily and productive cooperation has been begun in earnest. (See COOPERATION.) Cooperative housebuilding has begun, but especially have municipal and county councils taken up the housing question, in many cases undertaking large housing schemes. (See HOUSING QUESTION.) A successful Garden City movement has been developed (see GARDEN CITIES), while prominent employers have developed large and beautiful model villages for their employees. (See BOURNEVILLE; PORT SUNLIGHT; MODEL VILLAGES.) The question of employing the unemployed has been largely agitated and successful attempts inaugurated. (See LABOR COLONIES; UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Present Movements

Considerable attention has been called to the woman-suffrage question by women who were willing to storm the House of Parliament in demanding a hearing and allow themselves to be imprisoned for creating disturbance. (See WOMAN'S MOVEMENTS.) Much thought has been attracted to the taxation of land values by the introduction in Parliament of a Scotch bill calling for a distinction in making up rates on values of land and values of improvements. Many members, including the Premier, are said to favor the distinction. (See LAND.) The school question has been a burning theme, tho a compromise bill calling in the main for separation of all public schools from Church control was thrown out of the Lords after it had passed the Lower House. (See SCHOOL QUESTION, articles on both sides.) (For the home rule question, which has so largely affected English politics, see HOME RULE; IRELAND.) Great Britain may be said to-day to be leading the world (outside of New Zealand and Australia) in the actual taking up of detailed social questions and pressing for their solution from an advanced point of view, tho Germany and Switzerland are probably actually doing more on slightly more paternal lines. (See special articles for references and all details.)

GREDESKUL, NICHOLAS ANDREYEVICH: Russian jurist, editor, and politician; born in 1864. He was graduated from the University of Kharkof, and later became a professor there, and dean of the law department. Gredeskul, who was second vice-president of the first Duma, was arrested just before election by order of Minister Durnovo, and was exiled to Archangel; but on being elected he was released. He is a Constitutional Democrat, and edits a newspaper called *Mir*.

GREEK SOCIAL POLITY: This was, in a word, the exaltation of the State, ordinarily a democratic city, based upon slave labor, over all departments of life. (See ATHENS; ARISTOTLE; PLATO.) We give here the synopsis of the Greek economic and social idea, as given in Professor Ingram's "History of Political Economy":

1. The individual is conceived as subordinated to the State, through which alone his nature can be developed and completed, and to the maintenance and service of which all his efforts must be directed. The great aim of all political thought is the formation of good citizens; every social question is studied primarily from the ethical and educational point of view. The citizen is not regarded as a producer, but only as a possessor of material wealth; and this wealth is not esteemed for its own sake or for the enjoyments it procures, but for the higher moral and public aims to which it may be made subservient.

2. The State, therefore, claims and exercises a controlling and regulating authority over every sphere of social life, including the economic, in order to bring individual action into harmony with the good of the whole.

3. With these fundamental notions is combined a tendency

to attribute to institutions and to legislation an unlimited efficacy, as if society had no spontaneous tendencies, but would obey any external impulse, if imprest upon it with sufficient force and continuity.

GREELEY, HORACE: American editor and social reformer; born at Amherst, N. H., 1811. Before he was ten years old his father became bankrupt. The family then moved to Vermont, where they made a scanty living as day laborers. When fourteen years of age Greeley was apprenticed in the office of the *Northern Spectator*, East Poultney, Vt. His wages were but $40 a year; but by living on almost nothing he was able to send money home. He remained here six years, when the paper was suspended. For a time he worked with his father on a rough farm in Pennsylvania, and then began to tramp the country in search of employment. In 1831 he entered New York with $10 in his pocket, and two years later formed a partnership with a fellow workman, Francis V. Story. Combining their capital, which amounted to $150, they commenced by printing the *Morning Post*, which failed in three weeks. But Greeley went on writing as well as printing. He was invited by James Gordon Bennett to go into a partnership with him in the *Herald*, but he declined, and issued instead the *New Yorker*, a literary journal which lived seven years. Later he published the *Log Cabin*, a weekly campaign paper, which was a great success. On April 10, 1841, Greeley commenced the New York *Tribune*, his life-work.

Greeley was then entirely without money. From a personal friend, Mr. James Coggeshall, he borrowed $1,000, on which capital and the editor's reputation the *Tribune* was founded. It began with 600 subscribers. Mr. Greeley opened its columns to well-nigh every reform. He made it the leading abolition newspaper. He advocated in it dress reform, vegetarianism, and FOURIERISM.

From 1850 until the end of the Civil War the *Tribune* did much to create and awaken the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Greeley urged in his paper the vigorous prosecution of the war, but at its close immediately advocated universal amnesty and suffrage. From 1848 to 1849 he was a Whig representative in Congress.

In 1867 Greeley was appointed delegate to the convention for the revision of the Constitution. He antagonized General Grant's administration, and was one of the chief promoters of the Liberal Republican Party, which held its national convention at Cincinnati in 1872, and nominated him for president. His lifelong opponents, the Democrats, nominated him also at their national convention—a move which greatly lessened his chances of success by repelling many of his Republican supporters. During the canvass feeling ran high, and he took the field in person and made one of the most brilliant, able, and sustained series of campaign speeches on record. In the election he received 2,834,079 votes as against 3,597,070 for Grant. Greeley carried Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. He at once resumed the editorship of the *Tribune*, but it was soon evident that he had overtaxed his strength in the campaign. No sooner was it ended than he was called to the bedside of his dying wife, from which he went only to be himself prostrated by a nervous disorder of the brain. His illness was short, and on Nov. 29, 1872, he died. His published volumes are as follows: "Hints Toward Reforms" (1850); "Glances at Europe" (1851); "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension" (1856); "Overland Journey to San Francisco" (1860); "The American Conflict" (2 vols., 1864–66); "Recollections of a Busy Life" (1868); "Essays Designed to Elucidate the Science of Political Economy" (1870); and "What I Know of Farming" (1871). His life was written by James Parton in 1855, and a new edition appeared in 1868.

GREENBACK PARTY, THE: A party which originated in the United States in 1873–74 as a result of the opposition felt by many to the asserted manipulation of the currency in favor of the banking and bondholding class. (See CURRENCY.) It was claimed that the bankers of the country had conspired (1) to make the issue of the war greenbacks a failure by inducing Congress to prevent their being legal tenders for customs and for payment of the national debt, and so depreciating their value; (2) to buy up these greenbacks at their depreciated value, and with them purchase bonds, paying for the bonds with greenbacks at their face value; (3) to induce Congress to vote that these bonds bought with greenbacks at thirty cents on the dollar should be redeemed by Congress under the pretense of national faith and of "an honest dollar" in gold (interest as well as capital), while the soldiers and sailors of the war who had risked their lives and got no "interest" had been paid in greenbacks. Intense excitement was aroused, which the period of contraction of the currency greatly increased. As early as 1868 the demand called "the Ohio idea" was broached, claiming that all bonds which did not distinctly call for payment in coin should be redeemed in greenbacks. This "idea" seemed to have dominated the Democratic convention of 1868, but was distinctly disavowed by Mr. Tilden and other leading Democrats. Many local and state conventions in the West, however—chiefly Democratic—indorsed the idea. Its advocates still hoped to bring the entire party to their way of thinking.

Demands

Finally the financial crisis of 1873 caused the masses of the people to seek legislative relief for the evils from which they were suffering, and produced a certain disintegration of the established political parties. The pressing questions of the time appeared to require and justify new political organizations. A Greenback convention was held at Indianapolis in 1874, and demanded: (1) The withdrawal of the national bank-note currency; (2) that the only currency should be of paper, and that such currency should be made exchangeable for bonds bearing interest at 3.65 per cent; and (3) that coin might be used for the payment of the interest and principal of such bonds, and such only, as expressly called for coin payments. In 1876 a national Greenback convention was held at Indianapolis, which nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for president and vice-president. In the election which followed they received 81,737 popular votes.

To these attempts to found a new party, based on financial issues, a turn in another direction was given by the labor troubles which had culminated in the great railroad strikes of 1877. In 1878 a "National or Greenback-Labor Convention" was held at Toledo, O., as the result of a coalition between the labor reformers and the advocates of a greenback currency. In the following election

the Greenback-Labor tickets polled over 1,000,000 votes, and fourteen representatives of the party were sent to Congress. But the party was made up of different elements; and altho the distress which gave it strength was real, none of the party leaders seems to have had definite ideas as to what was to effect a cure. In 1880 the Greenback-Labor convention, at Chicago, nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas. In that year the popular Greenback-Labor vote was 300,867, and eight of their representatives were elected to Congress. The ticket in 1884 was headed by General B. F. Butler, who was also the Anti-Monopoly candidate, and received 175,380 votes. In that year the Greenback ticket in Iowa, Michigan, and Nebraska was fused with that of the Democrats, and in Missouri and West Virginia with the Republican ticket.

The Greenback Party proper always had its strongest support in the Western States. In Maine, New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts the Greenback element was made up of labor reformers, and its tickets were as a rule supported principally by laboring men. But on several occasions the Greenbackers received encouragement and support from either one or the other of the two great parties of the country, who hoped to create a diversion in their own favor by running a third ticket, so made up as to draw votes from the opposing party.

The following is the platform of the Greenback-Labor Party, adopted at the National Convention, held in Chicago, June 9 and 10, 1880:

Platform of 1880

Civil government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort and the facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn as unworthy of our civilization the barbarism which imposes upon the wealth producers a state of perpetual drudgery as the price of bare animal existence.

Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power, the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence.

The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money and cheap labor, a "strong government," and hence a weak people.

Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes; of the unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce, and scarcity of money enforces debt trade, and public and corporate loans—debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower.

Other results are deranged markets, uncertainty of manufacturing enterprise and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism.

Therefore we declare:

(1) That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, conferring upon a subordinate irresponsible power, and absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued and its volume controlled by the government, and not by or through banking corporations, and when so issued should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

(2) That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as it is practicable, according to contract. To enable the government to meet these obligations, legal tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

(3) That labor should be so protected by national and state authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results; the eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced; the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control; the competition of contract convict labor abolished; a bureau of labor statistics established; factories, mines, and workshops inspected; the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

(4) Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

(5) Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfilment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the government; and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

(6) It is the duty of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

(7) We denounce, as destructive to prosperity and dangerous to liberty, the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations and monopolies, invested with and exercising powers belonging to the government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their use.

(8) That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldier and sailor who periled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country, and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican Party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him, and in favor of the bondholder.

(9) All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

(10) We denounce as most dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

(11) We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

(12) We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the president.

(13) We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

(14) In the furtherance of these ends we ask the cooperation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, we wage no war upon classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the machinery of government, and largely over the press, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions, and over life and property.

The literature of the movement is large, but much of it was in only transient form. Among the best books is B. S. Heath's "Labor and Finance Revolution." The papers of Henry C. Baird and "The Currency Question," a pamphlet by G. M. Steele, contain more moderate statements of the views of the Greenback Party. (For a discussion of the principles voiced by the Chicago convention of 1880, see CURRENCY; MONEY.)

GREULICH, HERMANN: Swiss statistician; Swiss Workmen's Secretary. The Swiss Confederation has no department of labor, but the *Arbeitersekretariat* was established in 1887. It has a semiofficial standing, the salaries and expenses being paid by the government, while the secretary is chosen by the labor organizations. The office was created in April, 1887, by the election of Mr. Greulich, a statistician of Zurich; 142 labor organizations, representing about 100,000 working men, were interested in the election through a central committee; it was for three years, but has been renewed since. The new secretary placed himself in touch with the cantonal and foreign governments' labor and social departments. In 1888 he published an exhaustive study of wages in Switzerland; 1890 and 1893 statistics on accidents. Author: "In-

stitutions of the Paris Municipal Council for the Protection of the Working Classes" (1889). *Address*: *Arbeitersekretariat*, Bern, Switzerland.

GREY, SIR GEORGE: Third governor of New Zealand; has been called "the greatest figure in the first half-century of New Zealand's colonial history"; born at Lisburn, Ireland, 1812; educated at Sandhurst for the army; entered the service and became captain in 1835. In 1839 he went on an exploring expedition in Australia, and two years later was appointed Governor of South Australia. In 1845 he was transferred to the governorship of New Zealand, and successfully closed the first Maori War. He largely drafted the present constitution of the colony, which had been on the brink of ruin when he became its executive. In 1854 he left the colony on the road to prosperity, and was transferred to the governorship of Cape Colony; but in 1861 he was transferred back to New Zealand to conduct the second Maori War. He retired in 1868, but in 1875 came into public life as a leading Liberal, and was premier from 1877 to 1879. After resigning this office he sat in Parliament almost continuously till he retired in 1894 on account of old age. He gained great support all over Australia for his liberal views, especially for his advocacy of the "one man, one vote" idea, woman's suffrage, and national ownership of the soil. A natural leader with extraordinary abilities, he was at times hated and criticized by some, but honored, loved, and followed by the many. He died in 1898.

GRONLUND, LAWRENCE: American Socialist, lawyer, and writer; born in Denmark, 1848; took part in the Dano-German War of 1864; studied law at the University of Copenhagen; emigrated to the United States in 1867, and for a time taught German in a public school in Milwaukee. In 1869 he was admitted to the bar and began practising law in Chicago. He became interested in socialism by reading Pascal's "Pensées." In 1880 he published a dialogue on "The Coming Revolution," and in 1884 his "Cooperative Commonwealth," the first full statement of modern socialism published in this country, and which had a wide sale and influence. Mr. Gronlund then devoted himself to the propaganda of socialism, and wrote and lectured wherever he could get a hearing—in Chicago, New York, Boston, and on the Pacific coast. He held for a while an office in the U. S. Labor Department. In 1887 he published "Danton," a study of the French Revolution, and in 1890 "Our Destiny," a work religious as well as socialistic, which had a large sale, especially in England, where 1,000 copies were sold in the first month. The *Revue d'Économie Politique* called it "the most elevated and attractive conception of socialism yet published." Mr. Gronlund died in 1899.

GROTIUS, HUGO, or DE GROOT: Dutch jurist and writer; born at Delft, 1583; son of the burgomaster of the town; entered the University of Leyden in 1594, graduating in 1598. Traveling in France, he returned to practise as a lawyer, and in 1607 was fiscal general, and in 1610 council-pensionary at Rotterdam. For supporting the Remonstrants he was condemned, in 1619, to imprisonment for life, but escaped by the aid of his wife, who took his place in the castle, tho for her bravery she was set free. He wandered through the Netherlands and France, and for a while enjoyed a pension at the court of Louis XIII. He was allowed to return to Holland, but was soon again exiled for life. A wanderer again, he entered the service of Sweden, and from 1635 to 1645 was Swedish ambassador at Paris. Returning to Sweden, he passed through Amsterdam, and was honored there as well as in Sweden. He received a pension, but while journeying fell ill and died at Rostock in 1645. He was a profound scholar, an eminent theologian, an erudite historian, a Latin poet, an eminent jurist. His "De Jure Belli et Pacis" (1625) has been translated into all the languages of Europe, and may be called the basis of international law. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

GRÜN, KARL: German Socialist; born at Lüdenscheid, 1813; educated at the gymnasium at Wetzlar; studied theology and philosophy at Bonn and Berlin. From 1839 to 1842 he taught languages in Colmar, whereafter he returned to Germany, founding the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung*. He was, however, expelled from Baden on account of alleged revolutionary tendencies, whereupon he settled in Cologne where he edited a weekly, *Der Sprecher*. He became converted to socialism, and visited Belgium and Paris. In 1845 he published "Die Sociale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien, Briefe und Studien." Returning to Germany in 1848, Grün was elected to the second chamber of the Prussian Diet, where he joined the extreme Left. On the dissolution of this Diet he was accused of having taken an "intellectual" part in the "Pfalz Uprising"; but after eight months' incarceration was acquitted. He then spent some years abroad, returning on the death of Frederick William IV., and settling in Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he earned a living as an instructor in a commercial school. In 1870 he settled in Vienna, where he died in 1887.

GUESDE, JULES: French Socialist leader; born in Paris, 1845. Entering political journalism in Paris, Toulouse, and Montpellier, at the latter place he published the *Droits de l'homme*, and was imprisoned six months for a revolutionary article against the empire. At the time of the Commune he attempted to stir up a revolution in Montpellier; was condemned to five years' imprisonment; fled to Geneva and joined the Internationalists. Driven to Italy, he returned to Paris in 1876 and edited the *Citoyen*, the *Cri du Peuple*, and then founded the *Egalité*, the first paper of modern Marxist socialism in France. In 1879, with Marx, Engels, and La Fargue, he drafted the program of the Marxist *Parti ouvrier français*, of which he became the foremost leader. (See FRANCE.) Imprisoned for six months in 1878 and again in 1883 for his Socialist activities, in 1893 he was elected deputy from Roubaix. Since this date to his reelection in 1906, he followed the varying fortunes of the *Parti ouvrier français*, and is now one of the active members of the United French Socialist Party. Among his numerous tho brief writings are: "Collectivisme et Revolution"; "Socialisme et services publices"; "Le Collectivisme au Collége de France."

GUILDS. See GILDS.

GUNTON, GEORGE: American economist and editor; born in Cambridgeshire, England, 1847;

emigrated to the United States in 1874, and for some time worked in factories in Massachusetts. Interested in social studies, and especially in the eight-hour philosophy, he became an editorial writer on economic themes. His "Wealth and Progress," which appeared in 1887, is the fullest statement of the eight-hour philosophy, tho not indorsed by most of the eight-hour trade-unionists on account of its author's opposition to many other progressive views held by trade-unions, and by some of them on account of his advocacy of protection. In 1890 Mr. Gunton became president of the Institute of Social Economics, and editor of the *Social Economist*, the name of which was changed in 1896 to *Gunton's Magazine*. *Address*: Colorado Buildings, Washington, D. C.

GUTHRIE, ROBERT STORRIE: Australian statesman; born in Ayr County, Scotland, 1857; spent ten years at sea; went to Australia in 1878 and engaged in the coasting trade; became secretary of the Federated Seamen's Union of Australia in 1887, and is also secretary of the Federal Council of Australian Labor Unions. He was elected senator for South Australia in the Australian Federal Parliament in 1903. *Address*: Knighton Villa, Peterhead, South Australia.

H

HADLEY, ARTHUR TWINING: President of Yale University: born at New Haven, Conn., 1856. Graduated from Yale, 1876. Studied in Berlin. Tutor and lecturer on railroad transportation at Yale 1879–86. Commissioner of Labor for Connecticut 1885–87. Professor of political science, Yale, 1886–99. Since then president. Author of "Railroad Transportation" (1885); "Labor Reports" (1885–86); "Economics" (1896), a work largely used as a text-book; "The Education of the American Citizen" (1901); "Freedom and Responsibility" (1903); "Baccalaureate Addresses" (1907). *Address*: 93 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Conn.

HAGGARD, HENRY RIDER: Author; sociologist; born Bradenham, Norfolk, 1856. Educated at Ipswich and privately. Secretary to Governor of Natal and then to a commissioner in Transvaal, 1875–79. Formally hoisted the British flag at Pretoria, 1877. Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, 1884. His first book, "Cetywayo and His White Neighbors," appeared 1882; "Dawn" (1884); "King Solomon's Mines" (1886). These and other novels made him famous, and he wrote prolifically. From 1896–98 he journeyed through England, studying rural conditions, and became deeply interested in social problems with which he deals in "Rural England," his most important work. He was made commissioner to report on the Salvation Army colonies in the United States, and made a report (1905) strongly advocating similar schemes for the colonization of England's unemployed by private associations, but with government control and aid, with a scheme for national land settlement. He is an active magistrate and member of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, 1906. *Address*: Ditchingham House, Norfolk, England.

HALE, EDWARD EVERETT: Unitarian clergyman and author; born in Boston, 1822. Graduated at Harvard College in 1839. and licensed to preach in 1842. Pastor in Worcester (1846–1856), then pastor of the South Congregational (Unitarian) Church, in Boston, where he still remains. He is even better known as a leader and often the starter of a marvelous number of philanthropic movements. His *Ten Times One is Ten* led to the establishment of clubs devoted to doing good scattered throughout the world, with a membership of over 50,000. They are called "Lend-a-Hand" clubs and have for their motto, "Look up and not down; look forward and not back; look out and not in: and lend a hand." He has also taken great interest in the Chautauqua and other literary, educational, and reform movements. When the Nationalist and Christian Socialist movements were commenced, Dr. Hale interested himself in them, and has sometimes even declared himself a Socialist. In 1869 he founded, in connection with the American Unitarian Association, the magazine *Old and New*, which in 1875 was merged into *Scribner's Monthly*. In 1886 he started *Lend a Hand*. His short stories are among his best works, notably "My Double and How He Undid Me" (1859), "The Man Without a Country" (1863), "In His Name," and "How They Lived in Hampton"—a socialistic story. *Address*: 39 Highland Street, Roxbury, Mass.

HALL, BOLTON: Lawyer; reformer; born in Ireland, 1859; son of Dr. John Hall. Educated in Dublin till 1867. Graduated at Princeton University, 1875. Has lectured and written many brochures on fundamental reforms, advocating the single tax, and large personal liberty. He has been especially active in promoting the cultivation of vacant lots by the unemployed. (See VACANT LOTS.) Author of "Even as You and I" (1889); "Things as They Are" (1900); "The Game of Life" (1903); "Three Acres and Liberty" (1907). *Address*: 33 East Sixty-first Street, New York.

HALL, FRED: Labor member of Parliament for Nomanton, West Riding, Yorkshire. Born 1855 in Staffordshire. He entered a Rotherham colliery, became secretary of the Yorkshire Miners' Association in 1878, and later treasurer and agent. Has been Grand Master of the British United Order of Odd Fellows. He was returned to Parliament in Nov., 1905, without opposition, chiefly by the miners, assisted by the Liberals. *Address*: Rowmarsh Hill, Parkgate, near Rotherham, Yorkshire, England.

HAMPDEN, JOHN: English statesman and patriot; born London, 1594. Entered Oxford, 1610, and the Inner Temple, London, 1621. In 1621 he first sat in the House of Commons as member of the antiroyalist party. In 1627 he was imprisoned for nearly a year for refusing his proportion of a general loan, which the king concluded to force. He remained in Parliament till the dissolution in 1628, becoming one of its leading members. In 1634 he refused to pay a tax, unjustly levied, and was prosecuted for non-pay-

ment and was condemned. In the Short Parliament of 1640 he took an active part against the crown. In the Long Parliament, 1647, he was one of the first members the king attempted to seize. During the Civil War he was colonel of a regiment he himself raised and was wounded at Chalgrove Field. He died 1643.

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER: American statesman; born on the island of Nevis, West Indies, in 1757, the son of a Scotch merchant. Entering a counting-house at the age of twelve, his abilities induced his friends to secure for him a college education, and he was graduated at Columbia College, New York. At the age of eighteen he wrote a series of papers on the relation of the colonies to England, which were at first taken for the production of the statesman Jay. On the outbreak of the war he became a captain of artillery, but soon gained the confidence of Washington and became his aide-de-camp and confidant in 1777. In 1780 he married a daughter of General Schuyler, and became one of New York's leading lawyers.

He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1782–83, and of the Convention of 1787. His perspicacity and power of thought were remarkable. One of the most abused as well as one of the most lauded of men, he played a leading part in the early history of this country.

In conjunction with Madison, he had the most important share in drafting the Constitution. He was a strong supporter of the federal policy of developing a strong national government, and, along with Jay and Madison, defended the Constitution against all attacks by a series of letters in the *Daily Advertiser* of New York, afterward collected and published under the title of "The Federalist" (*q. v.*). On the establishment of the new government in 1789, with Washington as president, Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. The disorder of the public credit and the deficiency of official accounts of the State treasury rendered this office one of peculiar difficulty. In order to reestablish public credit, he carried, in spite of much opposition, a measure for the funding of the domestic debt, founded a national bank, and rearranged the system of duties. In 1795 he resigned his office and resumed the practise of law in New York. When the war with France broke out in 1798, he was, according to the wish of Washington, made Major-General of the United States Army; and, on the death of Washington, he succeeded to the chief command. When peace was restored, he returned to his civil duties, but became involved in a political quarrel with Aaron Burr. This difference unhappily culminated in a duel, in which Hamilton received a wound of which he died the following day (July 12, 1804). (See FEDERAL PARTY; CONSTITUTION.)

HANFORD, BEN: Socialist; born Cleveland, Ohio, 1859; an active member of the International Typographical Union for twenty-eight years. In 1898 the Socialist Labor Party made him their candidate for governor of New York; in 1900 was candidate of Social Democratic Party for the same office; in 1901 candidate of Social Democratic Party for mayor of New York City; in 1902 its candidate for the governorship again. In 1904 Hanford was its candidate for the vice-presidency. He is a political and revolutionary Socialist, and author of numerous political and industrial pamphlets and leaflets, which have had a circulation of many million copies. *Address*: 2335 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

HARDIE, JAMES KEIR: Labor leader; member of Parliament; born 1856, near Holytown, Lanarkshire, Scotland; had no schooling advantages. At eight years of age he was a doorkeeper in a mine, and worked in the mines until twenty-three, when a difficulty between masters and men having arisen he was chosen leader of the miners. Dismissed and blacklisted, he was elected secretary of a miners' union. In 1882 he joined the editorial staff of *The Cumnock News*. In 1888 he stood as a Socialist for Parliament at Mid-Lanark, but was defeated. He was successful, however, in 1892, in South West Ham, gaining a majority of 1,232. Defeated in the same constituency in 1895, in the 1900 election he contested Preston and Merthyr Tydvil, losing the former and winning the latter by 1,700 votes over a Liberal candidate. In 1906 he was elected the second time for Merthyr Tydvil with 3,000 majority. He founded the INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, established *The Labor Leader* in 1887, and edited the paper until 1904, when it became the official organ of the party, and was definitely taken over as such. In Parliament he has championed the cause of the unemployed, strenuously opposed the South African War, and is a strong advocate of equal rights being granted to women as to men. He is a member of the Fabian Society. He was in February, 1906, elected parliamentary leader of the Labor Party. He is often spoken of as the "Member for the Unemployed." He has written much on social topics and published pamphlets on almost every subject bearing upon working class reform. *Address*: 14 Nevill's Court, E. C., London, England. *Home Address*: Lochnorris, Old Cumnock, Scotland.

HARMONISTS, THE: The name of a religious celibate German community, established at Economy, Pa. The sect was founded in Würtemberg by George Rapp with his son Frederick about 1787, and its adherents are sometimes called Rappists. They believe that the condition of celibacy is most pleasing to God; that the coming of Christ and the renovation of the world are near at hand; that Christ taught a community of goods; that ultimately all mankind will find salvation; but that only those who are celibates, and otherwise conform to what they believe to be the commandments of Jesus, will be at once received into the company of Christ and His companions. The early members were so harassed by petty persecutions that in 1803 they emigrated to Pennsylvania and Maryland. In 1805 they were prosperously established at Harmony, Butler County, Pa., where they remained ten years, but lack of water communication induced them to migrate to New Harmony, Ind., remaining there until 1824, when they sold their land to Robert Owen, the Socialist, and returned to Pennsylvania, establishing themselves at Economy, near Pittsburg. With their accustomed energy they set to work establishing mills, a tannery, a distillery, and other plants, and adding a large hotel to their various industries. They produced silk, wool, and cotton goods, and made a remarkably good wine. Everything was turned into the productive channel, even the vines over the doors bearing fruit. They also "struck oil" on their property, which added largely to their wealth, and they purchased 2,000 acres more.

All this prosperity, which lasted many years, was due to the administrative genius of Father Rapp, his equally able son, and to Father Henrici, long the head of the community. In numbers, however, they declined, due to their celibacy and to the fact that they sought few accessions. As Economy, too, was so near a large manufacturing center many of the members forsook their earlier ideals and took their place in the competitive strife of the city, and the last years of the society's existence were marked by desertions, deaths, and lawsuits. In April, 1903, all the holdings of the Harmony Society, including the town of Economy, were bought by a Pittsburg syndicate. Their wealth at one time was variously estimated from $5,000,000 to $25,000,000.

HARRINGTON, JAMES: Born at Upton, 1611; educated at Oxford University. In 1646 he was a personal attendant to Charles I. when he was imprisoned, and attended him at his execution. In 1656 he published the work he is best known by, "Oceana"—a political allegory, somewhat in imitation of Plato—in which he depicted an ideal republic named Oceana. He was arrested in 1661 on a charge of treason, but was confined without a trial until he finally became insane, and died in 1677. The probable reason of his imprisonment was his avowed republican opinions.

HARRIS, THOMAS LAKE: Born at Fenny Stratford, England, 1823. In 1827 his father came to America and settled at Utica, N. Y. Soon compelled to earn his own living, at seventeen he began to write for newspapers. In 1844 he became a Universalist preacher at Minden, N. Y., and from 1845–47 in New York City. In 1848, having adopted Swedenborgian views, he organized an Independent Christian Society in New York. He afterward lectured in many parts of the union, endeavoring to turn the public interest in spiritualism to what he considered a higher plane of religious thought and life. In 1855 he established the *Herald of Light* to advance his views, and in 1858 visited England and Scotland, where he gained converts. Returning in 1861, he settled in Amenia, N. Y., where friends gathered around him and formed the "Brotherhood of the New Life." The Brotherhood was afterward removed to Brocton, N. Y., where Lady Oliphant and several Japanese of distinction joined the society, and remained many years. The Brotherhood was a school and the friends came as students desirous of a social life higher and more unselfish than the conventional life of civilization. The property was not held in common, but Mr. Harris seemed to hold all power in his hands, creating great hostility, deserved or undeserved. After 1876, however, it was transferred to Santa Rosa, Cal.; it gradually lost almost all its aspects as a community and became simply a prosperous business corporation, carrying on extensive agricultural undertakings, mainly in California wines. Harris died in 1905.

In reply to an inquirer, Harris made the following statement in brief:

The life, system, and action of the society which I represent are so far removed from the lines of the usual thought, that I fear I shall hardly be able to answer your friendly inquiries with the fulness you desire. Personally I am not a communist. . . . I find myself enzoned by a large circle of men and women who have been driven to me by a potent attraction but without any conscious endeavor of my own. My life is devoted to their service, and they constitute the society known as the "Brotherhood of the New Life."

This family passed, years ago, through the communistic phase, in which, however, I did not take part, tho esteeming it a phase in evolution and serving it financially. Without dissension or disunion, its members then passed into a phase of modified socialism, each series constituting a family partnership; and they found that this mode of combined action developed a large force of individual character, as well as a more strict business habit and aptitude, but the spirit was not fully satisfied.

Views

Meanwhile I organized my own affairs amid my friends, and employed all who did not fit or find place elsewhere, treating them as sons, but insisting on paying weekly wages. After a time they found it incompatible with their forming affections to receive money-pay. I then entertained them as guests, brethren, and children in their father's house; and this satisfied them. There is no espionage; honor rules; love is supreme. Gradually the family partnerships have ceased, without a struggle, and all have entered into this order.

We think that generation must cease till the sons and daughters of God are prepared for the higher generation, by evolution into structural, bisexual completeness, above the plane of sin, of disease, or of natural mortality.

Believers in the Divine Immanence, we hold by the "True Light," that lighteth every man who cometh into the world; but we further conclude that the Creative Logos, "God manifested in the flesh," is not male merely, nor female merely, but the two in one. The doctrine of the Divine-Human Two-in-One, in whose individual and social likeness, in whose spiritual and physical likeness, we seek to be reborn, is the pivot of our faith and the directive force of our life.

His principal works are: "Lyric of the Golden Age" (1855); "Arcana of Christianity" (Genesis), (1858); "The Great Republic" (1867); "Wisdom of the Adepts" (1884); "The New Republic" (1894); "The Marriage of Heaven and Earth" (1903). See also Edwin Markham's "Remarkable Pages from Thomas Lake Harris" (1908).

EDWIN MARKHAM.

HARRISON, FREDERIC: Leading English Positivist; born in London, 1831; educated at King's College, London, and at Oxford. He was admitted to the bar in 1858. Member of the Royal Commission of Trade-Unions, 1867–69, and for Digesting the Laws, 1869–70. In 1877 he was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law by the Council of Legal Education, and remained till 1889. He was alderman and on the London County Council 1889–92. He has deeply interested himself in the English Labor movement, in 1861 writing important letters to the press defending trade-unionism; later getting trade-unions legalized as friendly societies; writing for the *Beehive* from 1861–77, the principal Labor paper of London, etc. He is the chief exponent of the Positivist school, a critic of authority, and a master of English prose. Among his works are: "The Meaning of History" (1862); "Social Statics" (1875); "Order and Progress" (1875); "Oliver Cromwell" (1888); "American Addresses" (1901); "Memories and Thoughts" (1906). *Address*: Elm Hill, Hawkhurst, Kent.

HARTMANN, KONRAD: German civil engineer; born in Nuremberg, Oct. 8, 1853; studied engineering at the technical high school at Munich, later becoming an instructor at industrial and polytechnic institutions in Nuremberg and elsewhere. In 1891 he was appointed a member of the German Reichs-Versicherungsamt, of which he in 1901 became chairman. He is also professor of accident insurance at the Royal Technical high school in Berlin. His activity is directed toward the promotion of mechanical safety devices; and he is director of the perpetual exposition of such contrivances which has been established by the German government. He has

published numerous booklets and papers on safety devices, accident insurance, factory hygiene, accident statistics, etc., etc. *Address*: Kurfürstendamm 100, Berlin-Halensee, Germany.

HASLAM, JAMES: Labor member of Parliament for Chesterfield, Derbyshire. Born 1842, and educated in the village schools. He was a coal miner for twenty-nine years, and the general secretary of the Derbyshire Miners' Association for twenty-five years. He was a member of the Clay Lane School Board, of the Chesterfield Board of Guardians, and of the Chesterfield Borough Council; of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress; a justice of the peace at Chesterfield in 1893. Haslam was elected to Parliament in 1906 chiefly by the miners' votes, assisted by the Liberals. *Address*: 47 Clarence Road, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, England.

HAW, GEORGE: Author; born at Darlington, Durham, England, 1871. In 1889 he went to London as a journalist, and for a time was at Toynbee Hall. He helped to found and was the first warden of the Maurice Hostel, of the Christian Social Union. Mr. Haw is on the staff of the London *Daily News*. He is author of: "No Room to Live: the Story of Overcrowded London"; "To-Day's Work: or Municipal Government the Hope of Democracy"; "Britain's Homes: a Review of the Housing Problem in Town and Country." Editor of two popular books defending Christianity against agnostic attacks; "Religious Doubts of the Democracy"; "Christianity and the Working Classes." *Address*: 34 Linzee Road, Hornsey, N. London, England.

HAWAII TERRITORY: A group of eight inhabited and eleven uninhabited islands annexed in 1898 to the United States by vote of the legislatures of the islands and of Congress. In 1900 the islands were organized under a territorial form of government. The Senate has fifteen members, the House thirty. The legislature meets biennially. The executive is a governor with a secretary, appointed by the President for four years. Other officials are appointed by the governor with the approval of the Hawaiian Senate, and must be citizens of Hawaii. Hawaii is represented in Congress by one delegate, elected biennially by the people.

Total area (including water) 6,449 square miles. The island of Hawaii has 4,210 square miles; Maui, 760; Oahu, 600; Kauai, 590. Population (1900), 154,001 (only 47,632 female). This is an increase of 41 per cent since 1896. Oahu has 58,504; Hawaii, 46,847; Honolulu, the capital of Oahu, has 39,305. Of the total number, 29,787 are Hawaiians (in 1896, 31,019); 7,848 are part Hawaiian; 25,767 Chinese, and 61,111 Japanese. The total white population is 28,533. In 1902–3 there were 12,050 Japanese immigrants. Almost all the natives are Christian, about half Protestant and half Roman Catholic. Education is free, but 33.1 per cent of the population over ten is illiterate. In 1903 there were 144 public schools and 13,793 enrolled pupils.

Exports to countries outside the U. S. (1905), $59,541. Imports from the same, $3,014,969. Merchandise to the U. S. (1905), $36,112,055 ($35,112,127 sugar), and from the U. S., $11,753,180. Sugar and rice are the staple products, but coffee, hides, bananas, wool, and whale oil and bone are also exported.

There are 128 miles of railway; nearly every house in Honolulu has its telephone.

Of those engaged in gainful occupations, 62 per cent are in agriculture, 18 per cent in domestic and personal service, 9 per cent in manufacturing, 7 per cent in trade and transportation. Fifty-two per cent are Japanese, 21 per cent Chinese, 12 per cent Caucasian, 11 per cent Hawaiian. In 1902 the wages of mechanics were $3.80 per day; of unskilled males, seventy-one cents; of unskilled females, forty-five cents.

REFERENCE: *Third Report of the Commissioners of Labor on Hawaii*. Bulletin of the (U. S.) Bureau of Labor, No. 66, September, 1906.

HAYES, JOHN W.: the present General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor; born in Philadelphia, 1854. He never attended school. As a boy Hayes worked as brakeman on the Pennsylvania Railroad. In 1878 he lost his right arm, but took to telegraphy, at which he worked until 1883. He entered the Knights of Labor on the General Executive Board 1884–88; was secretary-treasurer 1888–92; since, General Master Workman. *Address*: 43 B Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

HAYES, MAX S.: American Socialist; born at Havana, O., 1866. Educated in the public schools and became a printer. Aided in establishing *The Cleveland Citizen*, 1890, and its editor since 1897. Populist till 1896, since that time a Socialist. Has been prominent in the Socialist Party and also in trade-unions. *Address*: 193 Champlain Street, Cleveland, O.

HAYWOOD, WILLIAM D.: Secretary of the Western Federation of Miners; tried with Messrs. Moyers and Pettibone in Boisé, Idaho, June–July, 1907, for complicity in the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg and acquitted. (See WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.)

HEADLAM, STEWART DUCKWORTH: A ritualistic Church of England clergyman and a Fabian Socialist; born at Wavertree, near Liverpool, in 1847, and educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was curate of St. John's, Drury Lane, from 1870–73; St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, 1873–78; St. Thomas's, Charterhouse, 1880–81; St. Michael's, Shoreditch, 1881–84. Mr. Headlam early interested himself in social problems as a priest of the Church of England, and his parochial duties bringing him in contact with girls and actors on the stage, he defended them from what he believed unwarranted condemnation, and came to believe in and study stage dancing as an art. A lecture on this subject gave serious offense to the late Bishop of London, and he refused him a license in his diocese, so that Mr. Headlam has worked under great difficulties. He has been the leading spirit and the real founder of the Church and Stage Guild, and also of the Guild of St. Matthew (*q. v.*), the first society still existing in England to declare for socialism. He was, till its suspension in 1895, the editor of *The Church Reformer*, the organ of the gild. Mr. Headlam is the author of several small but remarkable volumes of sermons and lectures: "Priestcraft and Progress" (1882); "Lessons from the Cross" (1887); "The Laws of Eternal Life" (1888); "Salvation through Christ"; "Christian Socialism" (1888). He has also edited part of Carlo Blesis's work on dancing, under

the title "The Theory of Theatrical Dancing." He has written essays on "The Function of the Stage," "The Ballet," etc. He thus unites the most radical views with a high Anglican Catholicism. He is most popular with the London working men, and has been elected on the London School Board for Hackney, and most actively works as a Fabian Socialist. *Address*: Waver-tree, St. Margaret's on Thames.

HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH: American newspaper proprietor and politician; born 1863 in San Francisco; son of a United States Senator; educated in public schools and Harvard University. Editor and proprietor of *Examiner*, San Francisco, since 1886. In 1895 Mr. Hearst came to New York and bought the New York *Journal*, the name of which he changed to the *New York American*, and later founded and acquired the New York *Evening Journal*, and dailies in Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles; also the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, *Hearst's Home and American Farm and Motor*. His dailies reach 2,000,000 readers and employ 4,000 persons, besides space writers. They are people's papers, and are often accused of being "yellow journals"—advocating political measures popular with the masses merely to help Mr. Hearst's political ambitions, and to increase the sale of his papers. This motive is strenuously denied by practically all who know Mr. Hearst personally, who urge that his papers take this tone in order to reach the masses, but that Mr. Hearst advocates those measures from a genuine belief in democracy.

Mr. Hearst was elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-eighth and Fifty-ninth Congresses for the Eleventh New York district. In 1905 he was candidate for the mayoralty of New York, and was, in the opinion of almost all, elected, but counted out by 3,000 votes, and unable to secure a recount. In 1906 he was made candidate for the governorship of New York by the Independent League—which he had organized—and was also indorsed by the Democratic Convention, tho many Democrats opposed him. He received 691,105 votes, against 749,002 for Mr. Hughes (Republican).

HEATH, RICHARD: Author; born in Southwark, London, 1831. In 1845 was apprenticed as a wood-engraver. Roused by the French Revolution of 1848 to a serious life, he joined his ancestral church and became interested in the social problem. In 1868 he walked through the country studying the rural situation and gave the result in many articles on rural conditions. In 1884 he published "The English Via Dolorosa; or, History of the Agricultural Laborer," and another book "The English Peasant" in 1893. Mr. Heath would work for a real and complete separation of the Church from the world; for a reorganization of all states on a Social-Democratic basis with ultimate federation; for a Church whose only bond is faith in Christ and in God, and having for its ideal the voluntary communism of the New Testament. He is the author of: "The Early Life and Writings of Edgar Quinet"; "Anabaptism in 1526–1536"; "The Captive City of God," and articles in *Contemporary Review*, etc. *Address*: Trevereux Hill, Limpsfield, Surrey, England.

HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH: Philosopher; born at Stuttgart, 1770. He studied at Tübingen with Schelling, and became professor at Jena, Heidelberg, and Berlin, where he died in 1831. His principal works are: "Die Phenomenologie des Geistes" (1807); the "Logik" (1812–1816); an "Encyklopedie der Philosoph. Wissenschaften" (1817); "Philosophie des Rechts" (1821). He early in life turned his attention to social questions, writing (1797) a commentary on Stewart's "Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy." Later he published various small works on the political constitutions of Württemberg and Germany, criticizing them and admiring Napoleon, "that universal genius." Living in the stirring times of the French Revolution, rejecting the idea of the Absolute, and conceiving of everything, even of God, as an eternal process, he thinks of society as developing through the individual, the family, the town, the State, the world, higher and higher unities, each unity, however, realizing and not destroying the lower unity. It is easy to see how he came to be the intellectual father of Marx and of most early German Socialists.

HELD, ADOLF: Political economist, born in Würzburg in 1844. He studied in Würzburg and Munich. In 1867 he became teacher, and in 1872 Professor of Political Economy at Bonn. In 1880 he was called to the university at Berlin, but was drowned on Aug. 25th of the same year. He was prominent as one of the Socialists of The Chair (*q. v.*). Among his best-known works are: "Die Einkommensteuer" (1872); "Die deutsche Arbeiterpresse der Gegenwart" (1873); "Grundriss für Vorlesungen über Nationalökonomie" (1876); "Sozialismus, Sozialdemokratie und Sozialpolitik" (1878).

HELICON HALL: In response to a call published in *The Independent*, New York, a meeting of about 300 people was held in Berkeley Lyceum, New York City, July 17, 1906. The object of the meeting was the establishment of a cooperative home. The Helicon Home Colony was subsequently organized by the persons interested. In October of the same year this organization secured nine acres and a half of land, with the buildings thereon, known as the Helicon Hall property, at Englewood, N. J.

The title to this property was taken by the Home Colony Company, a separate corporation, formed to raise the necessary capital. The company engaged to put the main building (Helicon Hall) in thorough repair and to equip it for use as a residence, and the colony rented the property from the company upon a three-year lease.

The Helicon Home Colony was a membership corporation governed by a board of directors elected for six months by secret ballot. The only conditions to residence in the colony were "congeniality" and freedom from contagious disease. One might reside in the colony indefinitely without becoming a member, but only members had the right to vote. The conditions of membership were one month's residence, election by a four-fifths vote, and the payment of an initiation fee of $25. The constitution of the colony provided for initiative, referendum, and recall of members of the board of directors.

The colony believed that, by means of cooperation, the introduction of system and labor-saving machinery, household labor could be lifted to the rank of a profession and that people could be found to do such labor and, at the same time, be admitted to the colony as members. The ex-

perience of five months at Helicon Hall justified this belief.

The name "Colony" suggests "Brook Farm," "Ruskin," and similar cooperative experiments, but, as a matter of fact, all these colonies were experiments in cooperative production, while the Helicon Hall Colony was an experiment in cooperative distribution.

Helicon Hall was destroyed by a fire originating before daybreak on March 16, 1907. In this fire one life was lost and several persons were seriously but not fatally injured.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

HENDERSON, ARTHUR: English Labor M. P.; born at Glasgow, 1863; and on moving to Newcastle in 1875, apprenticed as a molder to Robert Stephenson & Co. In 1883 he joined the Friendly Society of Ironfounders, and in a short time was made an official. In 1894 was secretary of the North-Eastern Conciliation Board. His municipal work includes labor on the Newcastle City Council, Durham County Council, and Darlington Borough Council. A member of the Wesleyan Church for twenty-five years, he has filled nearly all the lay offices connected therewith. At a by-election in 1893, he was elected to Parliament the first Labor representative independent of the old parties. In 1903 he was Mayor of Darlington. In 1906 he was elected for Barnard Castle, Durham. Not a party Socialist, he is a strong believer in collectivist principles to be developed through the trade-union movement. *Address*: Teesdale, Atherfold Road, Clapham, S. W.

HENDERSON, CHARLES RICHMOND: Sociologist; born 1848, at Covington, Ind.; educated at public schools, (former) University of Chicago, Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Leipsic University. Pastor of churches at Terre Haute and Detroit until 1892, when he became Professor of Sociology at University of Chicago. President National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1899; of National Prison Association in 1902; of National Children's Home Society. Associate editor of *American Journal of Sociology*. He believes in sociological science as an instrument of coordination of bodies of knowledge which in isolation would be sterile. He is the author of: "Social Elements"; "Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes"; "Social Spirit in America"; "Social Settlements"; "Modern Methods of Charity," etc. *Address*: University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

HERBERGEN ZUR HEIMATH. See RELIEF STATIONS.

HERBERT, AUBERON EDWARD WILLIAM MOLYNEUX: English reformer; the son of the third earl of Carnarvon, born 1838. He left Oxford for the army, serving eighteen months in India, but returned, and took his degree, and for a year taught at Oxford. He then visited Denmark during the Prussian-Danish War, and the United States during the War of the Rebellion, becoming acquainted in camp with Generals Grant and Meade. His next few years were spent in London aiding working men in clubs. From 1870 to 1874 he was in Parliament for Nottingham. He went to France during the Franco-Prussian War. He left Parliament, coming to believe, with Spencer, that the people needed to reconstruct their own conditions in life and not to depend on politicians. He has thus become an intense individualist, the editor of *Free Life*, the organ of Voluntaryism (*q. v.*), advocating the voluntary state and voluntary taxation. He published "The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State" in 1885. *Address*: Old House, Ringwood, Hants.

HEREDITY: The importance of heredity in questions of social reform is large, but cannot be briefly discust, except in the most general terms. Scientific authorities have come as yet to few exact conclusions as to heredity, and even some of its fundamental characteristics are yet in dispute. (For the great Weismann controversy as to whether acquired characteristics can be transmitted to posterity or not, see EVOLUTION.) Of the bearing of this upon social reform, Professor Ely says (*Outlook*, 1893):

> Recent studies of heredity appear also to give less importance to it, on the whole, than earlier ones. It is now frequently asserted by scientists that acquired qualities cannot be transmitted. An English economist says of Weismann, whose essays upon heredity are well known, that he has reopened the case for socialism. What he means is this, socialism lays emphasis almost entirely upon circumstances, and Weismann's investigations have so emphasized the importance of circumstances as opposed to heredity that once more the case for socialism requires discussion before the bar of public opinion.

In a recent letter Mr. C. Loring Brace, secretary of the Children's Aid Society of New York, said:

> So far as we can judge, inheritance does not figure in the problem. . . . This society has placed 84,000 children in homes since it began this work forty years ago, and it is our experience that no matter what the parents may be, if the child is taken away at an age so early that it has not yet understood the wickedness about, if placed in a country home with kind and judicious adopted parents, it is almost certain to do well. . . . But if the child is not transplanted early enough, then there are the bad examples, bad habits, and knowledge of evil ways to contend against.
>
> The last word of the scientists is in accord with the words of these practical scientists. The theory of heredity now held by Wallace, who shares with Darwin the credit of the hypothesis of natural selection, and by Weismann and the most eminent authorities, is that acquired characteristics of the parent do not pass to the child by inheritance.

A large majority of physicians also testify that most babies are born healthy, but early develop disease from improper care.

Dr. H. D. Chapin, in the *Forum* (March, 1894), gives the results of his studies:

> Dr. Chapin is a physician to the New York Post-Graduate Hospital, and has made a record of 600 cases that came under his care. His object was to determine how far the diseases of very little children were occasioned by heredity and how far by the conditions in which they lived. Most of the children were under two years of age, and nearly half under one year. At the time of birth, 508 of them were reported to have been in good condition, and only 20 were reported to have been in bad condition. In 12 cases the report was "only fair," and in the remaining cases there was no report. The children as a whole, therefore, seem to have started life well. What, then, had been their environment? It was found that in 106 cases the mothers were the sole breadearners, and that in 88 cases the fathers were out of work when the children came to the hospital. Besides these there were 176 cases in which the mothers as well as the fathers were obliged to work. The results of this were very striking. "Two hundred and fifty-seven of the cases," says Dr. Chapin, "were deprived of maternal nourishment before the proper time, and 101 of the babies never received it at all. The usual reason was that the mothers were obliged to go out to work and remain away for too long intervals to care properly for their infants. As a direct result, a large number develop rickets, which is usually accompanied by a softening of the bones, together with great irritation of the nervous system. Almost all these diseases could have been prevented by proper diet and care, and yet when brought to the hospital they were frequently so far advanced as to result either in

death or in a more or less permanent crippling of a healthy life."

The result of this view upon social reform is thus summed up by Alex. MacKendrick (*Westminster Review*, 162, Aug., 1904):

The lesson for the social reformer which seems to grow out of these considerations is that we may cease attempting to control the hereditary or transmissible forces at the back of human life, as they lie far more deeply and are far more subtly interfused with the primal law of things than we have imagined. We cannot "deal with existing heredity for the benefit of future heredities," as one writer has hoped. We cannot educate the race by educating its present representatives. We cannot moralize the next and unborn generation by the simple process of moralizing the present one. But what we can do, or could do if we would, is to prepare such an environment for the reception of the next generation as will mold it after a different shape—an environment in which the natural and beneficent force of parental affection will find room to realize itself, and in which the bitterness and despoil engendered by poverty and struggle will be eliminated.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that *unacquired* characteristics are transmitted, and that this heredity plays a very large part in life. W. Duncan McKim says ("Heredity and Human Progress," p. 120, 1900):

Heredity (in the broadest sense including transmitted specific tendency and deficient vitality) is the fundamental cause of human wretchedness. He quotes G. A. Dorsey as saying (*Science*, New Series, vi., 119, 1897): "Every human child at birth is endowed with the heritage transmitted from innumerable ancestors, and is already rich with impersonal experiences from its prenatal life. . . . These combined decide the individual's race and strain, and potentially incline, if they do not absolutely coerce, his tastes and ambitions, his fears and hopes, his failure or success." Prof. Angelo Messo is quoted as saying (Eng. trans. by E. Lough and F. Kieson, 1896): "Destiny loads each of us with a fatal inheritance. . . . We feel the breath, the advice, the experience of all men, from those who lived on acorns and struggled with the wild beasts, dying naked in the forest, down to the virtue and evil of our father, or the fear and love of our mother."

For a classic example of the influence of heredity, see R. L. Dugdale's book, "The Jukes." Similarity of generation after generation in certain families, as of the English aristocracy, is well known. Tho this can be in part accounted for by each generation having much the same environment, instances of similarities between ancestors and descendants are found in every-day life, which environment will hardly account for. Only gradually is science, however, becoming able to accurately measure this influence. Francis Galton first attempted any general law. According to him the two parents contribute in general each one half, the four grandparents in general each one fourth, the eight great-grandparents one eighth, in heredity; in general the influence in heredity of any ancestral generation, he says, is inversely proportioned to the total number of individuals comprized in that generation. Recent investigators and writers, like Pierrson in England, DeVries in Holland, Cowens in Germany, Tschermak in Austria, Spellman in America, have made each some new progress in the investigation, but all witnessing to the fact and potency of heredity. But perhaps more than all has Mendel, working alone in his Augustan monastery at Brunn, Austria, contributed to the knowledge of the subject with his investigation of the transmission of dominant characteristics.

REFERENCE: See the works and authors quoted or named in this article. (See also EVOLUTION.)

HERRON, GEORGE DAVIS: Socialist lecturer; born, 1862, Montezuma, Md.; educated Ripon College, Wisconsin. Entering the Congregational ministry, he held pastorates at Lake City, Minn., and Burlington, Ia. (1891–93). Becoming interested in social questions he wrote (1891), "The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth," which at once aroused wide-spread interest, and led to his forming a social crusade by lecturing and preaching in the churches through all parts of the country. Passionate utterance and brilliant thought brought large and rapt audiences. In 1893 he was chosen to the Chair of Applied Christianity of Iowa College, Grinnell, endowed by Mrs. Rand. His views at this time were those of a radical and intense Christian Socialism, but as they continually grew more radical and extreme, great opposition was developed in religious circles culminating, in 1901, owing to Dr. Herron's separation from his wife and marriage to Miss Rand. Dr. Herron was deposed from the ministry, he, however, having already resigned his chair (1900) and renounced belief in Christianity as a distinctive religion. Dr. Herron has since worked only with the Socialist Party as lecturer and writer, recently residing for the most part in Italy. His main works are: "The Larger Christ" (1891); "The Call of the Cross" (1892); "The New Redemption" (1893); "The Christian Society" (1894); "The Christian State" (1895); "Between Cæsar and Jesus" (1899).

HERTZEN, ALEXANDER: Born in Moscow, Russia, in 1812. Shortly after completing his education he was imprisoned for his outspoken views and banished to Viatka and Vladimir. On his return he devoted himself to literature, and in 1842 his "Dilettantism *vs.* Naukie" attracted attention. In the same year, for criticizing the police, he was ordered to live in Novgorod. In 1847 he obtained permission to travel, and in 1851 set up in London a *Free Russian Press* to attack the government and issue works forbidden in Russia, notably *Kólokol* (*The Bell*), started in 1857. Thousands of copies were smuggled into Russia and read by all, from the emperor to the peasants. After sympathizing with the Poles in their insurrection of 1863, he transferred the *Kólokol* to Geneva, where it had an obscure existence till about a year before Hertzen's death in Paris in 1870. He was romantic and skeptical, eloquent and satirical. He wrote various books and stories, his complete works being published in Basle in 1875.

HERTZKA, THEODORE: Economist; born in Budapest in 1845, and studied in Vienna. In 1872 he was editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*; in 1880 superintendent of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. The same year he brought out his "Die Gesetze der Handelspolitik" ("Laws of Trade"), from the standpoint of the orthodox economy, which, however, he wholly gave up six years later in his "Die Gesetze der Sozialen Entwickelung" ("Laws of Social Evolution"). A still further advance is made in his utopia of "Freiland" (1890), in which he pictures a colony in equatorial Africa on the principles of communism. At the end of this volume he called for the creation of such a colony, and met with a large response. A central committee was organized, and in 1893 a start actually made. At the last, however, the difficulties were too great, and the plan failed.

HERZENSTEIN, MICHAEL YAKOVLEVITCH: Russian Duma leader; 1859–1906. Representative (Constitutional Democrat) from Moscow; of Jewish extraction. Graduate of the law

school of the Novorossiysk University (1881). Educated at the Heidelberg and Berlin Universities; adjunct professor of the Moscow University (1903). Professor of Political Economy of the Moscow Agronomical Institute (1904); chairman of the Moscow Municipal Council and Financial Committee. Member of the Moscow Province Zemstvo Society. Author of a series of works on economics.

HEYDEN, COUNT PETER ALEXANDROVICH: A Russian leader in the Duma; born 1846. Representative (Moderate) of the Pskov Province; leader of the Opochetz nobility. Graduate of the Mikhaeloff Artillery Academy. Ex-chairman of Free Economic Society. Member of the Zemstvo and City Deputation to Nicholas in 1905. An active member and chairman of all the large Zemstvo conferences.

HIGGINS, HON. HENRY BOURNES, K.C.: Member of the Australian Parliament for Northern Melbourne, Victoria; born at Newtownards, Ireland; educated at St. Stephen's Green College, Dublin, University of Melbourne (M.A.) (LL.B.). Scholar in languages and logic, history, political economy. Elected to legislature for Geelong in 1894–1901; 1897, he was member of the convention which framed the Commonwealth Constitution, and was returned to first House of Representatives for Northern Melbourne, 1901. Higgins was attorney-general of the Commonwealth in Watson ministry, 1904, and chairman of the Royal Commission for reform of legal procedure (1897–1899), and member of University Council. He founded a scholarship for poetry at Melbourne University. *Address*: 1 Selborne Chambers, Melbourne.

HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH: Born in Cambridge in 1823; graduated from Harvard in 1841. Settled as pastor of the First Church in Newburyport, but, dismissed in 1847 because of his antislavery preaching, he organized the Free Church in Worcester, where he remained nearly six years, an enthusiastic worker against slavery and the intimate friend of Garrison and Phillips. He enlisted in the war in 1862, and served till seriously wounded in 1864. He was appointed colonel of the first regiment of colored troops enlisted in South Carolina. His great work, however, has been as essayist, author, poet, lecturer, and novelist. Some of his best writings have been his short essays contributed to *Harper's Bazar*. His lecture, "The Aristocracy of the Dollar," gave him a national reputation. His devotion to the cause of humanity led him to especially espouse the cause of the slave, and since then of woman emancipation from intellectual and political subjection. He was one of the first interested in Nationalism, and has even been called a Socialist, tho not committed to all its views. Living in Cambridge, Mass., he is prominent in public affairs and reform movements. *Address*: 29 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, Mass.

HIGH LICENSE: May be regarded as a license to sell liquors at what is regarded high rates, and intended thereby to reduce the number and improve the character of the places licensed.

In the early days of the temperance movement action was limited to "total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State."

The large city is the crux of the liquor problem, not only because of its size, but also because of the heterogeneous character of its population, the crowded condition of its tenements, and the lack of space which in so many cases prevents the observance of the ordinary decencies of life.

In 1883 I made the following statement from official sources:

City of New York

Liquor sellers	10,075
Food sellers	7,197
Excess of former over latter	2,878
Arrests for crime during the year	67,135
Arrests for intoxication and disorderly conduct	42,612

or 63.5 per cent of the whole.

Prohibition and restriction were the two possible remedial measures by law. In a city with so vast and heterogeneous a population the first remedy was promptly recognized as the dream of an enthusiast; the latter meant high license.

The High License Law of Nebraska was passed in 1881, and fixt the annual fees at $500 for saloons in towns of less than 10,000 population, and $1,000 for those containing more than 10,000 inhabitants.

In 1883 the Harper Law of Illinois fixt the minimum rate for the sale of malt liquors only at $150 and $500 for all kinds of liquors.

In the same year the Downing Law of Missouri fixt a minimum rate of $550, and a maximum of $1,000.

In Massachusetts the minimum license rate for the ordinary saloon selling all kinds of liquors on and off the premises is $1,300.

In Minnesota $500 for towns and $1,000 for cities.

In Greater New York, under the old law, 1896, the number of liquor licenses granted were 15,357; under the new High License Law of 1903, the number was reduced to 12,827.

There is now an effective Excise Department for the State of New York located at Albany, and of which the Hon. Maynard N. Clement is the chief officer.

From the report of 1904 we quote the following points:

"When the liquor tax law (high license) took effect, March 23, 1896, there were 33,437 licenses granted in the state. On Jan. 10, 1902, the number of liquor-tax certificates in force in the state was 26,436, a reduction of over 7,000, or more than 20 per cent, in the number of places authorized to sell liquor.

"According to the reports of the State Commission of Prisons, the number of commitments for drunkenness has fallen from 53,200 in 1897, to 33,203 in 1901, a reduction of nearly 40 per cent.

"From the same authoritative source it appears that the number of criminals confined in the state prisons in 1890 was 3,508, increasing until 1895, when it reached 3,721, but diminishing through the years since the passage of the Liquor Tax Law to 3,375 in 1900.

"The total population of the state jails, penitentiaries, reformatories, and state prisons in 1896 numbered 12,661, but in 1900 it had fallen to 10,761.

"During the period from 1890 to 1900 the population of the state has increased from 5,997,853 to 7,268,012, being 1,270,159 persons, or 21.2 per cent.

"Reasoning from analogy, it was to be expected

that the criminal statistics would steadily increase during the whole decade, in line with the increase of population, even as they did during the first five years, but some great restraining and corrective force has made itself felt during the last half of the period, producing the surprisingly improved results. That restraining and corrective force has been high license."

ROBERT GRAHAM.

HILDEBRAND, BRUNO: Economist; born at Naumburg, Prussia, in 1812. Studying philosophy, he was implicated in the affair of the *Burschenschaften* (corporations of students suspected of liberalism); he succeeded, however, in being appointed Professor Extraordinary in the University of Breslau, then at Marburg (1841), where he published some years later (1848) the first volume of "Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft." He was the same year chosen deputy from Marburg to the National Assembly at Frankfort, and his attitude was so hostile to the government that he was exiled to Switzerland. At Zurich he was appointed Professor of Political Economy. He had already created at Marburg a bank for widows (*Wittwen casse*); and he founded at Berne the savings and loan bank. After he left Zurich (1861) he occupied the chair at Jena (1862), and in 1862 founded the "Jahrbücher für National Œconomie und Statistik." After 1873 he edited this journal in connection with Conrad, his son-in-law. He died at Jena, Jan. 29, 1878, a leader in the historical school (*q. v.*).

HILL, OCTAVIA (MISS): Philanthropist; born in England; educated at home. Early became interested in social and charitable work in London; in 1864 she first took charge of the management of homes for the people. She collects rent for the owners of houses and tenements all over the city, and uses her work as an opportunity for aiding those from whom the rent is collected in cleansing and bettering their tenements and in improving the whole environment of their lives. Begun as an experiment, the scheme has grown until now Miss Hill and her assistants have the care of between five and six thousand dwellings. Miss Hill has been connected with many of the societies which are working for a greater and a better London almost from their commencement. Among them, the Charity Organization Society, The Commons Preservation Society, Kyrle Society, Women's University Settlement, and the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty. She is the author of "Homes of the London Poor," "Our Common Land," and various articles published in magazines. *Address*: 190 Marylebone Road, N. W., London.

HILL, SIR ROWLAND: Father of cheap postage; born Kidderminster, 1795. After his own education taught in his father's school till 1833, then joined the association for establishing the colony of South Australia on Mr. Wakefield's scheme of colonization (see AUSTRALIA), and became secretary to the Royal Commission on the colony. In 1837 he published his famous pamphlet advocating cheap and uniform postage. In 1840 a uniform rate of 4d. per letter was adopted, soon after reduced to 1d. Mr. Hill was placed in the treasury to work out his plan, but was soon dismissed by a Tory government which came into power. In 1846, however, the Whigs returned to power, and Mr. Hill was made secretary to the postmaster, and in 1854 secretary to the post-office, an appointment he held till failing health compelled him to resign in 1864. He died in 1879.

HIRSCH, JENNY: German author and reformer; advocate of woman's advancement; born at Zerbst, 1829. She wrote in Berlin (1860-64) under the name of J. N. Heynrichs. In 1865 she was a member of the Woman's Congress at Leipzig, and since then has written, besides many tales, numerous works on woman's advance. She died in 1902.

HIRSCH, MAURICE, BARON DE: Austrian Jewish financier and philanthropist; born at Munich, 1831. He inherited his father's fortune (1869) and became associated with the banking firm of Bischoffsheim & Goldsmid, Brussels. Making large profits by building railways in Rumania and Turkey, his fortune was estimated at $200,000,000. He gave about $100,000,000 during his life mainly to Jewish charities, and the Baroness $15,000,000 more at her death (1899). He gave not less than $50,000,000 to establish Jewish colonies in Argentina and $2,500,000, increased by his wife to $3,700,000, to educate and Americanize Russian and Rumanian Jews. He died April 21, 1896.

HIRSCH, MAX: German economist and reformer; born 1832, at Halberstadt, in Prussian Saxony. Studied political economy and jurisprudence at Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin, and traveled extensively in France, England, and North Africa. He has since devoted himself to organizing trade-unions in Germany and in societies in the interests of the working classes. He was elected several times to the Reichstag.

HISTORICAL SCHOOL: A school of political economists which arose in Germany, in reaction from the theorizing of the English school of *laissez-faire* as developed in Ricardo and his followers. Most economists rightly object to being classed in this or any other "school," preferring to be catholic in their views and unfettered by designation of belonging to any school. Yet this school has many sympathizers. The school is in the main inductive, where the Ricardian economy is deductive. It owes its rise very largely to the influence of Comte and the Positivists.

Roscher, Bruno, Hildebrand, and Karl Knies may be said to be its four German founders. (See their names.) The school has always had a marked leaning toward State socialism in reaction from individualism. Says Professor Ingram ("History of Political Economy," p. 207):

> The historical method has exhibited its essential features more fully in the hands of the younger generation of scientific economists in Germany, among whom may be reckoned Lujo Brentano, Adolf Held, Erwin Nasse, Gustav Schmoller, H. Rösler, Albert Schäffle, Hans von Scheel, Gustav Schönberg, and Adolf Wagner. Besides the general principle of an historical treatment of the science, the leading ideas which have been most strongly insisted on by this school are the following: I. The necessity of accentuating the moral element in economic study. This consideration has been urged with special emphasis by Schmoller in his "Grundfragen" (1875) and by Schäffle in his "Das gesellschaftliche System der menschlichen Wirthschaft" (3d ed., 1873).
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> The two other ideas which Professor Ingram considers prominent in the historical school are a close relation between economics and jurisprudence, and the conception of the State as the organ of the nation for any end that may seem desirable, a view lending itself very easily to State socialism.

HOBBES, THOMAS: Born at Malmesbury, 1588, the son of a clergyman, he went to Oxford at the age of fifteen. He became tutor in the family of the Earl of Devonshire, and acquainted with Bacon, Raleigh, Ben Jonson, and other distinguished men. It was not till he had reached the age of forty that he published, in 1628, his first work, a translation of "Thucydides."

His first original work was "Elementa Philosophica de Cive" (1642). In 1651 he published the "Leviathan," the fullest and perhaps the best-known exposition of his views on mind, politics, morals, and religion.

A friend to royalty, his views were condemned by Parliament in 1666, and he was in danger of still severer measures. His last works were a translation of Homer and a history of the civil wars. He died Dec. 4, 1679.

HOBSON, JOHN ATKINSON: Economist; University extension lecturer; born 1858, at Derby, England; educated at Lincoln College, Oxford. From 1880 to 1887 he was classical master at Faversham and Exeter, and from 1887 to 1897 Lecturer on English Literature and Economics for the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, and the Oxford University Delegacy. Hobson is a Fabian Socialist. One of the founders and editors of *The Progressive Review*; a frequent contributor to *The Contemporary* and *Westminster* and other reviews. He has written: "Problems of Poverty"; "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism"; "The Problem of the Unemployed"; "John Ruskin, Social Reformer"; "The Economics of Distribution"; "International Trade"; "The Social Problem," etc. He is coauthor with A. F. Mummery of "The Physiology of Industry." *Address*: Elmstead, Limpsfield, Surrey, England.

HODGE, JOHN: English Labor member of Parliament; born 1855, Muirkirk, Ayrshire, Scotland; educated at the Hutchesontown Grammar School, Glasgow. He took an early interest in labor matters, and in 1886 became secretary of the Steel Smelters' Association. To his efforts are due the success and progress of the Association. In 1892 he was president of the Glasgow Trades Council, also president of the Trades Union Congress. In 1898 he was elected to Manchester City Council. He has written many pamphlets and articles. He was elected to Parliament as member for Gorton (Lancashire) in 1906. *Address*: Ormond Mansions, Great Ormond Street, London, W. C.

HOLLAND. See NETHERLANDS.

HOLLAND, CANON HENRY SCOTT: Canon of St. Paul's, London, and chairman of the London Christian Social Union; born in Ledbury, Herefordshire, England, in 1847, and educated at Eton and at Balliol College, Oxford. After some years of residence at Oxford as student of Christ Church, he became canon of Truro (1882), and of St. Paul's, London (1884). He is one of the leaders in the Anglican Church. Besides his notable share in "Lux Mundi," he has written many books, such as "In Behalf of Belief" and "The City of God." He was principal founder of the Christian Social Union (*q. v.*) in 1889, and is chairman of the energetic London branch of the union, and editor. He is in politics and reform an outspoken leader in Anglican Christian Socialism.

HOLLANDER, JACOB H.: Economist; born Baltimore, 1871; graduate of Johns Hopkins University, 1891. He was appointed associate professor of finance and held the position till 1900, when he became associate professor in political economy, 1901–4, and professor in 1904. He is head of the political economy department of the university. In 1897 Hollander was secretary of the Bimetallic Conference abroad. Appointed by President McKinley treasurer of Porto Rico 1900–1901, he organized the revenue system ("Hollander Law"). He investigated the finances of San Domingo for President Roosevelt, 1905, and was special agent of the State Department 1906–7. Author of various economic studies on finance and taxation. *Address*: 335 Dolphin Street, Baltimore.

HOLST, HENRIETTE ROLAND: Author; Socialist; born, 1869, at Noordwyk, Holland; first work published in 1895; joined Social Democratic Labor Party in 1897, and has worked devotedly in the propagation of the principles and ideals of Socialism. Mrs. Holst stands for "orthodox, uncompromising Marxism, understood not only as a political opinion, but a general philosophy." She is the author of "Capital and Labor in Holland," "The General Strike and Social Democracy," "Sonnets," "Poems," etc. *Address*: Laren, Holland.

HOLYOAKE, GEORGE JACOB: Historian of cooperation; born in Birmingham, England, in 1817. The son of an iron-worker, he was educated in the Mechanics' Institute and taught mathematics. In 1837 he heard Robert Owen, and became one of his "social missionaries" stationed at Sheffield. In 1841, in lecturing at Cheltenham, he gave a novel turn to a Bible passage, and was imprisoned six months for blasphemy. He was sometimes called the father of secularism, being neither theistic nor atheistic. For several years he edited *The New Moral World*, and then for fifteen years *The Reasoner*. To abolish "the taxes on knowledge" he printed an unstamped newspaper till his fines amounted to £600,000. Becoming interested in cooperation, he identified himself with the cause, and published "The History of Cooperation in Rochdale," which is said to have led to the formation of 250 cooperative societies. His "History of Cooperation in England" (2 vols.) appeared in 1875–1878; "The Rochdale Pioneer" in 1882. Besides these he has written numerous tracts and papers and innumerable newspaper articles on cooperation and on secularism. His life is told in "Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life" (1892). Died 1906.

HOME COLONY: Home, Wash., "the only anarchist colony." In 1896 three families moved from a disrupted Socialist colony at Glannis, Wash., and without any plan of organization bought adjacent land and commenced a more or less communal life. Other families came and, in 1898, a landholding association was formed. It had as its only rules that no more than two acres per individual should be allowed any person or family, that the title should be held by the association simply to prevent the land being sold in larger quantities, but that the association should

sell, without any other restriction, the use and occupation of the land (including the right of resale), and should sell this for just what the land cost. Beyond this the association does nothing and there is no community, government, authority, or law, except that the association pays the taxes and distributes them according to the landholding and conducts a school under the state law. All improvements are made by the voluntary contribution of those who desire them. A store is also conducted by voluntary cooperation. People are free to marry or to practise "free love," and the views of the community are said to be about equally divided on this subject. There is no law as to saloons or crime, tho there is no saloon and little drinking or evil of any kind. The community has steadily grown and (1907) numbers about 150 persons. At first much criticized, their quiet life has made almost all in the neighborhood friendly to them. Agriculture is the main occupation, though there is carpentry, blacksmithing, and logging. Dissensions arise, but each family is so independent that these differences do not seem to last and the community seems after ten years to be growing in stability. Voluntary cooperation is encouraged. Meetings are held Sundays for ethical, economic, or other addresses and discussions. A little paper is published, *The Demonstrator*. *Address*: Home, Lakebay P. O., Washington.

HOME RULE. See Irish Home Rule.

HOMES, OWNERSHIP OF (for other countries, see Land): In the United States only are there official statistics available on a large scale as to the ownership of homes. (See also Housing Question; Overcrowding; Tenements.)

Ownership of Homes in the U. S., 1890 and 1900

(All these statistics are from the census, 1900)

Kind of Family	Number of families	Per Cent of Families Having Homes—		
		Owned		Hired
		Free	Mortgaged	
1900				
All families	16,187,715	31.8	14.7	53.5
Farm families	5,698,901	44.4	20.0	35.6
Other families	10,488,814	23.4	12.9	63.7
1890				
All families	12,690,152	34.4	13.4	52.2
Farm families	4,767,179	47.3	18.6	34.1
Other families	7,922,973	26.7	10.2	63.1

A "family," according to the census, is any "group of individuals who occupy jointly a dwelling-place or part of a dwelling-place or for any individual living alone in any place of abode." A "family" may include all the occupants and employees of a hotel, cabin, tent, factory, or stable, if they habitually sleep there.

The totals for the 160 cities of continental U. S. having at least 25,000 inhabitants are as follows: Families having home, owned, total, 1,027,256; free, 561,664; mortgaged, 435,233; unknown, 30,359. Families having home, hired, 2,970,107; tenure unknown, 139,916. Per cent of families having home, owned, total, 25.7; free, 14.5; mortgaged, 11.2. Per cent of families having home, hired, 74.3.

Ownership of Homes in Representative Cities, 1900

City	Per Cent of Families Having Homes—			
	Owned			Hired
	Total	Free	Mortgaged	
Atlanta, Ga.	18.6	13.5	5.1	81.4
Baltimore, Md.	27.9	20.5	7.4	72.1
Boston, Mass.	18.9	9.2	9.7	81.1
Buffalo, N. Y.	32.9	15.8	17.1	67.1
Butte, Mont.	29.3	21.3	8.0	70.7
Chicago, Ill.	25.1	11.9	13.2	74.9
Cincinnati, Ohio.	20.9	13.9	7.0	79.1
Cleveland, Ohio.	37.4	21.3	16.1	62.6
Columbus, Ohio.	31.2	18.1	13.1	68.8
Dallas, Tex.	33.2	26.7	6.5	66.8
Denver, Col.	28.0	17.3	10.7	72.0
Des Moines, Iowa.	38.5	22.1	16.4	61.5
Detroit, Mich.	39.1	22.5	16.6	60.9
Fall River, Mass.	18.0	7.4	10.6	82.0
Hartford, Conn.	21.8	7.1	14.7	78.2
Holyoke, Mass.	19.4	7.2	12.2	80.6
Indianapolis, Ind.	33.7	18.1	15.6	66.3
Jersey City, N. J.	20.0	11.0	9.0	80.0
Kansas City, Kan.	33.7	22.5	11.2	66.3
Kansas City, Mo.	24.2	13.2	11.0	75.8
Los Angeles, Cal.	44.1	27.1	17.0	55.9
Louisville, Ky.	26.4	20.0	6.4	73.6
Lowell, Mass.	22.9	13.1	9.8	77.1
Newark, N. J.	21.1	8.5	12.6	78.9
New Haven, Conn.	26.6	10.7	15.9	73.4
New Orleans, La.	22.2	19.1	3.1	77.8
New York, N. Y.	12.1	5.1	7.0	87.9
Manhattan and Bronx boroughs	5.9	2.3	3.6	94.1
Brooklyn borough	18.0	7.5	10.5	82.0
Queens borough	36.4	15.9	20.5	63.6
Richmond borough	36.7	20.5	16.2	63.3
Norfolk, Va.	17.0	13.6	3.4	83.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	22.1	12.1	10.0	77.9
Pittsburg, Pa.	27.2	15.2	12.0	72.8
Portland, Me.	32.2	23.8	8.4	67.8
Portland, Ore.	31.4	21.8	9.6	68.6
Providence, R. I.	21.0	11.0	10.0	79.0
St. Louis, Mo.	22.8	14.2	8.6	77.2
St. Paul, Minn.	29.9	19.8	10.1	70.1
Salem, Mass.	29.6	18.0	11.6	70.4
Salt Lake City, Utah.	40.0	29.1	10.9	60.0
San Antonio, Tex.	38.0	33.2	4.8	62.0
San Francisco, Cal.	24.1	16.0	8.1	75.9
Washington, D. C.	24.2	16.1	8.1	75.8
Worcester, Mass.	24.9	8.7	16.2	75.1

In 1900 only 46.5 per cent of the families, or less than one half of the families of our country, owned their own homes; only 32 per cent, less than one third, owned unmortgaged homes. From 1890 to 1900, the number of families owning their own homes, free or mortgaged, fell from 47.8 to 46.5 per cent. Of farm families, in 1900, 64.4 per cent owned a home and only 44.4 per cent an unmortgaged home. The number of families owning farms free or mortgaged fell from 65.9 in 1890 to 64.4 in 1900, and those owing unmortgaged farms fell from 47.3 in 1890 to 31.8 in 1900. Other homes free or mortgaged fell from 36.9 in 1890 to 36.3 in 1900; unmortgaged homes other than farms, fell from 26.7 to 23.4 per cent. From 1890 to 1900 farm tenants increased from 34.1 to 35.6. Other tenants increased from 63.1 to 63.7.

These statistics, however, must not be pressed. A mortgage on a home often means a family of immigrants who buy a home but put a temporary mortgage on it till they can pay it off. Or it may mean a newly married couple; or in a hundred ways may mean the gaining and not the losing of a home.

TENURE OF FARMS BY DIVISION

STATE OR TERRITORY	PER CENT OF FARMS OPERATED BY—								
	Owners			Cash tenants			Share tenants		
	1900	1890	1880	1900	1890	1880	1900	1890	1880
United States	64.7	71.6	74.5	13.1	10.0	8.0	22.2	18.4	17.5
Continental United States	64.7	71.6	74.5	13.1	10.0	8.0	22.2	18.4	17.5
North Atlantic Division	79.2	81.6	84.0	9.8	7.9	7.0	11.0	10.5	9.0
South Atlantic Division	55.8	61.5	63.9	17.9	12.8	11.6	26.3	25.7	24.5
North Central Division	72.1	76.6	79.5	9.5	7.7	5.2	18.4	15.7	15.3
South Central Division	51.4	61.5	63.8	17.3	14.0	11.8	31.3	24.5	24.4
Western Division	83.4	87.9	86.0	7.7	5.0	5.5	8.9	7.1	8.5

TENURE BY RACE

RACE OF HEAD	Per cent of total private families having homes—				Per cent of private farm families having homes—				Per cent of other private families having homes—			
	Owned			Hired	Owned			Hired	Owned			Hired
	Total	Free	Mortgaged		Total	Free	Mortgaged		Total	Free	Mortgaged	
Total	46.7	32.0	14.7	53.3	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6	36.5	24.8	11.7	63.5
White	49.7	33.8	15.9	50.3	70.3	48.2	22.1	29.7	38.3	25.8	12.5	61.7
Negro	21.8	16.2	5.6	78.2	25.3	18.3	7.0	74.7	19.0	14.5	4.5	81.0
Indian	91.4	88.2	3.2	8.6	95.6	90.2	5.4	4.4	86.6	86.0	0.6	13.4
Mongolian	8.6	8.0	0.6	91.4	8.8	6.3	2.5	91.2	8.5	8.0	0.5	91.5
White—												
Native	51.1	35.7	15.4	48.9	68.2	48.1	20.1	31.8	39.1	27.0	12.1	60.9
Foreign-born	46.1	28.7	17.4	53.9	81.2	48.4	32.8	18.8	36.7	23.5	13.2	63.3
Total	46.7	32.0	14.7	53.3	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6	36.5	24.8	11.7	63.5

OWNERSHIP OF HOMES IN CERTAIN WARDS

CITY AND WARD	Total homes	Owned			Hired	Unknown
		Free	Encumbered	Unknown		
San Francisco	67,592	10,186	5,139	449	49,656	2,162
Assembly District 28	2,059	148	37	.....	1,846	28
Assembly District 29	2,498	151	55	.....	2,268	24
Assembly District 43	3,900	123	39	7	3,617	114
Denver	29,979	5,000	3,114	155	21,215	495
Ward 4	2,232	211	69	12	1,911	29
Ward 6	2,830	550	286	13	1,914	67
Chicago	354,036	39,246	43,735	3,454	258,582	9,019
Ward 18	3,432	66	13	20	3,051	282
Ward 19	9,807	619	319	160	8,519	190
Ward 20	6,514	701	564	77	5,092	80
New Orleans	60,796	10,634	1,698	554	45,129	2,781
Ward 3	6,991	786	133	124	5,492	384
Ward 5	5,150	624	90	33	4,152	251
Baltimore	104,146	19,286	6,960	743	69,761	7,396
Ward 3	4,504	480	205	29	3,294	496
Ward 4	4,771	556	234	43	3,369	569
Boston	114,705	9,944	10,395	357	89,083	4,926
Ward 6	5,635	3,149	136	5	5,138	207
Ward 8	4,801	120	169	19	4,247	246
Ward 18	4,985	192	199	2	4,463	129
Detroit	59,836	12,378	9,172	990	35,178	2,118
Ward 3	3,640	661	332	61	2,376	210
Ward 4	3,516	570	316	23	2,420	187
St. Louis	121,123	16,097	9,699	1,008	90,983	3,336
Ward 3	5,084	240	45	76	4,610	113
Ward 7	5,335	431	131	18	4,681	74